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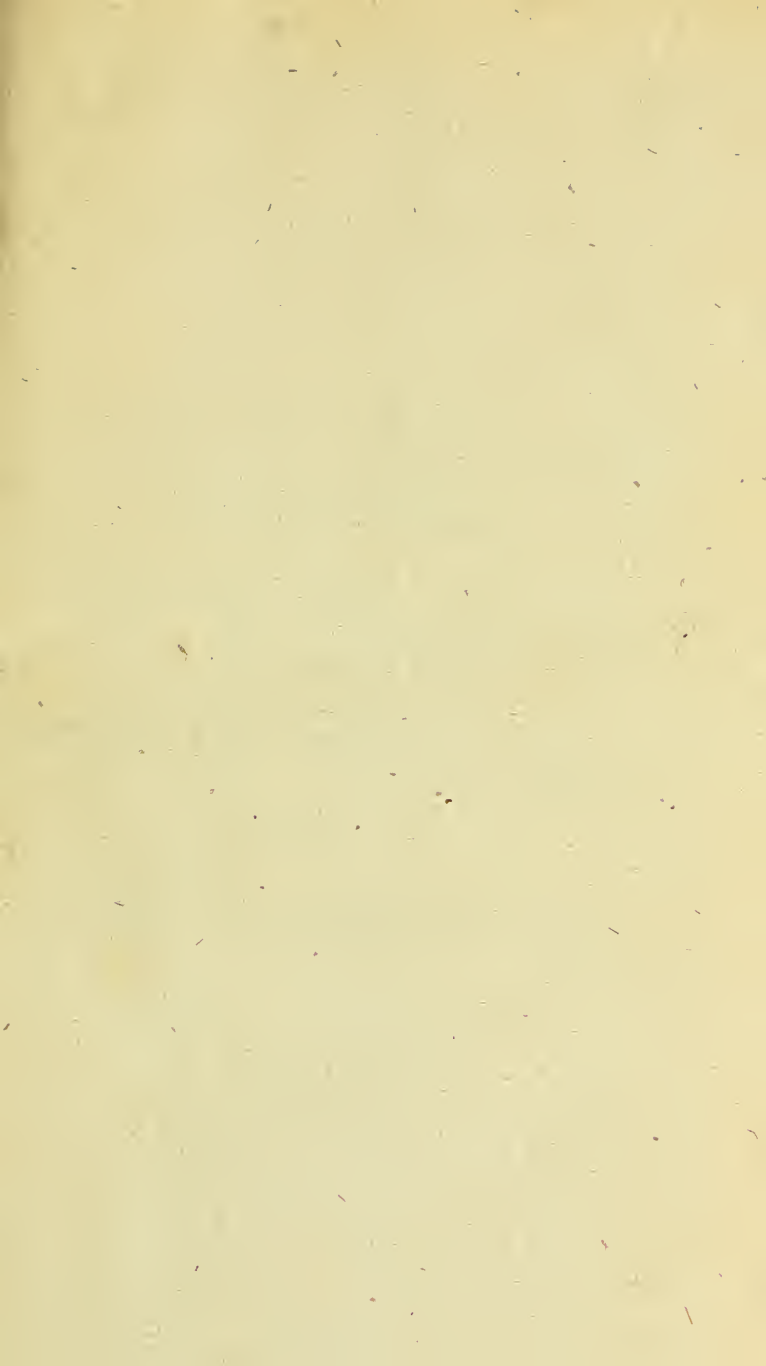
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MISCELLANEOUS

W O R K S

OF

EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

VOL. III.



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MISCELLANEOUS
W O R K S
OF
EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH
MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.
COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,
WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,
BY JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

D U B L I N:

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AND G. FOLINGSBY.

1796.

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E X T R A I T S

DU

J O U R N A L.

Novembre 28.]—J'AI lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p. 1205—1242.*

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Cluvier passe aux côtes de la mer Adriatique. Les *Frentani* l'occupent un instant. Il parle ensuite de l'*Yapygia* des Grecs, ou l'*Apulie* des Romains. Il en établit les bornes et la division générale. C'est ici, à la page 1210, que l'éditeur nous instruit que Cluvier n'a pas poussé plus loin la révision de son ouvrage, et que la suite paroîtra moins limée, moins travaillée, et peut-être moins exacte. La délicatesse de M. Heinsius est louable, mais je n'ai pas encore vu la nécessité de cet avis. Nous voyons passer en revue toutes les villes de l'*Apulie* et de la *Calabre* : *Arpi*, *Canusium*, *Luceria*, *Brundisium*, et enfin *Tarentum*, qui est traité avec un détail proportionné à son importance.

29.]—J'ai fini la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, le tome trente deuxième,—*Recherches Philosophiques de St. Hyacinthe* : petit ouvrage d'un homme qui avoit bien plus le talent

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du

November 28.]—I read Cluverius *Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p. 1205—1242.* He proceeds to the coasts of the Adriatic, and peaks shortly of the *Frentani*. He then treats of the country called *Japygia* by the Greeks, and *Apulia* by the Romans : giving its general division and limits. In page 1210 the editor apprises us, that Cluverius did not proceed farther in revising his work ; and that the remainder will appear less polished, less elaborate, and perhaps less accurate. Heinsius' delicacy in giving this information is commendable ; but I have not yet discovered its necessity. All the towns of *Apulia* and *Calabria* here pass in review ; *Arpi*, *Canusium*, *Luceria*, *Brundisium*, and last of all *Tarentum*, which is treated with a copiousness proportional to its importance.

29.]—I finished the thirty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Philosophical Researches of St. Hyacinthe* : a small performance, by a man who has more talent for ridicule than for reasoning.—*Cumberland's*

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du ridicule que celui du raisonnement.—*Traité sur les Loix Naturelles, par Cumberland, traduit et commenté par M. Barbeyrac* : savante refutation de Hobbes. Ce philosophe avoit rabaislé l'homme jusqu'à la bête; l'autre l'élève jusqu'aux intelligences supérieures. L'homme est fait pour la société (dit l'évêque) : il est le seul entre les animaux qui rit et qui pleure. Sans contredit, lui répond le philosophe, l'homme n'est nullement fait pour la société, puisque les enfans et les fous n'en ont pas d'idée, bien qu'ils participent à la nature humaine.—*Lettres de Calvin à Jacques de Bourgogne, Seigneur d'Alais*. Te voilà, esprit dur et farouche. Tu te brouilles avec un ami respectable, parcequ'il cherche à dérober une victime à ton zèle théologique. À l'occasion de ces lettres, le bibliothécaire de Genève en écrit une aux journalistes, pleine de recherches curieuses, sur toute cette affaire. Ce bibliothécaire a déjà fourni plusieurs pièces au journal. Elles ne roulent que sur des bagatelles littéraires, mais ces bagatelles sont traitées avec beaucoup de goût et d'agrément.—*Conformités de Jesus Christ et de St. François d'Assise*. Barthélemi de Pise n'en avoit trouvé que 40, mais cet auteur est allé jusqu'à 4000, la plupart ou très triviales ou très alambiquées. L'absurdité de ce livre lui donne une espèce de prix.—*Philon, par Mangey*. Philon, du premier siècle, cite toujours le Vieux Testament selon la version d'Aquila, qui n'a veçu que dans le second. C'est une difficulté embarrassante pour les critiques.—*Missions du Tranquebar*.

berland's Treatise on the Laws of Nature, translated and commented by Barbeyrac. A learned refutation of Hobbes. This philosopher had degraded man to the condition of a beast; the bishop exalts him to that of an angel. Man, Cumberland tells us, is made for society; he is the only animal that laughs and weeps. Hobbes maintains that man is not made for society, because children and ideots, though participating of human nature, do not know what society means.—*Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne*. Here we find you, harsh and intractable spirit! quarrelling with a respectable friend, because he wishes to snatch a victim from your theological zeal. On the subject of these letters, the librarian of Geneva writes one to the reviewers, containing a curious investigation of the whole business. This librarian had already supplied them with several other pieces: which treat indeed merely of literary trifles, but these trifles are written agreeably and elegantly.—*Conformities between Jesus Christ and St. Francis of Assise*. Bartholemey of Pisa discovered only 40, but this author carries the number to 4000, most of them trivial, or too subtle. The absurdity of this book gives it a kind of value.—*Philo, by Mangey*. Philo, in the first century, always quotes the Old Testament in Aquila's version, who lived in the second: a perplexing difficulty for critics.—*Missions to Tranquebar*.

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bar. Voici le pendant du Voyage au Groenland. Tout y est opposé, hormis son objet. Les anciens ont un peu outré les choses, mais si les zônes torrides et glaciales sont habitées, le sont elles par des hommes? Je doute que ce pays soit jamais civilisé comme les zones tempérées; la rareté et la foiblesse des animaux, et le défaut de fer, de bled, et de vin, formeront toujours des obstacles physiques bien puissans. Mais je veux lire le livre même. C'est pourquoi je n'en dirai pas davantage.

Novembre 30.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xiii, xiv. p. 1242—1282*. Après avoir fini la Calabre, il passe à la *Lucanie*, la seule province de l'Italie qui voyoit les deux mers. On y voit beaucoup de villes Grecques sur les côtes, et une nation nombreuse et féroce dans l'intérieur des terres. Mais les conquêtes des Romains abolirent toutes ces distinctions. Le peu d'habitans qui échappa à la fureur, oublia tout ce qu'il avoit été. Le géographe voit, peut-être mieux que l'historien, ce qu'il en a coûté à l'univers pour devenir Romain.

Décembre 3.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xvi, xvii. p. 1320—1338*; fin du quatrième livre, et de l'Ouvrage entier; tâche vraiment laborieuse! J'ai mis plus d'ardeur à l'entreprendre, que de constance à le soutenir. Ce petit relâchement peut se pardonner. Les détails de Cluvier sont immenses, sa méthode est

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confuse,

Tranquebar. This is the counterpart of the Voyage into Greenland; all is opposite in these voyages, excepting the design for which they were undertaken. The ancients went too far in their assertions; but if the frozen and torrid zones are inhabited, is it by men? I doubt whether these regions will ever be civilized like the temperate zones. The scarcity and weakness of animals, and the want of corn, wine, and iron, will always form natural obstacles of great importance. But I intend to read the book itself, and therefore leave the subject at present.

November 30.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. xiii, xiv. p. 1242—1282. After finishing the subject of Calabria, he proceeds to Lucania, the only province which commanded a view of both seas. There were many Greek cities on the coast, and a numerous and fierce people inhabited the inland country. These dissensions were abolished by the Roman conquests. The few inhabitants who escaped the effects of their fury, lost all remembrance of their former condition. The geographer perhaps sees better than the historian, how dearly it cost the world to become Roman.

December 3.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. xvi, xvii. p. 1320—1338; which concludes the fourth book, and the whole work; a truly laborious task; undertaken by me with more ardour, than it was continued with perseverance. But intervals of relaxation were pardonable. His materials are immense; his method perplexed, and his

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confuse, son style est bigarré par un tissu presque continuél de citations des auteurs de tous les tems. Enfin je m'en suis tiré, et je m'en suis tiré avec des connoissances très intéressantes, et que je conserverai long tems. J'ai déjà remarqué quel amas prodigieux de matériaux il a recueillis. Sur le plus chétif endroit, tout ce que l'antiquité, ou le moyen âge ont dit, se présente à sa mémoire; et un passage n'est pas mieux caché à ses yeux, pour être enfoui dans un légendaire du dixième siècle, que s'il se trouvoit à la tête de l'Enéide. Partout il allègue ses autorités, il les épluche, il les compare, et le résultat de cette comparaison, ne leur est pas toujours favorable. Les anciens citoient beaucoup de mémoire: les livres étoient rares, les cartes géographiques l'étoient encore davantage; et dans une science, où l'esprit s'égare facilement, s'il n'est arrêté par le secours des yeux, il leur étoit difficile d'éviter l'erreur. Le commentateur Servius effuye souvent la critique de Cluvier. C'étoit un faux savant, à qui il arrache le masque de sa prétendue érudition. Ses bévues ne sont égalées que par celles de l'historien Appien. Mais les plus grands noms de la géographie ancienne, ne sont pas à l'abri de sa censure: Ptolémée, qui connoissoit mieux l'Orient que l'Occident; Strabon, qui est quelque fois historien, politique, ou philosophe, plutôt que géographe; et Pline, qui a voulu décrire l'univers dans trente sept petits livres, qui a souvent sacrifié la précision à la

his style a motley mixture of quotations from authors of all ages. My undertaking is now accomplished; and I have derived from it much useful knowledge, which will not be easily forgotten. I have already remarked his prodigious mass of materials. In speaking of the meanest village, all the learning of antiquity and the middle ages occurs to his memory: and a passage is not more concealed from his keen eye in a legend of the tenth century, than if it stood at the head of the *Eneid*. Throughout, his authorities are produced, and sifted, and compared with each other; and the result of the comparison is not always to their honour. The ancients quoted often from memory. Books were scarce; maps still scarcer; and in a science where the mind is so liable to wander without the direction of the eye, error was unavoidable. Servius the commentator is often exposed to Cluverius' criticism. This pretended scholar is here stripped of his mask of counterfeit erudition. His absurd mistakes are only to be equalled by those of Appian the historian. But our author's censure spares not the greatest names of ancient geography; Ptolemy, who knew the east better than the west; Strabo, who is sometimes an historian, politician, or philosopher, rather than a geographer; and Pliny, who undertakes to describe the world in thirty seven small books; whose brevity is often obscurity,

and

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à la brièveté, et qui n'a que trop vu par des yeux étrangers, et souvent infidèles. Après tant d'expériences du peu d'exactitude des anciens, Cluvier, moins que personne, devoit soutenir leur infailibilité. Je le vois cependant prévenu de ce respect superstitieux pour les grands noms de l'antiquité, qui avoit subjugué l'esprit de tous ses contemporains. Quand il ne reste à Cluvier aucune ressource, ni d'explication, ni d'excuse, il a celle du moins de rejeter l'erreur sur le copiste. Ce principe général, qu'il ne faut que ramener l'expression à la vérité, pour rétablir le texte de l'auteur, devient second entre ses mains. Le nombre de ses corrections n'est égalé que par leur hardiesse. La plupart de ces corrections, me paroissent inutiles et hasardées; mais il y en a de très heureuses. Le changement d'*Athēsis* et d'*Ufens* en *Ælis* et *Aufens*, épargne à Tite Live une bévue à peine concevable, substitue deux noms obscurs, mais convenables, à deux autres beaucoup plus illustres, mais très déplacés ici; et rend aux Gaulois *Senones*, leur véritable habitation. Les éditeurs de Tite Live ont depuis inféré cette correction dans le texte.

Décembre 5.]—J'ai achevé le trente troisième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Histoire de Richard de Cornouailles, Empereur d'Allemagne*, par M. Gebauer, Professeur à Gottingen. Si cet Allemand n'avoit pas été sujet du roi d'Angleterre, Electeur d'Hanovre, auroit-il jamais troublé le repos d'un prince obscur, dont le regne foible et ignoré; fut si pernicieux à l'Angleterre,

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and who frequently sees by other men's eyes, and those not always to be depended on. After so much experience of their inaccuracy, it could hardly be expected that Cluverius should maintain the infallibility of the ancients. But we may perceive in his work the same superstitious veneration for the great names of antiquity, which prevailed among his contemporaries. When no other excuse for them remains, he is sure to throw the blame on transcribers. This principle, that the true text need only be restored, in order to restore its propriety, he applies with unwearied diligence. The great number of his corrections is only equalled by their boldness; the greater part are rash or useless; but some of them are extremely happy. The change of *Athēsis* and *Ufens* into *Ælis* and *Aufens*, rescued the text of Livy from an absurdity, almost inconceivable; substituted two obscure but fit names, instead of two far more illustrious, but totally misplaced; and restored the Galli *Senones* to their proper habitation. This correction has been adopted by Livy's editors, and admitted into the text.

December 5.]—I finished the thirty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the *Life of Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany*, by Mr. Gebauer, Professor at Gottingen. Had not this German been a subject of the king of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, would he ever have disturbed the ashes of this obscure prince,

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et si inutile à l'Allemagne ? Auroit-il jamais préféré ce prince au sage roi de Castille ?—*Histoire Universelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres.* Il est question dans cet extrait, de l'histoire des Macédoniens. Elle est traitée avec beaucoup de savoir, de critique, et de goût. Cette Histoire Universelle seroit sans prix, si tout y étoit de cette force. Je me rappelle avec plaisir, que j'ai formé la même idée de ce morceau, lorsque je l'ai lu à Bath l'an 1751. J'avois alors quatorze ans.—*Dissertation sur une Médaille de Smyrne, par M. de Boze* : pleine de goût et d'érudition. Il y a des recherches très curieuses sur la primauté des villes de l'Asie.—*Recherches sur les Polypes, par M. Trembley.* Quel monde nouveau ! quelle lumière pour la physique, et quelles ténèbres pour la métaphysique !—*Institutions de Végece.* Les idées générales de ce Tacticien sont saines ; ses détails sur la discipline des Romains, sont pleins de confusion et d'anachronismes.—*Défauts Théologiques.* Eh ! qui ne les connoit pas ?—*Conformités entre le Culte des Payens et celui des Catholiques.* MM. Warburton et Middleton sont partagés sur cette question. Celui-ci pense que les Chrétiens les ont empruntés des Payens : celui-là veut que les uns et les autres n'aient consulté que les mouvemens naturels de l'esprit humain, porté de lui-même à toutes ces superstitions. Ces sentimens, sont-ils différens ? Pour vouloir, il nous faut un motif. Ces superstitions étoient

whose weak and ignorant reign was as pernicious to England as useless to Germany ? Would he ever have preferred this prince to the wise king of Castile ?—*Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract treats of the history of the Macedonians. It is executed with much erudition, taste, and judgment. This Universal History would be invaluable, were all its parts of equal merit. I remember with pleasure that I formed the same opinion of this article when I read it at Bath in 1751. I was then fourteen years old.—*Dissertation on the Medal of Smyrna, by Mr. Boze* : replete with erudition and taste ; containing curious researches on the pre-eminence of the cities of Asia.—*Researches on the Polypos, by Mr. Trembley.* A new world ! throwing light on physics, but darkening metaphysics.—*Vegetius' Institutions.* This writer on tactics has good general notions ; but his particular account of the Roman discipline is deformed by confusion and anachronisms.—*Theological Faults.* Who does not know them ?—*Conformity between the Pagan and Catholic Rites of Worship.* Messrs. Warburton and Middleton are divided on this question. The latter thinks that the Christians copied after the Pagans. The former thinks that both followed the natural impulse of human sentiment, always prone to superstition. These two opinions are not materially different. The will must always be actuated by some motive. These rites were familiar and suitable

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étoient familières, elles convenoient aux Romains du quatrième siècle. Ils y avoient renoncé avec difficulté, ils les reprenoient avec plaisir.

Décembre 7.]—Je me suis remis à mon recueil géographique sur l'Italie, que j'avois interrompu depuis quelque tems. Je le partage suivant les régions d'Auguste, et j'y fais entrer, sur chacun de ces chefs, ce que je trouve de plus curieux dans mes lectures. Mon voyage d'Italie ne peut manquer de le grossir beaucoup; et à mon retour en Angleterre, j'espère me trouver en état d'en tirer une description de l'Italie ancienne, qui sera le résultat de mes études, de mes réflexions, et de mes observations. C'est un ouvrage encore à faire, et dont l'Italie de Cluvier ne dispense point. 1. Cluvier est trop diffus. Nous ne sommes plus dans le siècle du travail, où les lectures n'avoient d'attrait, qu'à proportion de leur difficulté, et de leur étendue. Les gens de lettres de nos jours s'effrayent plus facilement, et deux in folio sont un objet très redoutable. Pour peu qu'on ait cependant de curiosité, on ne sauroit se contenter de ces abrégés décharnés, qui ne nourrissent ni l'esprit, ni la mémoire. Un ouvrage donc qui tiendrait le milieu entre Cluvier et Cellarius, seroit naturellement goûté. 2. Mais un bon abrégé de Cluvier ne suffiroit point. Pour abréger, il faut conserver les proportions de l'original, et celles de Cluvier ne sont pas toujours justes. Sans lui reprocher beaucoup d'endroits trop étendus, ou trop

suitable to the Romans of the fourth century. They had renounced them with reluctance; they resumed them with pleasure.

December 7.]—I returned to my geographical collection on Italy, which had been a short time interrupted. I divide the country according to the regions of Augustus, introducing under each region the most interesting particulars that occur in the course of my reading. This collection cannot fail being much augmented by my travels in Italy; and, at my return to England, I hope to be able to give a description of ancient Italy, which will be the joint result of my studies, reflections, and observations. Such a work still remains to be written; that of Cluverius by no means supplying its place. 1. Cluverius is too diffuse. We live not in that age of industry, when studies were valued in proportion to their extent and difficulty. Our men of letters are afraid to encounter two volumes in folio. Yet those who have curiosity, cannot be contented with such meagre abridgments as enrich neither the understanding nor memory. A book holding the middle place between Cluverius and Cellarius would suit the public taste. 2. An abridgment of the former would not answer the purpose. In abridgments the proportions of the original must be preserved; and those of Cluverius are not always accurate. Without reproaching him with excessive diffusion in some parts, and contraction

1763. trop étranglés, trois objets généraux méritoient bien qu'il en fit mention : les divisions des provinces par Auguste et ses successeurs, les grands chemins de l'Italie, et la topographie de la ville de Rome. A peine paroît-il s'en appercevoir. Je sens que Cluvier n'étoit pas obligé de prévenir les découvertes de notre siècle : mais c'est un bonheur pour un écrivain plus récent, de pouvoir profiter de la connoissance plus exacte, que nous avons des mesures itinéraires, et de pouvoir orner son ouvrage, de la fleur de deux nouveaux genres d'érudition, les monumens Etrusques et ceux d'*Herculaneum*. 3. Le Latin n'est plus la langue de lettres ; le Latin de Cluvier n'a jamais été la langue des gens de goût. Le public verroit avec plaisir, qu'au lieu de cette chaîne de citations, un bon écrivain fondît ensemble toutes ses autorités, pour en former une narration claire, méthodique, et intéressante. Quelquefois néanmoins je conserverois les propres paroles de mes auteurs ; mais je ne le ferois qu'à l'égard des poètes, dont l'expression fait souvent le mérite principal, et dont les images riantes égayeroient de tems en tems, la sécheresse d'une description géographique. 4. Je suivrois Strabon plutôt que Pline. Dans les divisions générales, et les nomenclatures, je tacherois de mettre tout l'ordre et toute la netteté dont je suis capable : mais j'envisagerois d'un œil philosophe, l'intérieur de l'habitation, et les habitans eux-mêmes, après avoir décrit et partagé la surface, les productions

contraction even to torture in others, three objects are totally omitted, which surely merited his attention : the division of the provinces by Augustus and his successors ; the great roads of Italy, and the topography of the city of Rome. Cluverius is scarcely sensible of these omissions. He was not indeed obliged to anticipate the discoveries of the present age ; but it happens fortunately for a more modern writer, that it is in his power to avail himself of a more accurate knowledge of itinerary measures, and to enrich his work with the first fruits of two new discoveries, the Tuscan monuments and those of Herculaneum. 3. Latin is no longer the language even of learning, and Cluverius's Latin was never the language of taste. The public would be pleased to see his broken chain of quotations melted down by a good writer into a clear, methodical, and interesting narrative. Sometimes I would preserve, however, the very words of my authorities, when they happened to be poets whose style often forms their principal merit, and whose smiling images would enliven the dryness of geographical description. 4. I would follow Strabo rather than Pliny. To my general divisions and tables I would endeavour to give all the neatness and perspicuity possible ; while I examined with the eye of a philosopher the interior of the country and the manners of its inhabitants ; the productions of art and nature, as far as they were known to the ancients ;
the

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productions de la nature et de l'art, autant qu'elles nous sont connues par les anciens, les migrations des peuples, leurs loix, et leur caractère. Parmi tant d'objets si intéressans pour un philosophe, je saisis toutes les occasions que mon sujet me fourniroit, de rechercher, quand et jusqu'à quel point la configuration du pays, le climat, la situation ont influé sur les mœurs des habitans, et sur les évènements qui leur sont arrivés. 5. Les méthodes sont assez arbitraires. Celle que je suivrois me paroît facile et lumineuse. Après avoir établi quelques préliminaires, je me placerois sur le Mont Palatin avec Romulus, et commençant par le berceau de la nation, et le premier *promerium* de la ville, j'en parcourrois les quartiers différens. Dans la description de l'Italie, je suivrois l'ordre des conquêtes des Romains, et j'observerois la division des régions d'Auguste. Je dérogerois seulement à cette division à l'égard du pays des Sabins, que je ferois obligé de détacher du *Samnium*, pour le mettre à la tête du *Latium*. Au moyen d'un changement aussi léger, je concilierois ces deux objets, et le lecteur suivroit sans peine les armes des Romains, et la narration de Tite Live. Un ouvrage de cette espèce, s'il étoit bien exécuté, seroit sans doute accueilli du public. Il pourroit enrichir un libraire, passer à la dixième édition, et devenir un livre classique pour les collèges, les voyageurs, et même pour les gens de lettres. L'auteur, cependant, auroit tort de s'enorgueillir d'un succès qu'il ne devoit qu'à la

the migration of tribes, their laws and character. Amidst so many interesting objects, I would seize every opportunity of investigating how far public transactions and manners were affected by local situation and climate. 5. Arrangements are arbitrary. The method which I should follow, appears to me natural and luminous. I would place myself with Romulus on the Palatine Mount, and thus proceed to the different quarters of Rome, from the cradle of the nation to the first *promerium* of the city. In describing Italy, I would follow the progress of Roman conquests, and pay particular attention to its division by Augustus into regions; with this one exception, that I would separate the territory of the Sabines from Samnium, and put it at the head of Latium. By this small alteration I would reconcile the two principles of my arrangement; and the reader would easily follow the progress of Roman arms, and Livy's history. A work of this kind, well executed, would be favourably received by the public. It might enrich a bookseller, pass through ten editions, and become a classical book with students in colleges, travellers, and even men of letters. The author, however, would do wrong to value himself on a performance, which owed its whole success to the nature of the subject, industry, and method. To speak only of my own essay, the production of my youth,

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1763. la nature de son sujet, à son travail, et à un esprit juste et méthodique. Pour ne parler que de moi-même, mon essai, ouvrage de jeunesse, fait dans deux mois, et oublié dans quatre, annonce plus de génie original, que ne pourroit faire un pareil traité. Des deux pivots de la réputation, la difficulté et l'utilité du travail, celui-ci est le plus sur, mais le moins flatteur.

Décembre 9.]—J'ai lu *la Bibliothèque Raisonnée, le tome trente quatre ; partie première*. J'y trouve trois *Traités par M. Harris, sur l'Art, sur la Musique, et la Peinture ; et sur le Souverain Bonheur*. C'est un grand admirateur de Platon et d'Aristote, qui lui ont appris une méthode scientifique de débiter des choses communes, et un enthousiasme sur le beau, le vrai, et les vertueux, qui lui rient quelquefois lieu d'idées précises. Ces défauts regnent surtout dans le premier et le dernier des trois discours. Le second, rempli d'observations justes, et de distinctions fines, est plus dans le goût de la philosophie moderne.—*Histoire Naturelle des Abeilles, tirée des Ouvrages de M. de Reaumur* : tout est dans le meilleur goût ; le choix du sujet, la finesse, l'abondance et la singularité des observations, les agrémens du style et de l'arrangement, donnent le plus grand intérêt à ce petit livre.

11.]—J'a lu le *trente cinquième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve, *Histoire Universelle* : cet extrait contient

written in two months, and forgotten in four, yet does it shew more originality of genius, than would be required for such a geographical performance. Of the two sources of literary fame, difficulty and utility, the second is the surest, though the least flattering to vanity.

December 9.]—I read the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, volume thirty-four, part first. It contains three treatises of Mr. Harris, on the subjects of art, music and painting, and happiness. He is a great admirer of Plato and Aristotle, from whom he has learned to express commonplace thoughts in technical language ; and an enthusiasm for the beautiful, the true, and the virtuous, which are often substituted with him for precision of ideas. These faults chiefly prevail in the first and third of those essays. The second, containing many just observations and nice distinctions, is more conformable with the taste of modern philosophy.—*Natural History of Bees, extracted from the Works of Mr. Reaumur* : written in the best taste ; the choice of the subject, the refinement, copiousness, and singularity of the observations, the beauties of style and arrangement, all contribute to raise the value of this little performance.

11.]—I read the thirty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *An Extract from the Universal History, concerning the Life of Alexander*. A good compiler would not have expatiated on a life so well known. A few sections would have sufficed. These compilers com-

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contient la vie d'Alexandre : mais un bon journaliste, auroit-il jamais donné un grand abrégé d'une vie aussi connue ? Il en auroit fallu détacher deux ou trois traits. Ces journalistes font la même chose dans ce volume, à l'occasion de l'Histoire Romaine de Crevier. Cet usage multiplie inutilement les livres, rebute le lecteur, et n'est avantageux qu'aux libraires.—*Quinze Sermons sur les Devoirs Sociaux, par le Docteur Delany* : cet historien de David a l'esprit un peu trop alambiqué, mais il dit de très bonnes choses. Son discours contre le vice trop commun de ne point payer ses dettes, est un morceau aussi excellent qu'il est neuf.—*Bibliothèque Française, par l'Abbé Goujet, les tomes septième et huitième* : c'est la suite d'un ouvrage curieux.—*Lettre du Bibliothécaire de Genève sur Jean Faust* : cet excellent correspondant du journal, prouve assez bien que l'inventeur de l'imprimerie mourut de la peste à Paris.—*Voyage au Nord, par M. Outhier* : c'étoit un des compagnons de M. de Maupertuis. Ce voyage a été sûrement utile pour l'astronomie, mais la géographie ne lui doit pas grand-chose.—*Dissertation sur les Imprécations de David*. Il s'agit de prouver que David pouvoit souhaiter la destruction de ses ennemis, et se réjouir de leurs maux, sans blesser la douceur et la charité. La tâche est difficile. Un homme ne peut qu'y échouer. Un homme de bon sens ne l'auroit point entreprise.

Décembre 17.]—Je m'étois assez mal occupé depuis quelques jours des *Memoires de l'Abbé de Montgon*, en huit volumes in 12mo. grand format, petit caractère, et les

mit the same fault with regard to Crevier's Roman History. This practice multiplies useless books, disgusts their readers, and enriches none but booksellers—*Sermons on the Social Duties, by Doctor Delany*. This historian of David favours much of the enthusiast; but he says excellent things. His discourse against the common vice of not paying our debts, is a performance as excellent as it is new.—*Bibliothèque Française, by the Abbé Goujet; volumes seventh and eighth*: the continuation of a curious work.—*A Letter of the Librarian of Geneva, concerning John Faustus*. This excellent correspondent of the Review clearly proves that the inventor of printing died at Paris of the plague.—*A Voyage to the North, by Mr. Outhier*. He was one of the companions of Mr. Maupertuis. This voyage, or journey, was surely useful to astronomy; but geography gained little by it—*Dissertation on David's Curses*. The author attempts to prove that David might wish for the destruction of his enemies, and rejoice in their calamities, without offending against charity. The task is difficult, any man would fail in performing it; by a man of sense it would not have been undertaken.

December 17.]—I employed myself very ill for some days, with the *Memoirs of Abbé Montgon*, in eight volumes large 12mo. small letter, and very thick volumes. The decided patience of a German would be tired

1763. les volumes très épais. Il y a de quoi lasser la patience de l'Allemand le plus déterminé; huit volumes qu'on auroit réduit le plus facilement du monde à cent pages! Tout ce qui regardoit l'Abbé de Montgon, lui paroïssoit mériter l'attention de l'Europe entière. Il lui faut cinquante pages pour une conversation avec l'Archévêque d'Amida, cent pages pour une intrigue de la Duchesse de St. Pierre et du Comte de Rottembourg, et ainsi à proportion. Je vois que les ennemis de l'Abbé lui reprochent deux défauts, une humeur tracassière, qui voyoit partout des ennemis chimériques, et une ambition démesurée. Je soupçonne bien qu'il en étoit quelque chose, et que la cabale du Cardinal de Fleury, ressembloit beaucoup à la cabale chimérique de Jurieu. Pourquoi ce Cardinal lui en vouloit-il? Montgon ne devoit pas être l'objet de sa vengeance, et encore moins celui de sa crainte, ou de sa jalousie. C'est cependant pour nuire à cet homme, que le Cardinal de Fleury fait agir; pendant cinq ans, des ressorts presque invisibles, et qu'il transforme en lâches et en fripons l'Archévêque d'Amida, la Duchesse de St. Pierre, le Marquis de Brancas, et le Comte de Rottembourg; tous très honnêtes gens, de l'aveu de Montgon. Pour son ambition, elle paroît assez à découvert. Un saint ecclésiastique ne songe à quitter sa retraite, que pour aller partager celle d'un grand roi; c'étoit déjà un mouvement dont il auroit dû se défier. Avant son

tired with eight large volumes which, with the greatest facility, might be reduced to an hundred pages. Whatever concerns the Abbé Montgon appears to himself to deserve the attention of all Europe. Fifty pages are consumed in a conversation with the Archbishop of Amida; one hundred pages in an intrigue between the Duchess of St. Pierre and Count Rottembourg; the other parts are in due proportion. The Abbé's enemies, I perceive, accuse him of two faults; a boundless ambition, and a suspicious temper, which was always haunting him with imaginary enemies. I am inclined to think the accusations just; and that Cardinal Fleury's cabal was as chimerical as that of Jurieu. Why should the Cardinal have been the Abbé's enemy? Montgon did not deserve to be the object of his vengeance, still less of his hatred or jealousy. Yet to hurt this man, the Cardinal during five years employs concealed and almost invisible instruments, and transforms into rogues or cowards the Archbishop of Amida, the Duchess of St. Pierre, the Marquis of Brancas, and the Count of Rottembourg; who, according to the Abbé, had all of them formerly been very honest people. His ambition appears very manifest. A holy ecclesiastic does not think of quitting his retreat, but with a view to become the attendant of a great king. This was an inclination which he ought to have distrusted. Before his departure, this prince remounts his throne. What had the good

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son départ, ce prince remonte sur le trône. Qu'alloit-il faire à sa cour ? Il s'y rend cependant, se plonge dans les affaires du siècle, et toute la dévotion que j'aperçois dans la suite de l'ouvrage, se réduit à quelques passages de l'écriture, dont il se sert contre ses ennemis. Je conviens que notre Abbé suivoit sa vocation. Il avoit l'esprit des affaires ; le génie un peu trop minutieux ; mais au reste, de la finesse, de la prudence, et de la netteté à déduire ses raisons. Les deux choses les plus intéressantes que j'aye trouvé dans cet ouvrage, sont :—1. Un tableau fort curieux de la cour d'Espagne, après le traité de Vienne, qui unit par les liens les plus étroits, deux princes qui s'étoient disputé une couronne avec l'animosité la plus vive. La cour de Vienne y dupa celle de Madrid. Au moyen d'un mariage chimérique, qu'on montrait dans l'éloignement, elle en tiroit des sommes immenses, pendant qu'elle stipuloit des avantages très réels pour son commerce. L'ambassadeur Autrichien, le Comte de Königseck, gouvernoit l'Espagne en premier ministre. Il poussa son crédit jusqu'à faire vérifier au conseil de Castille, les lettres patentes de quelques Grands que Charles VI. avoit élevé à ce rang, pour les efforts qu'ils avoient faits contre la tyrannie du Duc d'Anjou. 2. On voit clairement par la commission qu'on donna à l'Abbé, quel fond l'on doit faire sur la renonciation de la branche d'Anjou à la couronne de France, et qu'elle ne manqueroit point de faire valoir ses droits, si l'occa-

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Abbé to do at his court ? Yet he goes there, plunges into worldly affairs, and the only signs of devotion that I can discover in the sequel of his work, consist in some passages of scripture, which he applies to his enemies. I acknowledge that our Abbé followed his natural vocation. He had a turn for business; and, though too fond of minutiae, was not deficient in address, prudence, and persuasion. The two most interesting parts of his work are, 1. The curious picture of Spain after the treaty of Vienna, which united in the closest amity two princes, who had disputed a crown with the fiercest animosity. The court of Madrid was the dupe of that of Vienna. By means of a chimerical marriage shewn in distant prospect, Austria drew vast sums from Spain, at the same time that she gained real advantages for her commerce. The Austrian ambassador, Count Königseck, governed Spain with the authority of a first minister. His weight was so great, that he caused the council of Castile to confirm the letters patent which Charles VI. had granted to some Spaniards, creating them Grandees, in reward of their services in resisting the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. 2. The commission granted to the Abbé shews clearly, how little dependance is to be had on the renunciation made by the house of Anjou of its rights to the crown of France; and that these rights would be enforced on the first favourable opportunity. It is true that such an opportunity is much less likely

1763. si l'occasion s'en présentoit. Il est vrai que cette occasion est beaucoup plus éloignée à présent, qu'elle ne l'étoit alors. Le style de l'Abbé Montgon est sans exactitude, et sans intérêt, celui d'un homme qui ne connoît ni les graces, ni les regles de sa langue. Quels mots que ceux de *Despoticité* et de *Stoicité*!

Décembre 19.]—J'ai lu *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter*, L. i. V. 1—644; et L. ii. V. 1—68. C'est tout ce qui nous reste de cet ouvrage, qui contenoit deux livres complets. Je l'ai lu dans le *second tome des Poeta Minores Latini de Burman*, à Leide, 1731. C'est un des *Variorum* d'Hollande, où le texte s'apperçoit à peine à travers les commentaires. Les 700 vers de Rutilius occupent près de 200 pages in 4to. qui sont hérissées des commentaires de Simler, de Castalio, de Pithæus, de Sitzmanus, et de Barthius. Cependant Rutilius n'est point un auteur difficile; je n'ai eu besoin d'éclaircissements qu'une ou deux fois: je les ai cherchés, et je n'ai rien trouvé. Je connoissois trop les critiques pour m'en étonner. L'auteur de ce petit poëme vecut sous l'Empereur Honorius, qui l'avoit élevé aux premiers emplois; il avoit été Consul, Préfet du Prétoire, et Gouverneur de Rome. Il étoit Gaulois de naissance. Ce fut le 9 Octobre 416, A. U. C. 1169*, qu'il s'embarqua à Ostie pour retourner dans sa patrie. La relation qu'il nous a laissée de ce voyage le long des côtes de l'Etrurie et de la Ligurie,

likely to occur now, than it was then. The Abbé Montgon's style is inaccurate and uninteresting; that of a man unacquainted with the beauties and rules of his own language. What strange words are *Despoticité*, *Stoicité*!

December 19.]—I read *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter*, L. i. V. 1—644; and L. ii. V. 1—68. This is all that remains of a work that contained two complete books. I read it in *Burmann's Edition of the Poeta Latini Minores*, Leyden, 1731; one of those Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum*, in which the text only peeps out amidst a heavy mass of commentary. The 700 verses of Rutilius are spread over 200 4to. pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Castalio, Pithæus, Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I should have been glad of an explanatory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be surprized at the disappointment. The author of this little poem lived under the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had been raised to the first employments. He was Consul, Præfectus Prætorii, or Governor of Rome: being a Gaul by birth, he embarked at Ostia the 9th of October 416, A. U. C. 1169*, to return to his native country. The account which he has left us of his voyage along the coasts of Etruria and Liguria is imperfect, concluding at the town of Luna. His work may be considered in relation,

* Cl. Rutilii Iter. L. i. 183. 205.

Ligurie, est imparfaite, et finit à la ville de Luna. On peut envisager cet ouvrage par rapport ; 1. Au sujet. 2. Au style et à la poésie : et 3. Au caractère personnel de l'auteur. 1. Si Rutilius avoit retranché les 180 premiers vers de son poëme, on le lui auroit pardonné. Après avoir exposé en peu de mots le sujet de son voyage, et les regrets qu'il a éprouvés en quittant Rome, le théâtre de ses honneurs, et sa nouvelle patrie, il se jette sur les éloges de la capitale, et de l'empire de cette ville éternelle, à qui Jupiter n'avoit point assigné de limites, et qui devoit regner sur tous les peuples, et sur tous les siècles. Pour remplir dignement cette idée, il falloit être grand poëte ; et Rutilius n'est qu'un froid déclamateur, qui s'épuise à chercher des lieux communs, au lieu de trouver dans la nature et dans son génie tous les grands traits de son objet. Je pense même qu'un grand poëte auroit évité celui-ci. Ce n'étoit pas sous le regne d'Honorius, qu'il falloit peindre la force de l'empire Romain. Ses forces l'avoient abandonné depuis long tems ; mais son antiquité et son étendue inspiroient une sorte de vénération, et même de terreur, à ses voisins, et le soutinrent encore. Cette illusion fut enfin dissipée. Peu à peu les barbares le connurent, le méprisèrent, et le détruisirent. La Grande Bretagne se détacha de l'empire ; les Goths, les Vandales, et les Sueves, inondèrent les plus belles provinces de l'Espagne et des Gaules ; et lorsque Rutilius écrivit, il y avoit six ans qu'Alaric s'étoit

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1. to its subject; 2. its style and poetry; 3. the personal character of its author. 1. If Rutilius had lopped off the first 180 verses of his poem, the reader would not have been a loser. After briefly mentioning the object of his voyage, and his sorrow at leaving Rome, his adopted country, and the scene of his honours, he expatiates on the glory of the capital, that eternal city, to whose empire Jupiter had not assigned any limits, and which was destined to reign over all nations, and during all ages. Such a subject required a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius is only a cold declaimer, who strains his faculties to string common-place thoughts, without finding in nature and himself colours fitted to adorn his theme. This theme indeed would not have been chosen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for describing the greatness of Rome; a greatness long since fallen to decay. A veneration, and even terror, for her name, had been supported by her antiquity and extent of empire. But the illusion was now over. The barbarians gradually knew, despised, and destroyed her. Great Britain separated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi overflowed the finest provinces of Spain and Gaul; and when Rutilius wrote,

1763. vu maître de Rome. Je conviens que notre poëte, qui voyoit tous ces malheurs, a pris la seule tournure qui lui restoit ; sans les dissimuler, il les oppose aux journées de Cannes et d'Allie, pour faire sentir que Rome n'éprouvoit jamais de revers, que pour s'en relever encore plus florissante. Comparaison foible et fausse. Tout étoit changé depuis les guerres Puniques. Du tems de Rutilius, tous les ressorts du gouvernement étoient usés ; le caractère national, la religion, les principes des loix, la discipline militaire ; tout jusqu'au siège de l'empire et à la langue même, succomboit sous le tems et les révolutions, ou n'existoit déjà plus. Il étoit difficile que cet empire se relevât, mais quand il auroit eu ce bonheur, c'étoit plutôt l'empire de Constantinople ou de Ravenne, que celui de Rome. Une chose qui auroit du faire sentir à Rutilius, combien ses éloges étoient dépourvus de vérité et de vraisemblance, c'est l'image fausse et confuse, qu'il se forme de Rome, personifiée. Du tems de Virgile, elle auroit été juste. Rome, regardée comme une déesse qu'on invoquoit dans ses temples, existoit pour les peuples aussi bien que pour les poëtes. Mère des citoyens, maîtresse des provinces, elle représentoit cet empire qui lui obéissoit. Mais lorsque l'empire n'étoit plus qu'un assemblage de pays soumis au même prince, Rome lui étoit devenue étrangère, et cette ville, réduite à son idée physique, ne représentoit plus rien

wrote, Alaric had already been for six years master of Rome. I acknowledge that our poet, who was sensible of these calamities, endeavours ingeniously to dissemble their disgrace ; comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannæ, to shew that Rome never suffered a reverse of fortune without rising more vigorous from the shock. But the comparison is feeble and false. Since the Punic wars, circumstances were totally changed. In the time of Rutilius, the springs of government were worn out ; the national character, religion, laws, military discipline, even the seat of the empire, and the language itself, had been altered or destroyed, under the impression of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire ; but even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Constantinople or Ravenna, rather than that of Rome. Rutilius might have felt how destitute his panegyric was of truth or probability, from the false and confused ideas excited by his personification of Rome. In the time of Virgil, this figure would have been natural. Rome, regarded as a goddess, and invoked in temples, had an existence in the opinion of the multitude as well as in the fancy of poets. As the mother of the citizens, and the mistress of the provinces, her name recalled the image of her empire : but when this empire consisted in the assemblage of nations, subject to the same prince, Rome was no longer its sovereign ; and this city, reduced to an idea merely physical, represented nothing more but walls, temples, and houses, built on seven hills and on the banks of the Tyber.

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rien que des murs, des temples, et des maisons bâties sur sept montagnes, et situées sur les bords du Tybre. Le reste du voyage de Rutilius, est d'un plus grand prix. Ce sont des objets plus simples, mais plus réels, qu'il a vus avec un esprit d'observation, et qu'il décrit avec cet air de vérité et de vivacité, qui distingue toujours ce qui est le résultat de notre expérience, des fruits de la lecture, de la méditation, ou de l'invention. On voyage fort à son aise avec Rutilius ; on parcourt les côtes de l'Etrurie déjà presque déserte ; on voit les ruines des villes, le coup d'œil du pays et tous les lieux que l'art, ou la nature avoient tirés de la foule. Le voyageur n'oublie point les îles du voisinage ; et là curiosité l'engage plus d'une fois à pénétrer dans l'intérieur des terres. Il égaye de tems en tems la sécheresse d'un poème didactique, par des digressions liées avec son sujet*, et qui ne l'en éloignent pas trop : le caractère des *Lepidi*, l'origine de l'usage du fer, la religion Juive, les moines Chrétiens, &c. Je le loue de n'avoir pas admis le merveilleux dans sa relation, toute sérieuse qu'elle est. En effet, il convient mal dans un poème, où l'auteur parle de lui-même. Notre imagination aime ce merveilleux, notre raison le rejette. A considérer cette foi conditionnelle que nous avons, cette illusion imparfaite qui nous domine dans les ouvrages de

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* J'en excepte l'invective contre Stilicon, L. ii. v. 41.

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fiction,

The remainder of Rutilius' voyage is stamped with a higher value. The objects which he describes have not only more simplicity, but also more reality ; and as they were observed with attention, they are painted with those colours of truth and nature, which always distinguish the result of experience from the fruit of study and invention. By a distinct and easy road he conducts us along the coast of Etruria, which was become almost a desert ; he points out the ruins of cities, the beauties of the landscape, and all those places which were distinguished either by art or nature. Our traveller forgets not the neighbouring îles ; and his curiosity leads him more than once into the interior of the country. The dryness of a didactic poem is occasionally enlivened by digressions either immediately, or not too remotely connected with the subject † ; such as the character of the *Lepidi*, the discovery of the use of iron, the Jewish religion, and the Christian monks. He is worthy of commendation for not giving to his narrative, serious as it is, too much of the marvellous ; which never becomes a poem, where the author is his own hero. The marvellous is pleasing to our fancy, but is rejected by our reason. When we consider that conditional faith and imperfect delusion with which we are affected in works of fiction,

† I except his invective against Stilico, L. ii. v. 41.

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fiction, on croiroit voir un conflit de deux puissances ennemies ; état de suspense, qui ne peut subsister que par l'éloignement, l'obscurité, ou le merveilleux des garants et des acteurs. Dèsque le poëte seroit à la fois l'un et l'autre, il nous rameneroit trop à l'ordre commun des choses, et notre illusion volontaire auroit de la peine à se soutenir.

2. L'ouvrage de Rutilius se fait lire avec plaisir. Il est intéressant et utile ; mais pourquoi écrire en vers ? C'étoit faire violence à son génie et à son sujet. La relation d'un voyage convenoit au philosophe, à l'homme d'esprit, au bon écrivain, mais elle n'a aucun rapport avec le poëte. Lorsqu'on veut traiter en vers, un sujet tout uni et tout simple, il n'est presque pas possible de conserver à la fois le ton des choses et celui de la versification. Celui-là ne demande, il ne comporte-même que la netteté, et quelques ornemens disposés avec art et ménagés avec soin. Celui-ci, qui doit supposer l'enthousiasme chez le poëte, et l'exciter chez le lecteur, ne cherche que l'énergie et l'harmonie, et leur sacrifie sans peine toutes les beautés d'un ordre inférieur. La poésie a son langage particulier. Il ne convient qu'aux grands mouvemens de l'ame. Ce n'est donc que pour eux qu'il est fait. Le poëte qui cherche à l'employer dans un sujet qui laissera l'ame tranquille et sans sensation, se trouvera placé entre deux écueils qu'il ne pourra guères éviter.

it should seem as if there was a conflict of two hostile powers, by which the mind is kept in a state of suspense, that can only be maintained by distance and obscurity, and an air of mystery hanging over either the actor or the author. When the poet unites both characters in his own person, we are disposed to examine his narrative by the maxims of experience ; and our voluntary delusion cannot, without the greatest difficulty, be supported.

2. Rutilius' voyage is read with pleasure ; it is interesting and useful ; but why was it written in verse ? Poetry seems equally to misbecome the subject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philosopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connection with verse. When we attempt to adorn with numbers a subject plain and simple, it is scarcely possible that our style should not be either unpoetical or improper. The subject requires ease, perspicuity, precision, and some ornaments introduced seasonably, and with a sparing hand. But the poet, in order to affect his reader with enthusiasm, must first feel it himself ; he must aim at energy of expression and harmony of numbers ; and be willing to sacrifice to them all beauties of an inferior order. The language of poetry suits only those strong passions of the soul, by which it was originally produced ; and he who attempts to employ this language on topics which leave the mind in tranquillity, will find himself between

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éviter. Il échouera tour à tour contre l'un et l'autre. Ici la force de son coloris, défigurera la simplicité de son objet, au lieu de l'embellir. Là le poète ne se fera sentir que par l'harmonie des vers, pendant que les expressions seront froides et profaïques. Toutes ces réflexions conviennent au voyage de Rutilius. Ses idées sont ingénieuses, placées avec art, et rendues avec clarté, avec précision, et avec goût. Mais sa poésie est lâche et traînante, sans nerfs et sans harmonie. On voit qu'il s'est défié quelquefois de lui-même, et qu'il a voulu suppléer aux dons de la nature par les ressources de l'art ; ressources faibles et usées, qu'on pardonne à peine aux grands hommes, mais qu'on a rarement besoin de leur pardonner. 1. Rutilius paroît avoir cru que les mots sonores, qui remplissoient le mieux la bouche, frappoient aussi plus agréablement l'oreille. Mais j'aurois voulu qu'il eût abandonné aux poètes Malabares, un usage qui n'est digne que d'eux. Je doute que *Bellerophontis sollicitudinibus* * soit jamais cité, que pour la singularité de deux mots qui remplissent un vers pentamètre. 2. Il se donne beaucoup de licences les plus hardies, pour des mots nouveaux, ou des liaisons extraordinaires. Il réussit rarement. Quoi de plus forcé que *connubium* pour *concilium* † ? Mais j'aime beaucoup l'épithète de *legiferi*, appliquée aux triomphes des Romains. Ils produisoient nécessairement les loix et l'ordre : c'étoit pour ainsi dire

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two rocks, on one of which he must shipwreck ; the brilliancy of his expression will either misbecome the simplicity of his thoughts, or the tameness of his words and phrases will disgrace the dignity of verse. All these reflections are applicable to Rutilius' voyage. His thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expressed with clearness, precision, and taste. But his poetry is mean and creeping, destitute of strength, and devoid of harmony. We see that he distrusts his natural vigour, and has recourse to contrivances of art ; contrivances weak and common, scarcely pardonable in great authors, and for which they seldom stand in need of pardon. 1. Rutilius seems to have thought that swelling words, which best filled the mouth, were also most pleasing to the ear. But I wish such words were resigned to Oriental poets, of whom only they are not unworthy. I doubt whether *Bellerophontis sollicitudinibus* * be ever quoted, except on account of the singularity that two words should compose a pentameter verse. 2. He is bold even to licentiousness in forming new words, or giving new combinations to the old. What can be more forced than using *connubium* for *concilium* † ? I am pleased however with this epithet *legiferi*, applied to the Roman triumphs. Laws, order, and civility

* Rutil. Iter. L. i. 450.

† Idem, L. i. 18.

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le fruit qu'ils portoient. 3. J'ai cru appercevoir quelques rimes *. Mais elles sont en trop petit nombre, pour décider si elles sont l'effet de la negligence, ou d'un mauvais goût, que la corruption de la langue et le commerce avec les barbares, qui avoient des vers rimés, introduisoient peu à peu parmi les Romains.

3. Les auteurs se peignent dans leurs écrits. C'est une maxime aussi vraie qu'elle est ancienne. On peut ajouter que lorsqu'on apperçoit des ombres dans le portrait, elles sont sûrement dans l'original. Le caractère de Rutilius me paroît aimable ; j'y vois de l'amour pour sa patrie, et surtout pour sa patrie malheureuse ; un cœur susceptible d'amitié, un souvenir tendre et respectueux pour la mémoire d'un père. Tant de belles qualités feroient-elles éclipsées par un peu de vanité ? Rutilius repasse avec plaisir toutes ses grandeurs ; et cette patrie, ces amis, et ce père lui deviennent plus chers par la liaison qu'ils ont eue avec ses honneurs. Cette vanité fait pitié. Cicéron ne se vantoit pas d'avoir été Consul, mais d'avoir sauvé la république pendant son consulat. Je pardonne plus volontiers aux hommes de s'enorgueillir de leurs talens et de leurs actions, que de tirer vanité de quelques emplois, de quelques titres, vaines et frivoles distinctions de la société. Rutilius détestoit les Juifs,

were produced by those triumphs, and were their ordinary fruits. 3. I thought that I had discovered some rhymes *, but they are too few to enable us to determine whether they ought to be ascribed to negligence, or were the effect of that bad taste, which the corruption of language and connection with the barbarians, who were fond of rhyme, gradually introduced among the Romans.

3. Authors describe themselves in their works : a maxim as true as it is ancient. We may add that the shades which appear in the picture, certainly were to be found in the original. The character of Rutilius appears to me to have been amiable. I perceive a love for his country, especially in its adversity ; a heart susceptible of friendship, and a tender and respectful regard for the memory of his father. Are so many good qualities to suffer a total eclipse from a little too much vanity ? Rutilius reviews the stages of his greatness with complacency ; his country, his friends, his father, are endeared to him by their connection with his own honours. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boasted not of being consul, but of saving the republic in his consulship. Men may be more easily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents, than for valuing themselves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous distinctions of society. Rutilius detested the Jews,

* Rutil. Iter. L. i. 39, 107, &c.

Juifs, et méprisoit les Moines. Lui en feroit on un crime ? J'aurois voulu à la vérité, que ses sentimens eussent eu un principe, et un ton plus philosophique. Mais il étoit Payen, il voyoit sa religion s'affaîsser sous le poids de la vieillesse, et entraîner l'empire dans sa chute. Les Chrétiens insultoient à la ruine de sa secte, qu'ils croyoient précipiter par leurs persécutions. On peut bien lui pardonner un peu de mauvaise humeur. Quoi de plus vif que le tableau qu'il fait des Moines de l'île *Capraria* ? Quoi de plus sensé que les réflexions dont il l'accompagne ? La folie de ces solitaires, qui pensoient que la Divinité voit avec plaisir les souffrances de ses créatures, étoit extrême ; mais leur conduite étoit conséquente. Si Rutilius avoit vécu dans le douzième siècle, qu'auroit il dit de leurs successeurs, qui avoient mis en œuvre la pauvreté volontaire et l'humilité, pour acquérir l'estime des peuples, et qui avoient profité de cette estime pour s'approprier des souverainetés temporelles, et la moitié des richesses de l'Europe ?

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Décembre 20.—J'ai lu le *Journal des Savans*, pour les mois de Janvier, Février, et Mars 1763. Je ne saurois dire combien je suis content de ce Journal ; le savoir, la précision, et le bon goût en font le caractère ; mais j'aime surtout un ton qui lui est unique, un ton de modération, d'impartialité, qui distingue avec fureté et avec plaisir les beautés d'un ouvrage, et qui en relève les défauts

and despised the monks. Was this in *him* a crime ? I could wish indeed that his feelings had been expressed with more philosophical moderation, and rested on a better principle. But he was a Pagan, who beheld his religion sinking under the weight of years, and involving the empire in its fall. The Christians insulted the decline of his sect, which they endeavoured to hasten by persecution. A little bad humour was excusable. Nothing can be more animated than his description of the monks in the isle of Capraria, or more judicious than the reflections with which it is accompanied. The folly of these monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleasure in the sufferings of his creatures : but their conduct was conformable with their principles. Had Rutilius lived in the twelfth century, what would he have said of their successors, who availed themselves of their voluntary poverty and humility, to acquire the esteem of the multitude, and of that esteem to appropriate to themselves temporal power, and half the riches of Europe ?

December 20.—I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly express how much I am delighted with this Journal ; its characteristics are erudition, precision, and taste ; but what I most admire is that impartiality and candour

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défauts avec beaucoup de sang froid, et même de tendresse. Ce Journal, le père de tous les autres, en est à présent le meilleur. Il doit même avoir nouvellement acquis des travailleurs. Je voudrois connoître celui à qui nous devons un morceau excellent, c'est l'analyse et la critique de la nouvelle tragédie de Zelmire. On ne peut souhaiter à ce Journal qu'un peu plus de hardiesse et de philosophie ; mais il est fait sous les yeux du Chancelier.

Décembre 23.]—J'ai lu deux morceaux de Virgile, très intéressans pour la géographie ; le *Catalogue de l'Armée de Turnus*, L. vii. 641—817 ; et celui des *Secours qu'Enée tira de l'Etrurie*, L. x. 163—214 ; pour les réflexions que cette lecture m'a fait naître V. No. I. de mon nouveau Recueil d'Observations.

24.]—J'ai lu dans la même vue le Catalogue de l'Armée Romaine avant la bataille de Cannes, par *Silius Italicus*, *Punic*, L. vii. 334—623. Je l'ai relu ensuite une seconde fois, plutôt pour le graver dans ma mémoire, que pour me satisfaire l'imagination. V. No. II.

25.]—J'ai lu la cinquième Satyre du premier Livre d'*Horace*. C'est son voyage de *Brundisium*. C'est toujours le poète qui m'a occupé, moins que le géographe. Ce voyage m'a fait faire quelque réflexion sur ceux des anciens en général. Je les ai rassemblées, V. No. III.

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candour which distinguish the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praise, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This Journal, the father of all the rest, is still their superior : of late it must have acquired the help of some new labourers. I should like to know the author of an excellent piece, an analysis and criticism of the new tragedy of *Zelmire*. There is nothing to be wished for in this Journal but a little more boldness and philosophy ; but it is published under the Chancellor's eye.

December 23.]—I read two detached pieces of Virgil, of great importance in geography. The first is the review of Turnus' army, L. vii. V. 641—817 : the second, an account of the succours which Eneas received from Etruria, L. x. V. 163—214. My reflections on these passages will be found in No. I. of my new Collection of Observations.

24.]—I read with the same design the review of the Roman army by Silius Italicus, before the battle of Cannæ ; *Punic*, L. vii. V. 334—623. I read it over again, rather to engrave it on my memory, than to please my fancy. See No. II.

25.]—I read the fifth Satire of the first book of *Horace*, containing his journey to Brundisium. Geography rather than poetry was my object. This satire gave occasion to some reflections on the journeys of the ancients in general, which I have collected in No. III. and from which

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et l'on peut voir avec combien peu de fondement, Addison a apprécié les journées ordinaires d'un Seigneur Romain à quatorze milles.

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Décembre 26.]—J'ai lu plusieurs *Dissertations dans le vingt sixième tome des Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, qui pouvoient avoir du rapport avec mon objet actuel.—*Mémoire sur le Mille Romain, par M. d'Anville, p. 346—362.* Ce savant le forma sur le résultat d'un grand nombre de mesures particulières, prises sur la voye Emilienne, et dans les environs de Milan, et donne au mille Romain 756 toises de longueur.—*Remarques sur quelques Points de l'ancienne Géographie, par M. de la Nauze, p. 362—397.* Il s'agit, 1. De Rome à Aricia; elle étoit certainement de 16 milles Romains de 128 stades. Si Strabon lui assigne 160 stades, il faut s'en prendre à son ignorance, ou à celle de son copiste, et nullement à un stade particulier qu'il n'a point employé dans les environs de Rome. 2. Pline se trouve d'accord avec Strabon, quand il fait la traversée de *Hydruntum*; à la côte d'Epire, de 50 milles Romains. 3. Il y avoit deux espèces de stades; l'ancien étoit de dix au mille, le moderne n'étoit que de huit. La distinction paroît nécessaire. Malheureusement elle ne fait que mettre l'incertitude à la place des difficultés. 4. Jusqu'au tems d'Auguste, on comptoit les milles depuis les portes de Rome: le milliaire 1, qu'on y trouvoit n'étoit qu'un mille

the reader will see with how little foundation Mr. Addison estimates the ordinary day's journey of a Roman nobleman at fourteen miles.

December 26.]—I read several dissertations in the *twenty-sixth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, relative to my present pursuit.—*Memoirs of Mr. D'Anville on the Roman Mile, p. 346—362.* The result is drawn by this learned man from a number of particular miles measured on the Emilian way, and in the neighbourhood of Milan. He makes the Roman mile 756 fathoms long.—*Remarks on some Points of ancient Geography, by M. de la Nauze, p. 362—397.* He treats, 1. Of the distance between Rome and Aricia: it was certainly 16 Roman miles, or 128 stadia. Though Strabo makes it 160 stadia, this must be imputed either to his ignorance, or the fault of his transcribers, and by no means to his reckoning by a particular stadium in the neighbourhood of Rome. 2. Pliny agrees with Strabo in making the distance from Hydruntum to the coast of Epirus 50 Roman miles. 3. There were two kinds of stadia; the ancient of ten, and the modern of eight, to a Roman mile. This distinction is a necessary one, but unfortunately it only substitutes uncertainty for difficulty. 4. Until the time of Augustus, the miles were reckoned from the gates of Rome; and the first mile-stone only denoted the commencement of a mile; but when that prince erected the gilt pillar in the Forum, the mile-

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Décembre 27.]—J'ai lu le *Mémoire de l'Abbé Barthélemy sur les anciens Monumens de Rome*, p. 579—611, du vingt sixième tome des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*. Il est plein de goût, d'érudition, et de bon sens, digne de ce savant aimable que j'ai beaucoup connu à Paris. J'affistai l'année passée à la rentrée de son académie après la fête de Paques. L'Abbé Barthélemy devoit lire un discours sur la langue Cophte. Nous le savions d'avance, et chacun blamoit ce choix d'un sujet épineux, qui ne paroïssoit fait que pour les assemblées particulieres. On vit avec un plaisir mêlé de surprise, combien notre Abbé le rendoit intéressant aux femmes et aux gens du monde, qui l'écoutoient, par les graces de son style, par la finesse de sa critique, et par ses principes justes et lumineux.

30.]—Il ne me restoit plus rien à lire sur l'ancienne géographie de l'Italie, sinon ce que Strabon en a écrit. J'en ai lu *L. iv. p. 139—144*, et *L. v. p. 145—157*, dans la version Latine de Xylandre, revue par Casaubon. Strabon y parcourt la Vénétie, la Gaule Cisalpine, les Alpes, la Ligurie, l'Etrurie, et l'Umbrie.

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mile-stone at the gates denoted the end of a mile; but that mile depended on the distance of the Forum from the several gates, and contained two or three miles.

December 27.]—I read the *Abbé Barthélemy's Memoir on the ancient Monuments of Rome*, in the twenty-sixth volume, p. 579—611, of the *Mémoires of the Academy of Belles Lettres*. It is replete with taste, erudition, and good sense; worthy of the amiable scholar, whom I well knew at Paris. I was present last year at the public meeting of the Academy, after the Easter holidays. The Abbé was to read a discourse on the Coptic. This was known beforehand; and every body blamed the choice of so thorny a subject, that was fitter to be discussed at the Academy's private meetings. But our pleasure was heightened by surprise, when we perceived the Abbé rendered his subject interesting to his audience of people of fashion and women, by the beauties of his style, the delicacy of his criticisms, and his principles of reasoning as perspicuous as they were solid.

30.]—There remained for me nothing to read concerning the ancient geography of Italy, except the books of Strabo on that subject. I read *L. iv. p. 139—144*, and *L. v. p. 145—157*, in Xylander's Latin translation revised by Casaubon. Strabo there treats of Venetia, Cisalpine Gaul, the Alps, Liguria, Etruria, and Umbria.

December

Décembre 31.]—J'ai lu *Strabon Géograph. L. iv. p. 157—173, et L. vi. 174—199*; en sautant seulement la partie qui regarde la Sicile. J'ai toujours admiré la variété des connoissances et le grand sens de Strabon. L'antiquité nous a laissé des ouvrages plus brillans, mais je n'en connois aucun de plus utile et de plus instructif.

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1764, Janvier 1.]—J'ai commencé pendant le mois de Janvier les *Fastes d'Ovide*, dans l'édition du Dauphin. Comme je veux faire succéder à la géographie, les médailles et les antiquités, ce poëme didactique, qui renferme toute la mythologie Romaine, m'a paru une bonne introduction à l'une et à l'autre de ces études. Comme ouvrage de poésie, il n'a point soutenu l'idée avantageuse, que les éloges des anciens et des modernes m'en avoient donnée; mais ce n'est pas ici que je dois m'expliquer là-dessus. L'édition est de Daniel Crispin, Suisse de nation, attaché à la personne du Dauphin. Que l'évêque Huet a eu raison de se plaindre du choix qu'on fit des sujets, pour exécuter l'idée heureuse de M. de Montausier! Cette édition est assez belle, bien imprimée, et corrigée avec soin. Le libraire a fort bien exécuté sa tâche; mais que de choses à reprendre dans celle de l'éditeur! Les notes sont au-dessous de la critique. Elles ne serviroient qu'à un écolier, encore pourroient-elles l'égarer souvent, tant elles sont mal faites. Il ne leur manquoit que le ridicule d'un cortège de morale, et même de théologie à la

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December 31.]—I read *Strabo's Geography, L. iv. p. 157—173, and L. vi. p. 174—199*; having skipped over that part which relates to Sicily. I have always been an admirer of Strabo's good sense, and variety of knowledge. Antiquity has left us more brilliant performances than his; but I know of none more solid and more useful.

1764, January 1.]—In the month of January I began to read *Ovid's Fasti*, in the Dauphin edition. Purposing to add the study of medals and antiquities to that of geography, I thought this didactic poem, containing the whole Roman mythology, would be a good introduction to those pursuits. As a poem, this work by no means corresponds to the favourable opinion which I had conceived of it, from the commendations of ancient and modern critics; but this is not the place for considering it in that light. The edition is that of Crispin, a Swiss, in the service of the Dauphin. Bishop Huet had good reason to complain of negligence in selecting competent persons for executing Mr. Montausier's excellent design. This edition is handsome, well printed, and carefully corrected. The bookseller has done his part well; but this is far from being the case with the editor. His notes are below criticism. They are fit only for a school-boy, who would often be bewildered by their absurdity. To render them completely ridiculous, they wanted only a copious apparatus of morality, and even of theology, as a fit appendage

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la fuite d'un poëte libertin et Payen. Leur auteur a eu grand soin de le leur donner de tems en tems. L'interprétation auroit pu être utile, en substituant des mots communs à des mots peu connus, et des tours simples à des tours poëtiques. L'interprétation de Crispin est à la fois prosaïque et ampoulée, aussi peu propre à faire comprendre les beautés d'Ovide, qu'à rendre son sens littéral. On a déjà remarqué que ces indices énormes, qui font un quart des éditions Dauphines, devoient servir à dévoiler les finesses et les tours particuliers à une langue, ou à un auteur, et non pas à compter combien de fois il a employé *et* ou *que* dans leur signification simple et usitée. M. Crispin a mis à la tête des Fastes un calendrier ancien. Il avoue qu'il ne répond pas à celui d'Ovide, mais il n'avoit pas le tems de les concilier. Tout dérouté un lecteur de cette édition, jusqu'à l'usage de numérotter les vers par page, au lieu de le faire par livre; ce qui empêche de vérifier la moindre citation.

J'ai lu quatre tomes de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, le *xxxvi*, *xxxvii*, *xxxviii*, et *xxxix*. Comme je n'ai plus entre les mains le *trente sixième* tome, et qu'il ne m'en est même resté qu'une idée assez confuse, je ne parlerai que d'une pièce originale qui m'a beaucoup plu. C'est une *Dissertation savante et curieuse contre le Prétendu Martyre de la Légion Thébéenne*. Il fait valoir avec beaucoup de force le silence des contemporains, et les défauts de
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pendage to the poem of a Pagan and a libertine. The author has taken care to supply that defect. His explanation might have been useful, had he substituted common for uncommon words; and simple for poetical phrases. But Crispin's interpretation is at once swollen and prosaic; equally unfit for displaying Ovid's beauties, and for making his meaning understood. It has been justly remarked, that those enormous indices, which commonly make a fourth part of the Dauphin editions, ought to have been employed in pointing out the delicacies and idioms of the language or author, and not in enumerating how many times he uses *et* and *que* in their common signification. Mr. Crispin has prefixed an ancient calendar to the Fasti: he confesses that it does not agree with Ovid's; he had not time to reconcile them. Every thing disgusts us in this edition, even to the mode of reference; which is to the page, and not to the book; which prevents the possibility of verifying the quotations.

I read four volumes of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*; the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th. Not having the 36th at hand, and retaining but a confused notion of its contents, I shall only speak of one article with which I was highly pleased. This is a learned and curious *Dissertation concerning the pretended Martyrdom of the Theban Legion*. The author insists with great force on the improbability of the fact, and the silence of contemporary writers. He investigates the origin of a fable, so useful to the church

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vraisemblance dans l'histoire même. Il cherche l'origine d'une fable qui a été si utile à l'église de St. Maurice, en Valais, et la suit jusqu'au tems d'Eucher, évêque de Lyon, qui a vécu un siècle et demi après Diocletien, et qui l'a racontée le premier, sur une tradition vague et obscure. Il paroît qu'un officier et quelques légionnaires avoient souffert le martyre vers ce tems là en Syrie, mais qu'en passant en Occident, ils étoient devenus une légion entière, composée uniquement de Chrétiens.

Le trente septième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contient : *Lettre sur le Genre de Nourriture des premiers Hommes* : c'est une question aussi oisive qu'elle est vague et obscure. Je ne vois point de nécessité de leur faire quitter les végétaux de si bonne heure. La terre a dû être peuplée avec lenteur par les hommes et les animaux ; pendant long tems elle fournissoit à toutes les races différentes, une nourriture abondante, sans qu'elles fussent obligées de se dévorer mutuellement. A la fin les animaux étoient devenus à charge à l'homme, qu'ils menaçoient d'affamer. Mais il a fallu un danger pressant, pour l'engager à surmonter l'horreur naturelle, que le meurtre et le carnage nous inspirent. Ne donnera-t-on que quatre ou cinq siècles à toutes ces révolutions ?—*Description de l'Orient, par M. Pococke ; savante et curieuse ; premier et deuxième Extrait.* On voit dans la Thébaïde les maisons des premiers hommes, creusées dans le roc. La magnificence perfectionna les ouvrages de la nécessité. Mais l'art des Egyptiens n'avoit aucun rapport

church of St. Maurice in the Valley, and traces it back to Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, who lived a century and a half after Diocletian, and who first related it on the authority of a vague and obscure report. It appears that some legionary soldiers with their officer had, about that time, suffered martyrdom in Syria. But Fame, in bringing this transaction to the West, magnified them into a complete legion entirely composed of Christians.

The 37th volume contains a *Letter* concerning the food of the first men. The question is as idle as it is vague and obscure. I do not see the necessity of making them leave off vegetables so soon. The earth must have been slowly peopled with men and animals; and for a long time must have supplied all living tribes with such abundant nourishment as precluded the necessity of devouring each other. At length, animals became formidable to man, who was in danger of starving. But nothing short of urgent danger could overcome his natural repugnance to the shedding of blood. Are five or six generations sufficient for producing all these revolutions ?—*Description of the East, by Mr. Pococke: learned and curious.* The houses of the first inhabitants of Egypt are still to be seen in the Thebaid, in the hollows of rocks. Magnificence improved the works of necessity. The arts of the Egyptians bore no relation

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port à celui des Grecs. L'un, asservi aux proportions, avoit l'air libre et hardi; l'autre, abandonné au caprice des ouvriers, paroïssoit extravagant plutôt qu'original.—*Commerce Epistolaire de MM. Leibnitz et Jean Bernouilli.* C'est un plaisir d'étudier ces deux gémes puissans, de voir la force et la profondeur de l'un, la variété, l'étendue, et la pénétration de l'autre.—*Histoire de la nouvelle France, par le Père Charlevoix*: bien écrite, curieuse, et infidèle.—*Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos.* Louis XI. nous intéresse très peu; son siècle nous intéresse beaucoup. Aussi M. Duclos a-t-il négligé le siècle pour n'envisager que le prince.—*Les Géorgiques de Virgile, en Anglais, par M. Martin*: utiles pour connoître la botanique de Virgile.

Le trente huitième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée contient: *Mélange Harleien, tome iii.* J'y vois le procès de Nicolas Antoine, brulé à Genève en 1632, non point pour avoir inventé une hérésie nouvelle, mais pour avoir préféré le Judaïsme au Christianisme. C'est le pendant de l'Histoire de Servet.—*Description de l'Islande, &c. par M. Anderson.* Quel pays et quelles mœurs; ses habitants cependant, n'y renoncent qu'avec la vie.—*La Nécessité du Culte Public, par M. de la Chapelle, contre une Lettre anonyme.* L'antagoniste de M. de la Chapelle est un ministre dans le Pays de Vaud, nommé Allamand, et un des plus beaux génies que je connoisse. Il a voulu embrasser tous les genres; mais c'est la philosophie qu'il a le plus approfondie. Sur toutes les ques-
tions

relation to those of Greece. The latter, harmonised by proportions, were bold and liberal; the former, enslaved by caprice, were extravagant rather than original.—*Epistolary Correspondence between Leibnitz and John Bernouilli.* It is a pleasure to contemplate these two vigorous minds: the force and depth of the one; the variety, extent, and penetration of the other.—*The History of New France, by Father Charlevoix*: well written, curious, and unfaithful.—*History of Lewis XI. by Mr. Duclos.* Lewis XI. is an uninteresting object; his age quite the reverse. But Mr. Duclos has shewn us only the prince, and neglected the history of his age. *Virgil's Georgicks, translated into English by Martyn*: useful for its knowledge of the plants mentioned by Virgil.

The 38th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains the *Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii.* We meet with the *Process of Nicholas Antony, burnt at Geneva in 1632*, not for inventing a new heresy, but for preferring the Jewish religion to the Christian. It forms the counterpart to the history of Servetus.—*Description of Iceland, by Mr. Anderson.* The country and the manners of its inhabitants are equally strange: Death only can make them quit this wretched island.—*The Necessity of Public Worship, by Mr. de la Chapelle, in answer to an anonymous Letter.* Mr. Chapelle's adversary is a minister in the Pais de Vaud, of the name of Allamand,

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tions il s'est fait des systèmes, ou du moins des argumens toujours originaux et toujours ingénieux. Ses idées sont fines et lumineuses, son expression heureuse et facile. On lui reproche avec raison trop de raffinement et de subtilité dans l'esprit ; trop de fierté, trop d'ambition, et trop de violence, dans le caractère. Cet homme, qui auroit pû éclairer ou troubler une nation, vit et mourut dans l'obscurité. Il est singulier, qu'il n'ait presque rien écrit, que deux petits ouvrages de commande.—*Voyage en Egypte, par le Sieur Granger* : hardi, mais très superficiel. Les canaux des anciens rois portoient les eaux du Nil, et l'abondance dans tous les cantons de l'Egypte. Les Turcs ne les entretiennent point. Le pays a perdu sa fertilité, et le Sieur Granger donne le démenti à toute l'antiquité, qui dit qu'il la possédoit autrefois.—*Poème de Pierre d'Ebato, sur les Troubles de la Sicile, sous l'Empereur Henry VI. tiré de la Bibliothèque de Berne, par M. Eugel* : il est assez curieux. Dans les siècles barbares la poésie tient lieu d'histoire. Aussi en a-t-elle l'exaétitude.—*Lettres d'un François, oui : sur les Anglois, non.* Le pauvre Abbé le Blanc !

Le trente neuvième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contient : *Lettre d'un Bibliothécaire de Genève, sur une Bulle singulière de Clement VI.* Singulière en effet. C'est une permission, accordée l'an 1354, à tous les confesseurs de tous les rois de France, de dispenser le prince des sermens qu'il ne pourroit tenir sans quelque incommo-
dité.

mand, and never did I know a man of finer genius. His mind embraced all kinds of learning, but philosophy was his principal study. On all questions, he had contrived systems, at least arguments, equally new and ingenious. His ideas were refined and perspicuous; his expression natural and happy. He was justly reproached with too much subtlety of thought, with pride, ambition, and excessive warmth of temper. This man, qualified to enlighten or disturb a nation, lived and died in obscurity. He left nothing in writing, excepting a few short performances in answer to questions put to him.—*Travels into Egypt, by Mr. Granger* : bold, but superficial. The canals of the ancient kings carried the waters of the Nile and fertility into all the provinces of Egypt. These canals are not kept in repair by the Turks. The country has lost its fruitfulness; and Mr. Granger gives the lie to all ancient writers, who declare that it formerly was fruitful.—*A Poem of Peter Ebato, on the Troubles of Sicily in the Reign of the Emperor Henry VI.* published from the library of Bern by Mr. Eugel. The work is curious: poetry is the history of barbarous ages; and has then all the circumstantial minuteness which history requires.—“*Letters of a Frenchman,*” true; *on the English,*” false. Poor Abbé le Blanc!

The 39th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains a letter of the librarian of Geneva, on a singular bull of Clement VI. Singular indeed!

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dité. Le bibliothécaire fait des réflexions et des recherches, qui répandent beaucoup de lumière sur l'authenticité, le caractère, l'objet, et le style de cette bulle. La lettre est écrite avec goût et modération.—*Amintor et Théodora, par M. Mallet.* Si mon ami a jamais une gloire poétique, c'est cet ouvrage qui la lui donnera. M. Maty avoit fourni cet extrait dont Mallet fut si content, qu'il rechercha aussitôt son amitié. C'est une anecdote que je tiens de tous les deux.—*Voyage de la Gothie Occidentale, par M. Linnaeus; et celui de la Sibérie, par M. Gmelin:* ces deux expéditions, la dernière surtout, qui a ouvert un monde inconnu, font bien l'éloge des souverains du Nord.—*Œuvres de Virgile, avec les Commentaires de N. Heinsius et de Pierre Burman:* c'est la meilleure édition de Virgile et de Servius, comme elle est la dernière.—*Poësies de M. de Haller, traduites de l'Allemand.* Une imagination riche, une énergie de style, et un ton de philosophie, dont il a trouvé à propos de se défaire.—*Théorie des Sentimens agréables, par M. de Pouilly.* L'unité et la variété font les sources de nos plaisirs. L'idée me paroît juste; mais elle n'est point ni assez neuve, ni assez précise pour en faire un livre. J'ai lu aussi les *Lettres de Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, qui viennent de paroître. C'est la relation d'un voyage où elle suivit son mari ambassadeur à Constantinople. Elles font

deed! This bull is a permission, granted in 1354, to all the confessors of all the kings of France, to grant dispensations to their sovereigns from the obligation of oaths which it might be inconvenient for them to observe. The librarian's reflections and researches throw much light on the authenticity, the character, the object, and the style of this bull. This letter is written with moderation and taste.—*Amintor and Theodora, by Mr. Mallet.* If my friend should ever attain poetic fame, it will be acquired by this work. Mr. Maty furnished the extract, which pleased Mallet so much that he requested his friendship. This anecdote I learned from both parties.—*Travels into Western Gothland, by Mr. Linnaeus; and into Siberia, by Mr. Gmelin.* These two works, the latter especially, which opens to us an unknown world, do much honour to the sovereigns of the North.—*The Works of Virgil, with the Commentaries of Heinsius and Peter Burman.* As this is the latest, so it is the best edition of Virgil and Servius.—*Haller's Poems, translated from the German;* distinguished by a rich imagination, energy of style, and an air of philosophy, which he has thought fit to lay aside.—*Theory of agreeable Sentiments, by M. de Pouilly.* Unity and variety are the sources of our pleasures. The idea seems to be just; but it has not enough either of novelty or precision to deserve being expanded into a book. I read also *Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters*, just published. They contain an account of a journey in which she accompanied her husband in his embassy to Constantinople; and are lively and entertaining. I am most pleased with what she says concerning those inner apartments into which men are not allowed to penetrate. She

font assez légères et amusantes. Ce que j'aime le mieux, c'est ce qu'elle dit de l'intérieur des maisons, où jamais homme n'a pénétré. Elle veut que les femmes Turques aient beaucoup de liberté, et qu'elles sortent seules à pied et voilées, tant qu'elles veulent, sous le prétexte d'aller au bain ou à la mosquée. Les Turcs n'épousent qu'une femme; si quelques uns se servent de la permission d'avoir des esclaves concubines, le public les regarde comme des libertins, et leurs femmes n'habitent point avec eux. Elle avoit étudié la langue Turque, et paroît faire beaucoup de cas et de leur musique, et de leur poésie. On s'aperçoit à peine que les mœurs, les usages, ou le génie des Grecs, aient changé depuis le tems d'Homere.

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Fevrier 1.]—J'ai lu *les Fastes d'Ovide, L. iv. p. 599—610*. La fête de Palilia (très distinguée de celle de la fondation, quoiqu'elles tombassent l'une et l'autre le même jour, 21 Avril) paroît l'occuper beaucoup. Que l'esprit humain est extravagant! Purger un peuple! et le purger encore avec le sang d'un cheval, la gousse d'une fève, et les cendres des entrailles d'un veau tué dans le ventre de sa mère, et consumé sur l'autel de Vesta! Ovide disculpe fort bien le fondateur de la ville, du crime de fratricide. Rémus ne fut tué qu'en conséquence d'un ordre général, et très sage, que son frère avoit donné, et que ce prince viola sans le savoir. Si Romulus parut indifférent à sa mort, c'est qu'en législateur il vouloit profiter d'un accident malheureux, pour donner à ses loix un

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She maintains that the Turkish women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and walk out alone veiled, as often as they please, on pretence of going to the bath or the mosque. The Turks marry only one wife: and though some use the permission of concubinage with slaves, they are regarded as libertines, and forsaken by their wives. She studied the Turkish language; and speaks in high terms of the Turkish music and poetry. The manners, customs, and genius of the Greeks seem to have undergone little change since the days of Homer.

February 1.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, L. iv. p. 599—610*. The festival of Palilia is an object of much attention; it is different from that of the foundation of Rome, though both happened on the same day, the 21st of April. To what extravagances is not the human mind liable? Purify a nation! and that too with the blood of a horse, the husk of a bean, and the ashes of the bowels of a calf killed in the belly of its mother, and burnt on the altar of Vesta. Ovid clearly justifies the founder of Rome from the guilt of killing his brother. Remus was put to death in consequence of a wife law made by his brother, and which this prince unintentionally violated. If Romulus did not shew grief for his death, this was to maintain

1764. un caractère sacré et inviolable, qui leur étoit très nécessaire dans une république naissante.

Fevrier 2.]—J'ai lu *les Fastes d'Ovide*, L. v. p. 610—620. Tout ce qu'il raconte des différentes étymologies du mois de Mai, est curieux et bien dit. J'y distingue sans peine une allégorie Orientale, une fable Grecque, et une tradition Romaine. L'idée de faire sortir les dieux du chaos, et de placer la *Majesté* sur le trône de l'Olympe, pour y former la hiérarchie céleste, est d'une extravagance sublime. Le tableau des Muses est bien frappé ; mais pourquoi ne pas se souvenir que des déesses infallibles doivent toujours être du même sentiment ?

9.]—J'ai lu *les Fastes d'Ovide*, L. v. p. 620—630. Il raconte l'origine des jeux Floraux, de la façon la moins déshonorante pour sa religion. En effet il est difficile qu'un peuple ait dressé des autels à une courtisane. C'est assez qu'on ait fait danser des filles nues, en l'honneur d'une déesse à laquelle on croyoit déjà. Il est vrai que toutes les cérémonies ne respiroient que la débauche ; mais la saison des fleurs a toujours inspiré des idées libertines, à des peuples et à des hommes qui ignoroient très sûrement l'histoire de la courtisane *Flora*. Pourquoi chercher dans la fable, ce qu'il faut puiser dans la nature ?

J'ai

maintain the inviolable sanctity of his laws, a thing necessary in his infant kingdom.

February 2.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti*, L. v. p. 610—620. His account of the different etymologies of the month of May is curious, and well expressed. We may distinguish in it an Oriental allegory, a Greek fable, and a Roman tradition. The issuing of the gods from chaos, and the majesty of Olympus arranging the celestial hierarchy, is sublimely extravagant. The picture of the Muses is well delineated ; but Ovid should have remembered that these infallible divinities were always of one mind.

9.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti*, L. v. p. 620—630. He explains the origin of the Floral games in a manner less dishonourable for his religion. It is not credible that any people should have erected altars to a harlot. It was enough for them to celebrate the festival of a goddess, in whom they already believed, by the dances of naked girls. All the ceremonies of this goddess favoured of debauchery ; but the season productive of flowers too naturally inspires those with licentious sentiments who have never heard of the courtesan *Flora*. Why have recourse to fable for what may be found in nature ?

I read

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J'ai lu *les Fastes d'Ovide*, L. v. p. 630—643. Tout s'annoblit sous le pinceau du poète. Neuf fèves noires qu'on jette derrière soi, ne font pas un tableau bien relevé. Cependant Ovide a su leur donner un air de solennité, et même de sublime. Il se sert surtout de ce coloris foible et incertain qui rend les objets plus terribles en ne les montrant qu'à demi et d'une façon confuse ; le silence et les ténèbres de la nuit, et l'ombre qui nous suit à pas légers, mais qu'on ne peut se retourner pour voir : tous ces traits me paroissent de ce genre qui a été si bien indiqué par M. Burke*. Le temple de Mars Ultor a dû être magnifique. Le culte des Payens avoit au moins plus de justesse que celui des Catholiques. Mars le Vengeur punit les meurtriers d'un grand guerrier, son descendant. C'est bien plus naturel qu'un apôtre, ou qu'un hermite qui se mêle de faire donner la victoire dans une guerre, où encore il ne fera question que d'intérêts politiques.

Fevrier 6.]—Je suis entré à la bibliothèque pour consulter l'article *Flora* du Dictionnaire de Bayle. Lactance n'a que trop imité les pères de son siècle. Les jeux Floraux, fondés l'an 514, célébrés de tems en tems, devenus annuels en 580, par un arrêt du sénat, et payés de l'argent des amendes, ressembloient peu à la disposition testamentaire d'une courtisane.

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Fevrier

I read *Ovid's Fasti*, L. v. p. 630—643. The poet's genius ennobles every object; even nine black beans thrown behind the back, to which he gives an air of solemnity, and even of sublimity. He chiefly employs that doubtful and faint colouring which renders objects more terrible, by shewing them partially and confusedly; silence, obscurity, the shadow which follows us with light steps, and which we dare not look behind us to see; all these touches belong to that kind of sublimity which is well pointed out by Mr. Burke*. The temple of Jupiter the avenger must have been magnificent. The worship of the Pagans had at least more consistency than that of the Catholics. Mars the avenger punishes the murderers of a great warrior, his descendant. This is more natural than the interference of an apostle or hermit in wars and victories; and wars often undertaken merely for worldly interests.

February 6.]—I went to the library to consult the article *Flora* in Bayle's Dictionary. Lactantius too well imitates the fathers of his age. The Floral games, founded A. U. C. 514, first celebrated occasionally, afterwards rendered annual in 580, by an order of the senate, and their expence defrayed by money levied on fines; all this has not any resemblance to the testamentary arrangement of a courtesan.

* Upon the sublime and beautiful.

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Fevrier 7.]—J'ai lu *les Fastes d'Ovide*, L. vi. p. 648—687; la fin de ce livre, et de la partie de l'ouvrage que le tems a épargné. Les six autres livres qui achevoient l'année et le calendrier Romain, ne subsistent plus. Le début du sixième livre est très beau; la dispute des trois déesses n'en vaut que mieux, pour être empruntée de celle de Paris, et du Mont Ida. La harangue de Junon est aussi un peu moulée sur celle du premier livre de l'Énéide; mais l'aimable Hébé s'exprime avec des graces qui n'appartiennent qu'au poète.

8.]—J'ai lu *une petite brochure de trente huit pages, par Jean Jacques Rousseau*: c'est un extrait des argumens de Platon contre la poésie imitative, et surtout contre le théâtre. Ils devoient plaire au citoyen de Genève; mais comment a-t-il pu adopter ce tissu de sophismes métaphysiques? Toute la première partie, qui roule sur le plus de justesse de l'imitation, est d'une fausseté et d'une foiblesse qui m'a étonné. Vers la fin, ses raisonnemens deviennent un peu plus spécieux. Je conviens que le théâtre, et surtout le théâtre d'Athènes, a quelquefois peint ses héros trop foibles et trop sensibles à leurs malheurs, mais aussi il faut accorder quelque chose à l'humanité, qui gémit en secret, ou qui dépose ses ennuis dans le sein d'un ami. Les spectateurs sont les confidens du poète, mais il ne le font pas du personnage.

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February 7.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti*, L. vi. p. 648—687, the conclusion of the book, and of all that part of the work which has come down to us. The six other books, which completed the Roman calendar, have perished. The beginning of the sixth book is beautiful. The dispute of the three goddesses is more pleasing, because borrowed from that of Paris and Mount Ida. Juno's speech is also cast in the same mould with that in the first book of the *Éneid*; but the amiable Hebe expresses herself with those graces that are peculiar to Ovid.

8.]—I read a little pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, by John James Rousseau. It contains an abstract of Plato's arguments against imitative poetry, especially the drama. I was astonished at the weakness and fallaciousness of the whole first part, which treats of the imperfection of imitation. Towards the conclusion, his reasonings are more specious. I acknowledge that the theatre, and especially that of Athens, sometimes paints its heroes too weak and too much alive to their misfortunes. But some indulgence must be granted to humanity, which groans in secret, or pours its grief into the bosom of a friend. The spectators are indeed confidants of the poet, but not of his characters.

February

Fevrier 9.]—En attendant la suite de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, j'ai lu l'excellent *Traité sur le Choix et la Méthode des Études*, par l'Abbé Fleury; à Paris 1753, in 12mo. pp. 364. Tout y respire l'amour de la vérité et de la vertu, joint à cette raison juste et lumineuse, à ce bon sens perfectionné, qui est bien plus rare que l'esprit, et presque autant que le génie. L'auteur étoit Catholique et Prêtre; mais ce défaut ne se fait sentir qu'à ceux qui ne le sont pas. Il commence par l'histoire des études, dont il fait un beau tableau. Les Grecs seuls ont eu un système d'éducation philosophique et nationale. La vertu et la justesse d'esprit des Romains, leur ont tenu lieu de cette théorie exacte. Les études des barbares du Nord, étoient aussi barbares qu'eux. Aux siècles d'ignorance ont succédé ceux d'une science prétendue de la philosophie d'Aristote, les Arabes, et les Scholastiques. Les humanistes du quinzième siècle ont rappelé la connoissance des anciens. De toutes ces méthodes il s'est formé un cahos d'études, qui regne dans nos collèges, mais qui est sans système, sans ordre, et sans utilité. L'Abbé Fleury, qui veut toujours ramener les sciences du ciel à la terre, lui substitue un plan court, mais raisonné, le soin de l'ame et du corps avec la connoissance des loix et des affaires économiques. Un François a raison de compter l'histoire et la politique, parmi les études qui ne sont que curieuses pour un particulier. Le citoyen d'un état libre les regarderoit comme nécessaires. L'Abbé

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Fleury

February 9.]—While I waited for the sequel of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, I read an excellent work on *the Method and Choice of our Studies*, by the Abbé Fleury; Paris, 1753, in 12mo. pp. 364. The whole breathes a spirit of truth and virtue, together with that clearness and strength of reason, and that superior good sense, which is more uncommon than wit, and almost as rare as genius. The author was a Roman Catholic and a priest; but this fault is perceived by those only who are neither the one nor the other. He begins by the history of education in different countries, of which he gives us a beautiful picture. That of the Greeks alone was philosophical and national. The want of education among the Romans was supplied by virtue and natural good sense. The studies of the barbarians of the North were as barbarous as themselves. To ages of ignorance succeeded those of the pretended philosophy of Aristotle, the Arabs and scholastics. The humanists of the fifteenth century revived the knowledge of the ancients. From all these united, is composed that chaos of learning taught in our universities and colleges, alike destitute of system, order, and utility. The Abbé Fleury, who wishes to bring down science from the heavens to the earth, proposes a plan equally short and reasonable, the care of the body and the mind, and the knowledge of œconomy and laws. A Frenchman justly reckons history and politics among those studies which are rather curious than useful. The citizen

of

1764. Fleury a ajouté à ce traité un discours sur Platon. Il méprise beaucoup sa physique et sa métaphysique ; mais il fait les plus grands éloges de la logique, de la morale, du style, et de la méthode de ce philosophe.

Fevrier 10.]—J'ai relu avec soin les six livres des *Fastes d'Ovide*. Les réflexions auxquelles cette lecture a donné lieu, se trouvent rassemblées dans mon Recueil d'Observations, No. IV.

11.]—J'ai commencé un charmant petit ouvrage, sur les médailles anciennes, par M. Addison—*Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals*, dans le troisième tome de ses Oeuvres, à Londres, 1746 : j'en ai lu p. 1—113. Il cherche les différentes espèces d'utilités qu'on peut trouver dans l'étude des médailles ; il s'arrête au rapport frappant entre plusieurs de leurs revers, et les descriptions des poètes Latins. Dans cette vue il parcourt deux suites de médailles ; l'une des êtres allégoriques, et l'autre des symboles énigmatiques. Chacune lui fournit une vingtaine d'exemples. Les passages parallèles des poètes sont choisis avec goût, et les réflexions de l'auteur sont remplies d'esprit et de sagacité. Personne n'avoit retiré plus de fruit de l'étude des Belles Lettres que M. Addison. Ses ouvrages ont beaucoup contribué à former la langue et la littérature Angloise.

12.]—J'ai achevé l'ouvrage d'Addison. *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals*, p. 113—167. Les planches des médailles en occupent encore 68. La troisième

of a free country regards them as indispensable. To this treatise the Abbé Fleury has added a *Discourse on Plato*. He despises both his physics and metaphysics ; but sets the highest value on his logic, morals, style, and method.

February 10.]—I read over with care the six books of *Ovid's Fasts* ; and have written the reflections, which occurred to me in the perusal, in my Collection of Observations, No. IV.

11.]—I began to read Mr. Addison's charming little *Treatise on ancient Medals*, in the third volume of his Works, London, 1746. I read p. 1—113. He considers the different advantages that may be derived from the study of medals ; and dwells on the striking connection between their reverses and the descriptions of Latin poets. In this view, he examines two serieses of medals ; the one containing allegorical personages, and the other enigmatic symbols. Each class furnishes him with twenty examples. The passages of the poets are selected with taste ; and the author's reflections are replete with judgment and sagacity. No man ever benefited more than Mr. Addison by the study of the Belles Lettres. His works have much contributed to improve the English language and literature.

12.]—I finished Addison's work, *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of ancient Medals* ; p. 113—167 : besides which, the plates take up sixty-eight pages.

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isième suite d'exemples est tirée des représentations des pays sur les médailles. Elle est curieuse. M. Addison employe un troisième entretien à faire le parallèle un peu flatté des anciennes médailles avec les modernes. Ce auteur débute fort bien, les caractères des personnages sont bien marqués; tout y respire une conversation d'amis libres, polis, et savants; mais il auroit tout aussi bien pu donner aux deux derniers entretiens le nom de lettres, d'essais que de dialogues. L'épître de Pope est digne de lui; mais cette inscription de la médaille imaginaire de Craggs, inscription en six grands vers, auroit été peu goûtée par Addison*. On ne fait pas l'éloge d'un ouvrage didactique, en négligeant le plus important de ses préceptes.

J'ai commencé le bel ouvrage de M. Spanheim, de *Præstantia et Usu Numismatum*, en deux Volumes in 4to. Amsterdam, 1671. Ce n'est pas la meilleure édition; mais je m'en sers en attendant celle de Londres de 1708, que je fais venir de Genève. J'ai lu *Préface et la Dissertation I. p. 1—49*; sur la beauté et les agrémens de la science numismatique; et *la Dissertation II. p. 49—68*, sur les secours que les grammairiens y trouvent pour déterminer le caractère et l'orthographe des langues de l'antiquité. J'ai achevé quelques réflexions sur les *Fastes d'Ovide*, V. No. IV. de mon Recueil d'Observations.

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pages. The third series of examples contains the representation of countries on medals: it is curious. Mr. Addison has a third dialogue, in which the parallel is drawn between ancient and modern medals; rather flattering for the ancients. In the third dialogue, the author sets out well; his characters are well marked; and the whole has the air of a free conversation among polite and learned friends: but the two following dialogues might as well have been called letters or essays. Pope's epistle is worthy of himself; but the inscription on his imaginary medal of Craggs, filling six verses, would not have been relished by Addison*. It is a bad compliment to a didactic work, to violate, in commending it, the most important precept which it contains.

I began Spanheim's noble work *de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum*, in two volumes, 4to. Amsterdam. This is not the best edition; but I make use of it till I receive that of London, 1708, from Geneva. I read the *Præface and Dissertation I. p. 1—49*, on the beauty and entertainment of medallic knowledge; and *Dissertation II. p. 49—68*, on the assistance which it may afford to grammarians in ascertaining the letters and orthography, of ancient languages. I finished some reflections on *Ovid's Fasti*. See my Collection of Observations, No. IV.

* V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.

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Fevrier 13.]—J'ai écrit quelques remarques sur les êtres allégoriques des médailles, *V. No. V. de mon Recueil.*

J'ai lu *Spanheim de Ufu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 68—93.* C'est une suite de ses observations grammaticales. Elles sont curieuses, mais un peu sèches. Spanheim oublie un peu sa politesse pour relancer Trifan. Il est vrai que sa méprise étoit des plus lourdes.

J'ai achevé le quarantième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* : j'y trouve *Traité sur le Sénat Romain, par le Docteur Middleton.* La question sur la méthode d'entrer dans ce corps, me paroît des plus simples. Les rois, les consuls, et les censeurs y nommoient : mais comme ils y mettoient toujours les questeurs, leur pouvoir diminuoit, à mesure qu'ils se multiplioient, et il se trouva réduit à une pure formalité, lorsqu'ils furent devenus assez nombreux pour recruter le sénat tous seuls. *Histoire de la Suède, par M. Dalin, en Suédois.* Ce pays est nouveau ; il y a deux mille ans que les montagnes de la Suède, et encore plus celles du Dannemarck, ne formoient qu'un archipel de petites îles entrecoupées de canaux et de détroits. La mer s'est retirée, et se retire tous les jours dans la proportion d'environ cinquante pouces par siècle. On croit même que l'océan, beaucoup plus étendu dans le commencement de l'empire Romain, s'étoit ouvert une communication avec la mer Caspienne. Cette circonstance,

February 13.]—I wrote some remarks concerning the allegorical personages on medals. See my Collection, No. V.

I read *Spanheim, de Ufu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 68—93.* It contains the sequel of his grammatical observations. They are curious, but rather dry. Spanheim forgets his politeness in refuting Trifan. The latter's mistake indeed was a most absurd one.

I finished the fortieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Dr. Middleton's Treatise on the Roman Senate.* The question concerning the mode of entering into the Roman senate appears to me capable of an easy answer. The nomination belonged successively to the kings, consuls, and censors. But as they always named the questors, their right of naming gradually became of less value as the questors became more numerous, and was reduced to a mere formality, when their number became sufficient to supply that of the senate.—*History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish.* This is a new country. Two thousand years ago the mountains of Sweden, as well as those of Denmark, stood in an archipelago of little islands intersected by canals and straits. The sea retired, and still continues to retire, the space of fifty inches, each century. It is thought also that the ocean, which covered a far greater surface to-

wards

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stance, et un climat moins rigoureux alors, rendoit les émigrations des Scythes beaucoup plus faciles. La colonie la plus célèbre y passa vers l'an 100, sous la conduite d'Odin, Scythe des bords du Tanais. Ce législateur du Nord s'établit à Upsal, le siège de la religion et de l'empire. Ses successeurs, rois, pontifes, maîtres d'un beau pays, et respectés des autres rois de la nation, y regnerent jusqu'en 870; sa race ne s'éteignit en Norvège qu'en 1060.

Fevrier 15.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 93—112*. C'est un peu trop une déclamation sur la morale et la politique des médailles, assez ennuyeuse, quoique l'auteur y ait enchaîné tous les termes numismatiques. Pourquoi justifier la lâcheté du sénat qui détruisoit, autant qu'il pouvoit, le seul frein qui restoit encore à ses tyrans? Ils les louoient (dit-on) pour leur tracer la route de la vertu et de la gloire. Cette excuse étoit bonne la première année de Domitien, mais elle ne valoit rien la quinzième. Et puis quels éloges nouveaux avoient-ils pour Trajan?

16.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 112—122, et Dissert. III. p. 122—166*. Les lumières que les représentations des animaux sur les médailles peuvent fournir à l'histoire naturelle, y sont étalées

wards the beginning of the Roman empire, opened a communication with the Caspian Sea. This circumstance, and a climate milder than the present, facilitated the emigrations of the Scythians. Their most celebrated colony travelled to the North in the year of J. C. 100, under the conduct of Odin, a Scythian from the banks of the Tanais. This legislator of the North resided at Upsal, the seat of his religion and empire. His successors, both kings and priests, were masters of a fine country, and respected by the other kings of the nation. They reigned at Upsal till A. C. 870. Their family was not extinct in Normandy till 1060.

February 15.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 93—112*: and found it a tiresome declamation on the morality and policy to be learned from medals; in which the author has contrived to introduce all the technical medallie terms. Why does he justify the senate for removing the only check that remained on the tyranny of the emperors? They praised them, he says, to shew to them the road of virtue and glory. This excuse was good in the first year of Domitian's reign; but was good for nothing in the fifteenth. Besides, what new praise was kept in reserve for Trajan?

16.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p. 112—122*. He describes the advantages which natural history may derive from

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étalées. J'y ai vu avec plaisir la preuve de ce que j'avois avancé dans *mon Essai*, sur les spectacles du Cirque et de l'Amphithéâtre.

J'ai achevé le *quarante et unième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Voyage de Mons. Anson, premier et deuxième Extrait*. Je connois peu de livres aussi amusans ; mais le portrait du chef est bien flatté. Cet homme, élevé ensuite aux premières places, n'a point soutenu le fardeau de sa renommée. Il ne lui est resté que celui de choisir et d'employer le mérite. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, Keppel, sont du nombre de ses élèves.—*Traité sur les Miracles, par M. le Moine* : un pareil ouvrage affoiblit la religion qu'il veut appuyer. Nous sommes bien faits pour appercevoir l'étendue de la puissance de la nature, et des anges ! Connoissons-nous seulement celle de nos semblables ?—*Les Mœurs*. On ne peut plus accuser les ennemis de la révélation, de n'être pas les amis de la religion naturelle. Le pauvre Touffaint fait à présent la Gazette de Bruxelles. Quel emploi pour un philosophe !—*Ouvrage de Pénélope, ou Machiavel en Medecine, par M. de la Metrie* : c'est une satire mordante, ingénieuse, et savante ; contre la faculté de Paris, et surtout Astruc, Sylva, Chirac, et Winslow.

Fevrier 17.]—Matinée perdue. J'ai cependant trouvé moyen de lire *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert.*

from medals. I saw with pleasure the proof of what I had said in my Essay on the subjects of the Circus and Amphitheatre.

I finished the forty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Anson's Voyage, first and second Extract*. I know few books that are more amusing ; but the hero is painted in too flattering colours. When afterwards raised to the first employments of state, he was unable to support the weight of his renown. One praise indeed belongs to him, that of choosing and employing merit. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, and Keppel are among those whom he brought forward and educated.—*Mr. le Moine's Treatise on Miracles*. Such a work tends to injure the cause of religion which it endeavours to support. How ill qualified are we to ascertain the powers of nature, and of angels ! Do we know the extent of those belonging to our fellow-creatures ?—*Morals*. The enemies of Revelation can no longer be accused of hostility to natural religion. Poor Touffaint is now the editor of the Brussels Gazette. Strange employment for a philosopher !—*Penelope's Web, or Machiavel Physician, by Mr. de la Metrie* : a severe, ingenious, and learned satire against the faculty in Paris, particularly Astruc, Sylva, Chirac, and Winslow.

February 17.]—This morning was lost, except that I found time to read *Spanheim de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p. 166—196.*

He

sert. III. p. 166—196: c'est une suite du même sujet; 1764.
des panthères, des serpens, et des dauphins. L'article
des serpens surtout, les ministres des oracles, et les
génies tutélaires, est curieux.

Fevrier 18.]—Ce soir j'ai lu un conte en vers, que
Voltaire vient de faire, et qu'on m'a prêté. *Ce qui plaît
aux dames*; c'est l'autorité. L'idée est empruntée de *la
Femme de Bath, de Pope*. Le conte est d'ailleurs un peu
diffus, et les vers n'ont point cette légèreté, et ce natu-
rel qui est si essentiel. On m'a prêté en même tems
l'Eloge du Duc de Sully, par M. Thomas: pièce qui a
remporté le prix de l'académie Françoisé.

19.]—Au lieu de continuer Spanheim, j'ai repris mon
Recueil Géographique sur l'Italie, qu'il faut expédier.
J'en ai écrit deux pages et demie sur l'Etrurie.

J'ai achevé *l'Eloge du Duc de Sully*. M. Thomas est
un grand orateur. Quelle force dans la pensée! quelle
rapidité dans le style! Il a l'ame d'un citoyen, l'esprit
d'un philosophe, et le pinceau d'un grand peintre. C'est
Démosthène, mais Démosthène qui a sacrifié aux graces.
On y trouve, avec toute la pompe de l'éloquence, la
précision des détails, qui ne sont jamais petits, quand
ils sont bien choisis, et bien rendus; et la fidélité histo-
rique qui ne peut qu'embellir l'éloge de tout homme qui
en

He continues the same subject: panthers, serpents, dolphins. The part
respecting serpents, those ministers of oracles, and tutelary genii, is
particularly curious.

February 18.]—In the evening I read a tale in verse, which was
lent to me, just published by Voltaire. *What most pleases women?* Com-
mand. The design is borrowed from Pope's *Wife of Bath*. The nar-
rative is rather diffuse, and the verses have not that natural ease and
briskness which is an essential requisite. I borrowed at the same time
the *Panegyric of the Duke of Sully*, by Mr. Thomas; a performance which
gained the prize proposed by the French Academy.

19.]—Instead of continuing Spanheim, I resumed my *Geographical
Collection on Italy*, which I wish to put out of hand. I wrote two pages
and an half of it, on Etruria.

I finished *Sully's Panegyric*. Mr. Thomas is a great orator. What
strength of thought, what rapidity of style! He has the soul of a ci-
tizen, the sense of a philosopher, and the pencil of a great painter.
His manner is that of Demosthenes, but of Demosthenes who has sac-
rificed to the graces. United with the pomp of eloquence, we find an
accurate detail of particulars, which are never minute when they are
well chosen and well expressed; and that historical truth which always
embellishes the panegyric of every man entitled to public praise. The
parallel of Sully with Colbert is not drawn with flattery, scarcely with
equity,

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en mérite un. Le parallèle de Colbert et de Sully, bien loin d'être flateur pour son héros, ne lui est pas équitable. On compare trop les difficultés que ces deux ministres ont eu à surmonter. Faut-il comparer les horreurs de la ligue, quarante ans de guerres civiles, le fanatisme et l'indépendance maîtres de tous les esprits et 800 millions de dettes, avec les caprices de la Fronde, quelques concussions de Mazarin, et une nation sans chef, sans principes de révolte, et lassée des désordres domestiques. M. Thomas ne se souvient pas toujours que l'éloge est un genre mitoyen entre l'histoire et l'oraison funèbre ; peut-être même que son style fort, sublime et nourri des images les plus justes et les plus hardies, auroit pu se passer de la comparaison, de l'apostrophe, et de toutes les figures, qui ne conviennent parfaitement qu'à la poésie. Je suis sûr qu'il auroit mieux fait de ne point faire contraster les opérations de Sully avec celles de la sagesse éternelle. C'est un sublime toujours faux, qui ne peut que ravalier les deux objets de la comparaison.

Fevrier 20.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie *du Recueil Géographique*, sur le Tybre et les rivières qui s'y jettent.

J'ai achevé le *quarante deuxième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. A ne considérer que le *Voyage de la Baye d'Hudson, par M. Ellis*, on ne peut douter de l'existence du passage tant recherché du Nord Ouest. En tout cas
la

equity, towards the former. Mr. Thomas dwells too long on the comparison of the difficulties which these two ministers had respectively to encounter. The horrors of the league, forty years of civil war, enthusiasm and independence in the public mind, and eight hundred millions of debt : these were difficulties incomparably greater than the caprices of the Fronde, some extortions on the part of Cardinal Mazarine, a nation destitute of either principles or leaders of rebellion, and long weary of domestic disturbances. Mr. Thomas does not always remember that a panegyric ought to hold the middle place between a history and a funeral oration. Perhaps the strength and sublimity of his style, replete with images as bold as they are natural, might have enabled him to dispense with comparisons, apostrophes, and all those figures, which more properly belong to poetry. I am certain he would have done well to omit his comparison of Sully's operations with those of eternal wisdom ; a species of false sublime which can only tend to degrade both the compared objects.

February 20.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection* on the Tiber, and the rivers which flow into it.

I finished the forty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. If we consider only *Mr. Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, the existence of a north-west passage will appear very doubtful. Be that as it may, the Company will always endeavour to prevent its discovery.—*An Essay, by Mr.*

la compagnie en empêchera toujours la découverte.—*Essai sur la Marine des Anciens, par M. Deslandes.* Jamais les anciens n'ont connu que les trirèmes, ou les vaisseaux de guerre à trois ponts, chaque pont garni de rames de longueurs différentes. Les quadrirèmes, &c. n'étoient que des ponts supérieurs garnis de machines, mais sans rames.—*Exposition des Découvertes de Newton, par M. Maclaurin*: ouvrage admiré de tous les mathématiciens. J'espère y ajouter un jour un suffrage éclairé.—*Rélation d'un Voyage au Pérou, par M. Bouguer.* Les Cordilières forment la chaîne de montagnes la plus haute de la terre. Le sommet du Chimboraco est élevé de 3217 toises, au dessus de la mer; et à 2400 toises la neige ne fond plus. Le province de Quito est un valon des Cordilières, et cependant ses habitans sont les plus élevés qu'on connoisse. Les monumens qui subsistent encore, ne permettent point de douter sur la grandeur des Incas. On voit encore les traces de la chaussée de 400 lieues de Cusco à Quito.—*Mélange Harleien, tome vi.* On y trouve la suite d'une pièce, où regne la bonne philosophie. De l'axiome que l'Etre Eternel se suffit à lui-même, on déduit une religion sans superstition, sans contradictions, et sans peines éternelles.—*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par M. Otter*: curieux, mais bien sec.—*La Vie heureuse, par M. de la Metrie*: c'est un fou, qui empoisonne en riant.—*Remarques sur le Dictionnaire de*

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Mr. Deslandes, on the Marine of the Ancients. The ancients never made use of any but trireme gallies, that is, vessels with three tire of oars of different lengths. The quadriremes, &c. had decks above these bars of oars, provided with machines of war; but they had only three tire of oars.—*Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries.* A work admired by all mathematicians. I hope to be able at some future time to bestow on it enlightened approbation.—*Narrative of a Voyage to Peru, by Mr. Bouguer.* The Cordilleras form the highest chain of mountains in the world. The top of Chimboraco is 3217 fathoms above the sea: at the height of 2400 the snow never melts. The province of Quito, though a valley in the Cordilleras, is the highest inhabited country known. Subsisting monuments still attest the former greatness of the Incas. We yet behold the vestiges of the causeway extending 400 leagues from Cusco to Quito.—*The Harleian Miscellany, Vol. vi.* contains the sequel of a work distinguished by the spirit of sound philosophy. From the axiom that the Eternal Being is all-sufficient in himself, a religion is deduced, free from superstition, contradictions, and eternal punishments.—*Travels in Turkey and Persia, by Mr. Otter*: curious, but dry.—*The happy Life, by Mr. de la Metrie*: the work of a fool, whose laughter

1764. *de Bayle.* La superstition intolérante est encore plus dangereuse que l'impieété.

Fevrier 24.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du *Recueil Géographique sur l'Ombrie*. Je commence à mettre dans le détail de chaque région, un ordre qui me fera très utile.

25.]—J'ai achevé le *quarante troisième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Leibnizii Protogea*: ouvrage posthume d'un grand homme, sur la structure primitive de la terre. Tout étoit cahos. Un incendie fondit la masse, et les matières différentes acquirent leur degré de solidité, depuis la vitrification des pierres précieuses jusqu'à la fluidité des eaux, à proportion du tems qu'elles ont mis à se refroidir.—*Histoire du Statbouderat, et celle du Parlement d'Angleterre, par l'Abbé Raynal*. Ses portraits sont remplis de très jolies antithèses.—*Histoire de Jovien, par l'Abbé de la Bleterie, avec la Traduction de quelques Ouvrages de Julien*. Quelle littérature, quel goût, et quelle élégance! J'ajoute, et quelle modération! Julien étoit Payen, et l'Abbé ne hait que les Jésuites.—*L'Esprit des Loix*. Qu'en dire ici?—*Le Roi Patriote*. Milord Bolingbroke avoit de la force et de l'élévation dans l'esprit, mais il est petit philosophe.—*Recherches libres sur les Miracles, par le Docteur Middleton*. Cet homme avoit bien de la netteté et de la pénétra-

laughter is poisonous.—*Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary*. Intolerant superstition is more dangerous than impiety.

February 24.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, on the subject of Umbria. I begin to put the materials in order, belonging to each region of Italy, which will be of much use to me.

25.]—I finished the forty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Leibnizii Protogea*: a posthumous work of this great man, on the original structure of the earth. Chaos first reigned; a conflagration melted the mass; and different substances acquired different degrees of hardness from fluid water to vitrified gems, in proportion to the time they were in cooling.—*The History of the Office of Stadholder, and of the Parliament of England, by the Abbé Raynal*. The pictures which he draws are filled with pretty antitheses.—*The History of Jovian, and the Translation of some Works of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie*: admirable, in point of erudition, taste, elegance, and I will add, moderation. Julian was a Pagan, but the Abbé hates only the Jesuits.—*The Spirit of Laws*. What occasion was there to speak of it here?—*Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King*. This lord had strength and elevation of mind; but he was a sorry philosopher.—*Middleton's Free Inquiry into the Miracles*,

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pénétration. Il voyoit bien jusqu'où l'on pouvoit pousser les conséquences de ses principes, mais il ne lui convenoit pas de les tirer.

Fevrier 26.]—J'ai écrit trois pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre du *Samnium*. J'ai achevé le *pays des Sabins*, et une partie de celui des *Marfes*.

27.]—J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre du *Samnium*, sur le lac *Fucinus*, le pays des *Equi*, et celui des *Peligni*.

J'ai aussi lu mon *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p. 196—245*. Il y est question des animaux fabuleux, du sphinx, de l'hydre, des syrènes, des oiseaux Stymphalides, du phœnix, &c. On voit cependant que l'esprit des Grecs, tout romanesque qu'il étoit, a moins inventé qu'il n'a embelli. Le sphinx n'étoit dans l'origine qu'une guenon d'Éthiopie, dont les habitans de la Thébàide firent le symbole du mystère, et qu'ils plaçoient aux portes de leurs temples.

28.]—Je n'ai lu de *Spanheim* que *Dissert. III. p. 245—253*. Il y est question des animaux monstrueux et hiéroglyphiques, dont les noms sont inconnus.

J'ai achevé le quarante quatrième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y ai trouvé *Histoire des Papes, par Bower; premier et deuxième Extrait*. Les commencemens de Rome Chrétienne, sont pour le moins aussi obscurs et fabuleux

Miracles, &c. This man was endowed with penetration and accuracy. He saw where his principles led; but he did not think proper to draw the consequences.

February 26.]—I wrote three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the subject of *Samnium*. I have now finished the country of the Sabines, and a part of the territories of the Marfi.

27.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter *Samnium* in my *Geographical Collection*, describing the lake *Fucinus*, and the countries of the *Equi* and *Peligni*.

I also read *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p. 196—245*. He treats of fabulous animals, the sphinx, hydra, firenres, the birds of Stymphalus, the phœnix, &c. We may perceive that the genius of the Greeks, romantic as it was, employed itself rather in embellishment than invention. The sphinx was originally an Ethiopian ape, whom the inhabitants of Thebais chose for the symbol of mystery, and placed at the gates of their temples.

28.]—I read in *Spanheim* only *Dissert. III. p. 245—253*. He treats of monsters and hieroglyphics, whose names are unknown.

I finished the forty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Bower's Lives of the Popes, first and second Extrait*. The beginnings

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fabuleux que ceux de Rome Payenne. On a reproché à l'auteur d'avoir fait une compilation partielle et indigeste des Papes. C'est un fripon démasqué, qui a joui pendant vingt ans de la faveur publique, pour avoir quitté une secte à laquelle il tenoit encore, et pour avoir été conseiller de l'inquisition dans la ville de *Macerata*, où il n'y a point d'inquisition.—*Voix libre d'un Citoyen*. Quand un roi Polonois écrit sur la constitution de sa patrie, on est surpris de ne voir que les lieux communs d'un rhéteur, et les visions impraticables d'un spéculatif de cabinet.—*Traité sur les Systèmes, par l'Abbé de Condillac*. Il est très finement pensé ; mais l'Abbé de Condillac confond quelquefois les vérités de théorie, qui peuvent découler de quelques principes généraux, et les arts pratiques, qui demandent encore les talens, l'expérience, &c. et dont quelques uns par leur nature sont beaucoup plus incertains.—*L'Asiatique Tolérant*. Des vérités importantes et communes, exprimées avec beaucoup de hardiesse.—*L'Art de faire éclore les Poulets, &c. par M. de Réaumur*. Celui-ci est sûr et facile. Cet homme me feroit aimer l'histoire naturelle. Quel instinct que celui du Poulet, qui travaille pendant une demi-journée à l'ouvrage difficile de sa propre naissance ! —*Essai de Philosophie Morale, par M. de Maupertuis* : non ; tu ne me feras pas haïr la vie.

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nings of Christian Rome are at least as obscure and fabulous as those of the Pagan. The author is reproached with making a partial and indigested compilation of papal biography. He is a rogue unmasked, who enjoyed, for twenty years, the favour of the public, because he had quitted a sect to which he still secretly adhered ; and because he had been a counsellor of the inquisition in the town of *Macerata*, where an inquisition never existed.—*The free Voice of a Citizen*. When a king of Poland writes on the constitution of his country, we should not expect to find the trite topics of a rhetorician, or the speculative dreams of a pedant.—*A Treatise on Systems, by the Abbé Condillac* : judicious, and abounding with fine thoughts ; but the Abbé sometimes confounds theory and truths flowing from a few general principles, with those practical arts which require talents and experience, and which from their nature are liable to great uncertainty.—*The Toleration of the Asiatics* ; truths common and important, expressed with much boldness.—*The Art of hatching Eggs, &c. by Mr. Réaumur*. That proposed is sure and easy. This author will make me in love with natural history. How extraordinary an instinct is that of the chicken, which employs itself half a day in the difficult work of its own birth !—*Essay on Moral Philosophy, by Mr. Maupertuis*. No ; you are not able to make me hate life.

The

Eloge de M. de Schultens. Ce savant a trop préféré les Hébreux aux Arabes. 1764.

Mars 1.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 253—265.* Des animaux il passe aux plantes, et surtout au lotus, dont les Egyptiens couronnoient souvent sur les médailles leurs rois, leurs dieux, et leurs animaux sacrés.

2.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 265—310.* Il est toujours question des plantes, qui sont représentées sur les médailles.

J'ai achevé le quarante cinquième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Négociations du Chevalier Edmond, publiées par le Docteur Birch*; curieuses pour le caractère, les dernières années, et la mort d'Elizabeth.—*Mémoires de Brandebourg*. Ils sont bien écrits; mais ceux de l'auteur, que je les attends avec impatience!—*Traité sur la Glace, par M. de Mairan*: profond et judicieux. J'avois senti aussi bien que le journaliste, qu'il ne faut pas multiplier les êtres, et que le feu mis en mouvement suffit sans la matière subtile.—*Histoire Naturelle, par M. de Buffon, premier tome*. Le grand peintre, et le génie original! Le journaliste veut soutenir le déluge. Mais quel aveu, que les coquillages ne se trouvent sur les montagnes que jusqu'à la hauteur de 600 pieds.—*Recueil de Pièces d'Eloquence de l'Académie Française*: vox et præterea nihil.—*Histoire de la Suède, par M. Dalin, en Suédois, tome deuxième*. La superstition et

The Eloge of Mr. Schultens. This learned man preferred the Jews too much to the Arabians.

March 1.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 253—265.* From animals, he proceeds to plants, and particularly the lotus, with which the Egyptian medals often crown their kings, gods, and sacred animals.

2.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 265—310.* He still treats of the plants represented on medals.

I finished the forty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Edmond's Negotiations*, published by *Dr. Birch*: curious, in as far as it relates to the character, last years, and the death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Memoirs of Brandenburg*. They are well written; but the memoirs of the author himself—how impatiently do I expect them!—*Treatise on Ice, by Mr. Mairan*: judicious and profound. I perceived, as well as the journal-writer, that causes ought not to be multiplied without necessity; and that fire set in motion is sufficient without the subtle matter.—*Natural History, by Mr. Buffon*: a great painter, and an original genius. The reviewer endeavours to defend the deluge; but confesses that shells are found in the mountains only at the elevation of six hundred feet.—*A Collection of Pieces of Eloquence of the French Academy*: vox et præterea nihil.—*The History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish, Vol.*

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et la puissance du clergé furent portées par les Suédois au plus haut point. Cette nation, en se convertissant, prit le système entier, et devint Chrétienne à la mode du douzième siècle. Elle n'avoit point de traditions anciennes à réclamer. Son histoire ne lui fournissoit aucun argument contre le système Romain, et son ignorance l'empêchoit de les chercher dans celles des autres peuples, dans la raison, et dans l'écriture.—*Parèllele des Marbres de Paros avec les Chroniques Egyptiennes.* C'est une pièce originale. Je vois que l'auteur (*l'Abbé Richer du Boucher*) méprise ces marbres; et qu'il a beaucoup étudié Manéthon. Toutes ses découvertes viennent à un système général qu'il ne révèle point. Je ne saurois en espérer beaucoup.

Mars 3.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 310—340; et Dissert. V. p. 340—344.* Il finit l'article des plantes. J'en suis charmé. Elles n'ont qu'une liaison indirecte avec les médailles. D'ailleurs Spanheim n'étoit point botaniste, et je n'ai pas envie de le devenir. J'ai achevé ce qui doit être la partie la moins intéressante de l'ouvrage. La deuxième dissertation est sèche, quoique utile: mais je réduirois à dix pages toutes les déclamations de morale et de politique, et je ne conserverois des deux dernières, que quelques faits choisis et débarassés de tout attirail étranger.

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Vol. ii. Superstition and clerical power reached the highest pitch in Sweden. At the time of their conversion, the Swedes adopted the whole papal system, and became Christians after the fashion of the twelfth century. They could not plead the authority of any ancient traditions; their history furnished them not with any argument against the Roman faith, and their ignorance hindered them from seeking such arguments in the history of other nations, in reason, or in scripture.—*Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles with the Egyptian Chronicles.* I perceive that the author, the Abbé Richer du Boucher, has a great contempt for these marbles; and that he is deep in Manetho. All his discoveries are connected with a general system of chronology, which he does not explain. I do not expect much from it.

March 3.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 310—340; and Dissert. V. p. 340—344.* He concludes the article of plants; I am glad of it; they are but little connected with medals: Spanheim was not a botanist, nor do I wish to become one. I have now finished the most interesting part of his work. The second dissertation is dry, but useful: his declamations on morals and politics might be reduced to ten pages; and from the two last dissertations I would select only a few facts, cleared from all circumstances foreign to the subject.

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Mars 4.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p. 344—373*. Il y a une grande érudition, et des détails très curieux sur les cornes dont on ornoit la tête d'Ammon, de Junon, de Bacchus, des Fleuves, d'Alexandre, et de ses successeurs.

5.]—J'ai parcouru le *Nouvel Arétin*. Une crasse ignorance, une bouffonnerie de corps de garde, et des discours impertinents, qui n'ont pas même le mérite de la nouveauté, distinguent ce mauvais ouvrage, qu'on rejetteroit sur le champ, ne fût-il qu'écrit contre la religion avec une licence effrénée.

6.]—J'ai achevé le quarante sixième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Le Suétone d'Oudendorp*. L'édition me paroît bonne. Mais pourquoi en faire une après celle de Grævius ? Pourquoi omettre les excellens commentaires de Torrentius et de Casaubon ?—*Mémoires de la Reine Christine* : curieux, et d'un travail immense.—*Mémoires de l'Académie de Petersbourg*. Toutes les institutions en Russie doivent être bien entendues. On a pu les jeter tout d'une fonte, dans un tems qu'elles étoient déjà perfectionnées chez ses voisins.—*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, par M. de Chaufepié*. J'y trouve le savoir et l'exactitude de Bayle, mais où est sa philosophie et son génie ?

Mars 9.]—J'ai écrit trois pages et demie de mon *Recueil Géographique*. J'ai achevé le chapitre du *Samnium*, par un précis assez détaillé sur les Samnites et sur le Du-

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March 4.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p. 344—373*. This part is replete with erudition, and enters into many curious particulars concerning the horns which adorn the head of Ammon, Juno, Bacchus, Rivers, Alexander, and his successors.

5.]—I glanced over the *New Aretin*. Gross ignorance, blackguard buffoonery, and impertinent reasonings, which have not even the merit of novelty, disgrace this wretched performance, which would be thrown by with disgust, did it not attack religion with the most shocking indecency.

6.]—I finished the forty-sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Suetonius*, by *Oudendorp*. The edition is good, but unnecessary after that of Grævius. Why are the excellent commentaries of Torrentius and Casaubon omitted ?—*Memoirs of Queen Christina*: a curious work, and of immense industry.—*Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburg*. All the institutions of the Russians ought to be well contrived, and skilfully proportioned. They may be made at one cast, from models highly improved among their neighbours.—*A New Historical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. Chaufepié*: the learning and accuracy of Bayle, without his philosophy and genius.

9.]—I wrote three pages and an half of my *Geographical Collection*. I have now finished the chapter on *Samnium*, by a complete abridgment of

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ché de *Beneventum*. J'a aussi commencé le chapitre de l'*Apulie*, dont j'ai fait la première division, le pays des *Hirpini*.

Mars 10.]—J'ai écrit près de quatre pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*. C'est tout le reste du chapitre de l'*Apulie*. Il y a un article assez étendu sur *Tarente*.

J'ai achevé le quarante septième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Mémoires Critiques sur les Suisses*, par M. de Bochat : vaine et futile science des étymologies !—*Nouveau Testament de Wetstein*. Le MS. Alexandrin paroît avoir été écrit en Egypte, vers la fin du cinquième siècle.—*Lettres sur les Jubilés*, par M. le Chais : savantes et philosophiques.—*La Monogamie*, par M. de Prémontval. Pourquoi intéresser la religion dans une question de calcul et de convenance ?—*Défense du Christianisme*, par le Docteur Stebbing. Il se bat bien, mais il embrasse trop de terrain ; il faudroit abandonner au moins les ouvrages extérieurs.—*Défense de Moïse contre Appien*, par l'Abbé Richer du Bouchet. Il répand toujours sur son système chronologique, une obscurité mystérieuse. Je n'ose décider, mais je le crois un peu visionnaire, parceque : 1. Il parle des dynasties Egyptiennes comme il pourroit faire de la cour de Louis XIV. Il étale trop de confiance et de certitude dans un sujet qui ne permet que la vraisemblance, et les conjectures. 2. Quand il veut chercher la clef du fragment historique de Manéthon,

of what concerns the *Sammites* and the Duchy of *Beneventum*. I have also begun the chapter on *Apulia* ; and finished the first division, viz. the territory of the *Hirpini*.

March 10.]—I wrote nearly four pages of my *Geographical Collection* ; containing the remainder of *Apulia*. There is a pretty extensive article on *Tarentum*.

I finished the forty-seventh volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Critical Memoirs on the Swiss*, by Mr. Bochat ; turning on the vain and futile science of etymology.—*Wetstein's New Testament*. The Alexandrian manuscript appears to have been written in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century.—*Letters on Jubilees*, by Mr. le Chais : learned and philosophical.—*Monogamy*, by Mr. Prémontval. Why should religion be introduced into a question depending on calculation and circumstances ?—*Defence of Christianity*, by Dr. Stebbing. He is a good polemic, but embraces too wide a field ; the outermost works should be relinquished.—*Moses defended against Appian*, by the Abbé Richer du Bouchet. He still throws an air of mystery over his chronological system. I speak not decidedly, but to me he appears a little of a visionary. 1. He speaks of the Egyptian dynasties as he would of the court of Lewis XIV ; shewing too much confidence and certainty on a subject, which admits only of probability and conjecture. 2. When he investigates the key to Manetho's historical fragment, he quits the road of criticism, but gives us

Manéthon, il rejette la critique, et laisse entrevoir que ce dénouement ne peut se trouver que dans l'analyse géométrique. Cet homme n'est-il pas un peu fou? 3. Esau et Osiris! Je vois que c'est le fondement de son système. Qu'il me seroit facile de le renverser! Jamais princes (si Osiris en étoit un) n'ont eu moins de rapport.

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Mars 11.]—J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*. Elles comprennent presque toute la *Lucanie* propre.

12.]—J'ai écrit deux pages, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*. Elles comprennent le reste de la *Lucanie* propre, et une partie de *Brutium*.

13.]—Je n'ai écrit que trois quarts de page, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*; c'est la continuation du *Brutium*.

14.]—J'ai lu un ouvrage nouveau de Voltaire. *Traité sur la Tolérance*. Le but ne peut qu'être louable: réveiller, rappeler dans tous les cœurs les sentimens de l'humanité, et développer les suites affreuses de la superstition; mais dans l'exécution, ce n'est qu'un petit recueil de lieux communs, où l'auteur parle de tout, plutôt que des grands principes de son sujet. J'aime beaucoup ses conclusions fausses et contradictoires sur l'histoire ancienne. L'histoire ancienne (dit-il) est remplie de prodiges: ils ne fauroient être vrais. Donc tout y est fable et conjecture *. L'histoire ancienne est remplie de

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prodiges;

to understand that this knot can be unravelled only by geometrical analysis. Does not this favour of madness? 3. Esau and Osiris! Their fameness, I see, is the foundation of his system. How easily might it be refuted! No two princes, if Osiris was really a prince, had ever less resemblance.

March 11.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter on *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection*; comprehending almost the whole of *Lucania* properly so called.

12.]—I wrote two pages on the chapter of *Lucania*, comprehending the rest of proper *Lucania* and a part of *Brutium*.

13.]—I wrote only three quarters of a page of my chapter on *Lucania*, being a continuation of *Brutium*.

14.]—I read a new work by Voltaire; *Treatise on Toleration*. The end is commendable; to awaken in the soul the feelings of humanity, and display the dreadful consequences of superstition. But in point of execution this work is a trifling collection of common-place remarks, in which the author expatiates rather on every other topic than the great principles belonging to his subject. I am diverted with his false and contradictory conclusions concerning ancient history. This history, he says, is filled with prodigies. They cannot be true; therefore ancient history consists merely of fables and conjectures *. Again, this history is filled with prodigies: we are obliged to believe them; therefore the

* *Traité sur la Tolérance*, C. ix. N. c. p. 71—75.

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prodiges ; on ne peut que les adopter. Donc les hommes et la nature même n'avoient dans ces tems reculés, rien de commun avec nous *. Voltaire révoque en doute les débauches infames de Tibère dans l'isle de Caprée. Cependant Tacite et Suétone étoient presque contemporains de ce prince. Je n'apperçois aucune trace de haine dans leurs écrits. Ils le justifient souvent ; ils distinguent avec autant de bonne foi que de pénétration, les époques différentes de la dissimulation, des cruautés et des débauches publiques de cet empereur. On connoît le débordement affreux de ce tems ; faut-il s'étonner qu'un monarque qui pouvoit assouvir toutes ses passions avec impunité, ne leur refusât rien, surtout lorsque la retraite l'eut affranchi de l'observation du public, le seul frein qui puisse retenir un despote ? Pour ces débauches recherchées, qui étonnent M. de Voltaire, c'est précisément dans un vieillard de soixante et dix ans, que je les trouve vraisemblables †.

Mars 15.]—J'ai achevé le quarante huitième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Découvertes d'Herculaneum, par le Marquis Venuti*. C'est à la profondeur de 73 pieds, sous plusieurs couches successives de terre et de pierre vitrifiée, qu'on a trouvé cette ancienne ville qui auroit mérité des observateurs plus exacts et plus fidèles. Herculaneum n'étoit qu'une ville obscure. Elle avoit cependant un théâtre à trois étages qui avoit 300 pieds

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principles of nature, as well as of men, were quite different then from what they are at present *. He calls in question the infamous debaucheries of Tiberius in the island of Capreae. Yet Tacitus and Suetonius were almost the contemporaries of that prince. I perceive not any marks of hatred in their works. They often justify Tiberius, and distinguish with as much penetration as honesty the different stages of the dissimulation, cruelty, and public debaucheries of that emperor. The abominable licentiousness of those times is well known ; and it is not matter of surprize that Tiberius should refuse nothing to his appetites, when he had the unbounded power of gratifying them with impunity, especially when they were concealed by his retirement from the public eye, which is the only restraint on the behaviour of a despot. As for those refinements in debauchery which astonish Voltaire, it is precisely in an old profligate of seventy that I should expect to meet with them. †

March 15.]—I finished the forty-eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the *Discoveries made at Herculaneum, by the Marquis Venuti*. This ancient city, which deserved to be examined more accurately and faithfully, was found at the depth of seventy-three feet under many successive beds of earth and vitrified stone. Herculaneum

* Traité sur la Tolérance, C. xii. p. 127—129.

† Le même, C. viii. p. 62—63.

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de circonférence, et qui étoit posé sur des pilastres de briques, couverts d'un beau vernis, et ornés de corniches de marbre.—*Lettres sur les Jubilé.* Il est difficile de distinguer avec les théologiens entre la coulpe et la peine. Dans l'église des Feuillans à Paris, on peut gagner dans un Carême pour plus de 150,000 ans d'indulgences.—*Essai sur l'Esprit.* Cet ouvrage de l'éveque de Clogher est un Arianisme métaphysique.—*Dissertation sur la Chronologie d'Usserius.* Encore l'Abbé Richer! le personnage est fou. Quel emportement contre les Juifs et les Protestans sur une question de critique! Il rejette la chronologie des Hebreux, parcequ'elle est sortie de l'école de Tiberiade, et qu'un évêque protestant l'a fait valoir.

Mars 16.]—J'ai écrit une page de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Lucanie*; c'est la suite du *Brutium*.

17.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du chapitre de la *Lucanie, sur la Grande Grèce.* Après quoi je suis monté à la bibliothèque, pour lire les savantes recherches de Freret, sur les premières peuplades de l'Italie; *Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tome xviii. p. 72—114.*

18.]—J'ai écrit une page de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre des *Nations de l'Italie*, sur les premières peuplades de ce pays.

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was but an obscure place; yet it was adorned by a theatre three hundred feet in circumference, raised on brick pilasters, covered with a beautiful varnish, and ornamented with cornices of marble.—*Letters on Jubilees.* It is difficult to distinguish with theologians between the defilement of sin and its punishment. In the church of the Feuillans at Paris, indulgences may be procured, in the space of one Lent, for 150,000 years. *Essay on Spirit.* This work of the Bishop of Clogher contains a metaphysical Arianism.—*Dissertation on the Chronology of Usser.* The Abbé Richer again. This man is a fool. Wherefore so much rage against the Jews and Protestants in treating a question of criticism? He rejects the chronology of the Jews, because it came from the schools of Tiberias, and is approved by a Protestant bishop.

March 16.]—I wrote a page of the chapter of *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection*; it is the continuation of *Brutium*.

17.]—I wrote a page and an half of my chapter on *Lucania*, concerning *Magna Græcia*: after which I went to the library to read Freret's learned researches on the first inhabitants of Italy; *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Vol. xviii. p. 72—114.*

18.]—I wrote a page and an half of the chapter intitled "*Nations*," in my *Geographical Collection*; it treats of the first communities in Italy.

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Mars 19.]—J'ai écrit une page de mon *Recueil Géographique*, sur les premières Peuplades, au chapitre des *Nations de l'Italie*.

J'ai achevé le quarante neuvième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Lettres sur le Tutoiement*, par M. Vernet ; je pencherois pour le mélange du vous et du toi.—*Considérations sur les Mœurs*, par M. Du Clos. L'ouvrage en général est bon. Quelques chapitres (le rapport de l'Esprit et du Caractère) me paroissent excellens. Du Clos a préludé au secrétariat de l'académie, par celui des cafés, où il recueilloit soigneusement les propos des gens d'esprit.—*Histoire Romaine de Dion Cassius*, par MM. Fabricius et Raymar : excellente édition.—*Œuvres de Maupertuis : Appel au Public*, par M. Kenig. Dans ses propres ouvrages il ne paroît qu'un visionnaire extravagant, dont la réputation ne pouvoit pas se soutenir. Dans la dispute avec Kenig, c'est un lâche persécuteur, qui employe le bras séculier pour écraser un de ses confrères.—*Esprit des Nations*. Eh ! le mauvais singe !—*Trésor des Médailles Impériales de Morel*, avec les *Commentaires de Gori et d'Havercamp*. Quelles richesses !—*Nouveau Testament*, par Wetstein. Dans une dispute que les Franciscains eurent avec Jean XXII. au quatorzième siècle, ils inventèrent l'explication de l'Apocalypse, où le Pape est l'Antichrist. Des essaims nombreux de ces Moines fortirent de leurs cloîtres, pour embrasser

March 19.]—I wrote a page and an half on the chapter "Nations," concerning the first communities in Italy.

I finished the forty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Letters on the Use of the Pronoun Thou*, by Mr. Vernet : I am inclined to think both *thou* and *you* ought to be used.—*Considerations on Morals*, by Mr. Du Clos. The work is in general good : some chapters treating of the connection of genius with character are excellent. Du Clos, before he was secretary of the academy, had been that of the coffee-house ; where he carefully treasured up the conversations of men of wit.—*The Roman History of Dion Cassius*, by Messrs. Fabricius and Raymar : an excellent edition. *Maupertuis' Works* ; and *Appeal to the Public*, by Mr. Kenig. In his own works, Maupertuis appears only as an extravagant visionary, whose fame rests not on any solid basis. In his dispute with Kenig he is a cowardly persecutor, who employs the secular arm to crush one of his colleagues.—*The Spirit of Nations* : a wretched imitation.—*The Treasury of Imperial Medals*, by Morell, with the *Commentaries of Gori and Havercamp* : what riches !—*Wetstein's New Testament*. In a dispute which the Franciscans had with John XXII. they first gave that explanation of the Revelations, which makes the Pope Antichrist. Numerous swarms of those monks left their convents, and embraced Luther's

embrasser la réformation de Luther. Ils répandirent cette idée Capucine parmi les Protestans.—

Mars 20.—J'ai écrit une page et demie de mon *Recueil Géographique*, ce qui achève le chapitre des *Nations de l'Italie*.

21.]—J'ai écrit quatre pages de mon *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Campanie*. C'est la *Division de cette Région et du Latium propre*.

J'ai achevé le cinquante et dernier tome de la *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. J'y trouve *Essai sur la Nature de la Sacrificature*. Peut-être que le clergé Chrétien n'a succédé qu'aux philosophes et aux prophètes qui enseignoient la morale, et nullement aux prêtres Payens et Juifs, qui n'étoient chargés que des sacrifices, et de la loi cérémonielle.—*Oeuvres de Scarron*. Le seul Roman comique vivra; dans tout le reste la plaisanterie est plutôt dans l'expression que dans la pensée. Tout au plus est elle dans le contraste unique du caractère de Scarron et de sa situation.—*Deux Épîtres de St. Clément, en Syriacque et en Latin. Dissertation upon two Epistles, &c.* Le Docteur Lardner conteste cette découverte de M. Wetstein, de ce monument des premiers Chrétiens. *Sub judice lis est*. Je vois que les idées de St. Clément sur le célibat sont très outrées, mais ne conviennent-elles pas au fanatisme d'une secte naissante et persécutée? Au reste, si ces épîtres sont authentiques, St. Jean avoit écrit son Evangile long
tenis

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Luther's reformation. They spread this Capuchin notion among the Protestants.

March 20.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, which finishes the chapter on the *Nations of Italy*.

21.]—I wrote four pages of the chapter *Campania* in my *Geographical Collection*. They treat of the *Division of that Country and Latium proper*.

I finished the fiftieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains, *Essay on the Nature of the Office of Sacrificer*. The Christian clergy have perhaps succeeded only to the philosophers and prophets, who taught morality; and not to the priests, who performed sacrifices and other parts of the ceremonial law.—*Scarron's Works*. His comic Romance alone will live: in other parts of his works, the wit is rather in the style than in the thought. At best, it results from the contrast between his character and situation.—*St. Clement's two Epistles, in Syriac and Latin. Dissertation on two Epistles, &c.* Dr. Lardner disputes Mr. Wetstein's discovery of this monument of the first Christians. *Sub judice lis est*. St. Clement's ideas on celibacy are carried, I perceive, to great extravagance. But even they are natural to the enthusiasm of a rising and persecuted sect! If these epistles are authentic, St. John must have written
his

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tems avant la vieillesse de Clément, qui avoit une trentaine d'années vers l'an 60.

C'est une excellente ressource que d'avoir toujours quelque lecture intéressante, facile, et détachée pour les momens perdus, ou qui le seroient sans cela. Rien ne convient mieux qu'un bon journal. La *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* mérite certainement ce titre ; mais on peut partager son étendue en deux parties à peu près égales, mais d'un caractère bien différent. La première suit le goût des bonnes études du dix septième siècle : beaucoup de théologie, de jurisprudence, et de Belles Lettres, une érudition puisée dans les sources, et une saine critique. L'esprit de controverse religieuse y domine un peu trop, et l'on y voit trop d'aigreur et de minuties. Dans la seconde partie, le journal se rapproche de notre tems ; une assez grande indifférence pour la théologie, une littérature superficielle, une philosophie hardie, un ton dogmatique, un style plus figuré et plus coupé.

Mars 22.]—J'ai écrit une page et demie du *Recueil Géographique de l'Italie*, au chapitre de la *Campanie* : c'est le pays des *Rutuli* et des *Hernici*.

23.]—J'ai écrit près de trois pages du *Recueil Géographique*, au chapitre de la *Campanie* : c'est le pays des *Volsques* et des *Aufones*.

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his Gospel a long time before the old age of Clement, who was only in his thirtieth year in A. D. 60.

It is a great convenience to have always at hand some book containing easy and interesting productions, that they may read by snatches, at moments which would otherwise be lost. Nothing answers this end better than a good journal ; which title the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* certainly merits. It may be divided however into two parts, of nearly equal extent, but of completely different characters. The first part is adapted to the taste for true learning which prevailed in the seventeenth century ; containing a great deal of theology, jurisprudence, and Belles Lettres ; erudition drawn from the source, and mixed with sound criticism. The spirit of religious controversy is rather too prevalent ; and we are disgusted with too much minuteness, or provoked at too much asperity. The second part of the journal has more affinity with the taste at present ; uniting much indifference about theology, with superficiality of learning, and boldness in philosophy ; its tone is dogmatical, and its style more broken into short sentences and more metaphorical.

March 22.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, containing a *Description of the Countries of the Rutuli and Hernici*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

23.]—I wrote near three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the countries of the *Volsi* and *Aufones*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

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Mars 24.]—J'ai écrit une page, au chapitre de la *Campanie* : c'est le commencement de la *Campanie propre*. 1764.

25.]—J'ai écrit environ trois pages. J'ai achevé le chapitre de la *Campanie*, et j'ai écrit plusieurs morceaux détachés dans d'autres chapitres.

26.]—J'ai écrit près de trois pages, au chapitre de *Rome*.

27.]—J'ai écrit plus d'une page et demie, au chapitre de *Rome*.

28.]—J'ai écrit plus de deux pages, au chapitre de *Rome*.

29.]—J'ai écrit deux pages, sur les *Itinéraires et les grands Chemins des Romains*. Je m'arrête à présent avec un fond déjà très riche de quatre vingt douze pages in folio, et très ferrées. Ce seroit à mes lectures futures, et à mon voyage d'Italie, d'augmenter mon recueil, au point que je n'aurois plus qu'un certain arrangement à lui donner, pour trouver la description de l'Italie toute faite.

30.]—Je me suis remis à *Spanheim, de Ufu et Præstantia Numismatum*, dont j'ai lu *Dissert. V. p. 373—476*. Il y traite des médailles des rois, surtout des successeurs d'Alexandre, et des titres qu'on leur donnoit—d'amis des Romains ou des Grecs, de victorieux, de foudroyant, de grand roi, de roi des rois, d'autocrator, ou roi par soi-même ; du nom de Dieu en général, et en particulier de ceux de Bacchus, de Dieu Sauveur (Soter), et de

March 24.]—I wrote a page of my chapter on *Campania*, which is the beginning of *Campania proper*.

25.]—I wrote about three pages, finishing the chapter on *Campania*, and inserting some detached materials into other chapters.

26.]—I wrote nearly three pages of my chapter on *Rome*.

27.]—I wrote more than a page and an half of my chapter on *Rome*.

28.]—I wrote more than two pages of the chapter on *Rome*.

29.]—I wrote two pages on the *Itineraries and high Roads of the Romans*; and stop short at present with a rich fund of ninety-two folio pages closely written. My travels in Italy, with my future studies, will swell this collection to such a magnitude, that it will be necessary for me only to arrange my materials to have a complete description of Italy.

30.]—I resumed the perusal of *Spanheim, de Ufu et Præstantia Numismatum*; of which I read *Dissert. V. p. 373—476*. He treats of the medals of kings, particularly the successors of Alexander, and the epithets bestowed on them—friends to the Romans or Greeks; victorious; thunderers; great kings; king of kings; autocrator, or possessor of independent power; the name of God in general; and the particular names of Bacchus, of God the Saviour, or Soter; and of God manifested

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de Dieu manifesté sur la terre (*Epiphane*, qu'il ne faut pas traduire seulement par *illustre*). Toutes ces médailles sont Grecques. Nous n'avons des rois barbares, que celles qui ont été frappées par les villes Grecques de leurs états.

J'ai lu une comédie de *Piron*, qu'on a parlé de jouer à Mon Repos. *La Métromanie*. La versification en est très belle, et l'on y trouve des sentimens aussi justes qu'ils sont bien rendus. Toute la scène entre M. Ballivau et Damis est de cette espèce. Mais je n'ai rien vu d'aussi mal coufu que l'intrigue. La partie du plan qui regarde les amoureux Dorante et Lucile, est très embrouillée. Celle de Damis est plaisante, mais d'un plaisant assez peu dans la nature. Où trouver un poète qui renonce à une maîtresse belle et riche, pour un autre qui n'existe que dans le *Mercur*? Quel caractère que celui de ce poète qu'on veut rendre à la fois ridicule et héroïque! Comparez la scène de son oncle avec celle de son valet. Je fais que le chef d'œuvre de Molière est *le Misanthrope*, ridicule et respectable en même tems, mais c'est que ses foiblesses ne sont que les vertus poussées à l'excès, et qu'en se moquant de ses travers, on ne peut que révéler leur principe. Rien n'est lié dans Damis. Le mauvais poète est un caractère. L'homme juste, généreux, qui pardonne les foiblesses de son ami, et qui ne repousse ses outrages

manifested on earth, Epiphanes, which is not fully translated by "illustrious."—All these medals are Greek. We have not any other medals of Barbarian kings, but those struck by the Greek cities in their dominions.

I read *Piron's Comedy, Metromanie*, which there was an intention of acting at Mon Repos. The versification is beautiful, and many of the sentiments correct and well expressed. This applies to the whole scene between Mr. Ballivau and Damis. But I never read any thing worse contrived than the plot. There is much confusion in that part which regards the lovers Dorante and Lucile. The part of Damis is diverting, but unnatural. Where is it possible to find a poet that will resign a rich and handsome mistress for another that has no existence but in the *Mercury*? What an extravagant attempt is it, to endeavour to render the character of this poet at once heroical and ridiculous! Compare together his scene with his uncle and that with his valet. I know that in Molière's master-piece, the *Misanthrope* is at once ridiculous and respectable. But this happens because his faults consist in virtues carried to excess; which, though ridiculous in their effects, are respectable in their principle. There is no connection in the part of Damis. The bad poet is one character; the just and generous man who pardons his friend's faults, and answers his insults only by good offices, is quite a different one. If probability is not violated, unity at least is not maintained.

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outrages que par les bienfaits, en est un autre. Si la vraisemblance de mœurs n'est pas violée, au moins l'unité n'est pas conservée. Encore où est la vraisemblance dans la façon dont Damis reçoit le dernier, aveu de Dorante ? Ses excès ne se conçoivent qu'en lui supposant la *Métromanie* dans toute sa force. Cependant il reçoit avec indifférence la chute de sa tragédie, qu'il traite de *frivole soin*. S'il avoit pardonné à Dorante d'avoir attenté à sa vie, sans pouvoir lui pardonner d'avoir fait siffler sa pièce, le caractère m'auroit paru mieux soutenu.

Mars 31.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p. 476—494, et Dissert. VI. p. 494—553*. Il passe aux médailles consulaires, aux noms et surnoms des Romains, et des différens emplois qui sont marqués sur les médailles. Je m'étois attendu à y apprendre plus de choses nouvelles.

Je suis monté à la bibliothèque, où j'ai parcouru le journal d'un voyage de l'Italie, par M. de la Condamine. *V. Mem. de l'Académie des Sciences, p. 386—411, de l'année 1757*. J'y ai vu avec plaisir le calcul de plusieurs hauteurs différentes par l'observation du baromètre ; le voici :

Niveau de la mer,	-	-	0
Le Rhone, et le Lac Lemman, Canigon, sommet des Pyrénées,	-	-	} 1410
Quito dans le Pérou,	-	-	
Chemin du Mont Cenis,	-	-	1430
			1460
			La

tained. But how improbable is the reception which Damis gives to the last declaration of Dorante ! His transports cannot be conceived as natural, without supposing him domineered by the *Métromanie* in its utmost force. Yet he receives an account of the fall of his tragedy with indifference, calling this a trifling matter. Had he pardoned Dorante for attempting to put him to death, but remained inexorable to the crime of hissing his play, the character would have appeared to me to be better supported.

March 31.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p. 476—494* ; and *Dissert. VI. p. 494—553*. He proceeds to the consular medals ; the names and surnames of the Romans, and their different offices represented on medals. I expected to have found more novelty in this part of his work.

I went to the library to read *Mr. de la Condamine's Journal of his Travels in Italy*, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1757, p. 386—411*. I was pleased to find the heights of several mountains in fathoms measured by the barometer. They are as follow :

Level of the sea,	-	-	0
The Rhone, and Lake of Geneva and Canigon the top of the Pyrenees,	-	-	} 1410
Quito in Peru,	-	-	
The road over Mount Cenis,	-	-	1430
			1460
			The

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La plus haute pointe du Mont Cenis,	-	1510
Pic de Ténériffe,	-	2150
Le Mont Blanc, à 14 ou 15 lieues au Sud est de	}	2676
Genève, on l'apperçoit à 60 lieues, des environs de Langres,		
Chimboraco, la plus haute montagne des Cordillères des Andes, et peut-être de la terre,	}	3220

M. de la Condamine a remarqué, que dans les voyes Romaines, les jointes des pierres ne sont jamais placées dans la direction des voitures, et que le lit du Tybre doit être exhaussé de dix ou douze pieds, puisque le pavé antique du panthéon est inondé tous les hyvers d'autant. L'éméraude de Gênes n'est que de verre.

Avril 1.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. VI. p. 533—589. et Dissert. VII. p. 589—633.* Il continue le chapitre des emplois, et surtout les légats propréteurs que les empereurs envoyoient dans leurs provinces, et qui acquièrent le titre de consulaires vers le tems des Antonins. Il passe ensuite aux médailles des empereurs et des impératrices. Je n'ai rien vû d'aussi curieux que l'article de ces princesses. Je ne serai plus étranger à leur cour, puisque je reconnoîtrois jusqu'aux deux Faustines à leur coëffure différente.

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The highest point of Mount Cenis,	-	1510
Pic of Teneriffe,	-	2150
Mount Blanc, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of Geneva,	}	2676
and visible at 60 leagues off, at Langres,		
Chimboraco, the highest mountain of the Cordilleras of the	}	3220
Andes, and perhaps of the world,		

Mr. Condamine remarks, that in the Roman highways, the joinings of the stones are never placed in the same direction with that of the motion of the carriages that travelled over them; and that the bed of the Tiber must have acquired ten or twelve feet in height, because the ancient pavement of the pantheon is overflowed to that height every winter. The emerald of Genoa is only a piece of glass.

April 1.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VI. p. 533—589; and Dissert. VII. p. 589—633.* He continues the chapter concerning offices, particularly those of legates and proprætors, whom the emperors sent into the provinces, and who were distinguished by the epithet "Consular" towards the time of the Antonines. He then proceeds to the medals of empresses. I have met with nothing more curious than the article concerning those princesses. I should not be a stranger at their courts, since I could distinguish the two Faustinas by [their respective head-dresses.

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Avril 2.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p. 633—660.*
Toujours les femmes et les parens des Césars.

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3.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. 660—737* : rien de plus curieux. C'est le détail des différens titres, dont la réunion formoit la puissance impériale: César, Auguste, Impérator, Souverain Pontife, Père de la Patrie, revêtu des puissances proconsulaire et tribunitienne; l'empereur étoit bien plus que roi. Encore dès le tems de Domitien, les historiens Grecs, et les poètes Latins lui donnèrent ce titre, qu'ils n'osèrent cependant prendre eux-mêmes que sous le bas empire, et vers le tems de Constantin, lorsque toutes les maximes de la république étoient effacées des esprits.

Je suis monté à la bibliothèque, pour revoir le Journal de M. de la Condamine, que j'avois parcouru un peu légèrement. Voici deux éclaircissemens sur la hauteur des montagnes. 1. Les 1460 toises qu'on donne au Mont Cenis, ne regardent point le chemin, mais une station bien plus élevée, où ce voyageur monta avec des peines infinies. L'Hospital des Pèlerins est à cinq cent toises plus bas. 2. M. Falio de Duillier avoit donné au lac Léman 426 toises d'élévation au dessus du niveau de la mer, et au Mont Blanc 2000 toises de plus, en tout 2426 toises : mais on fait que les deux élémens du calcul pechent, l'un par défaut, l'autre par excès. M. de Chefeaux,

April 2.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p. 633—660.* He continues to speak of women, and the relations of the Cæsars.

3.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. p. 660—737.* This part is very curious; containing an account of the different titles, which, by their union, formed the Imperial authority: Cæsar, Augustus, Imperator, High Priest, Father of the Country, Proconsul, Tribune—all these taken together rendered the emperors far greater than kings. This last title was also given to them as early as the time of Domitian by Greek historians and Latin poets, though those princes themselves did not venture to assume it, till the time of Constantine and the lower empire, when all republican maxims had been effaced from the minds of their subjects.

I went to the library to re-examine Mr. de la Condamine's Journal, which I had read too hastily. I met with the two following particulars concerning the height of mountains. 1. The 1460 fathoms given for the altitude of Mount Cenis are not applicable to the road, but to a station far more elevated, which Mr. de la Condamine reached with the utmost difficulty. The Pilgrim's Hospital is five hundred fathoms lower. 2. Falio de Duillier made the Lake of Geneva 426 fathoms above the level of the sea, and Mount Blanc 2000 fathoms higher: in all 2426 fathoms. But of the two elements of this calculation, the one is taken too high, and the other too low. Mr. de Chefeaux, measuring

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Avril 4.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. VIII. p. 737—757, et Dissert. IX. p. 757—813.* Après avoir épuisé les titres des princes qui n'étoient qu'honoraires, il passe aux médailles qu'on appelle les *Spintria* de Tibère ; il croit que c'étoient des monnoyes qu'on jettoit parmi le peuple aux jeux obscènes de Flore, &c. Il parle ensuite des colonies, des villes sacrées, libres, et autonomes, des bienfaits des empereurs, du *vehiculatio Italiae*, et des reliquats des impôts. C'est bien un livre classique pour les médailles.

J'ai achevé la *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, par M. Bayle, en quatre tomes in 12mo. à Ville Franche, 1684 ; troisième édition.* L'empire de la mode a jetté le philosophe Bayle dans la controverse ; il y a porté un esprit de lumière, de justesse et de modération, joint à des agrémens qui sont assez rares dans ce genre. Dans tous ses raisonnemens sur l'infailibilité, les droits

finding a larger base, found Mount Blanc to be 2250 fathoms above the level of the lake ; but the height given to the lake above the sea, corrected by barometrical observations at Geneva, Turin, and Genoa, appears to be only 188, instead of 426 fathoms : so that the true height of Mount Blanc is 2438. Mr. de la Condamine thus rectifies, in the History of the Academy, the notions which he had not sufficiently examined when he published his journal.

April 4.]—I read *Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. VIII. p. 737—757.* After discussing the honorary titles of princes, he proceeds to the medals called the *Spintria* of Tiberius : he believes them to have been pieces of money that were scattered among the common people at the obscene games of Flora. He then treats of colonies ; sacred, free, and independent cities ; the bounties of the emperors ; the *vehiculatio Italiae* ; the arrears of imposts ; the whole forming a classic book on the subject of medals.

I finished *Bayle's General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism ; in 12mo. Villa Franca, 1684, third edition.* The fashion of the age made the philosopher Bayle enter the lists of controversy ; into which he brought with him a measure of knowledge, precision, and candour, as well as entertainment, seldom exhibited there. In his reasonings concerning

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droits d'une conscience erronée, je vois un dialecticien précis et clair, mais un peu diffus. Jamais homme n'a su comme Bayle, se mettre à la place de son adversaire, revêtir son système, et prévoir tous les avantages qu'il en pouvoit tirer. C'est là un des effets les plus précieux de la philosophie sceptique. Les chapitres sur le mariage des prêtres sont pleins de plaisanterie, de littérature, et d'une connoissance exacte de l'homme. Mais les deux lettres sur l'amour paternel et sur la jalousie, sont d'un philosophe profond; il y développe une chaîne de préjugés liés à notre être, nécessaires à notre bonheur, et destinés par l'Etre Suprême à nous tenir lieu d'une raison trop relevée pour le commun des hommes, et qui n'auroit jamais eu le degré de vivacité propre à nous faire agir. Au reste les nouvelles lettres me paroissent très supérieures aux deux premiers tomes.

Avril 5.]—Je n'ai lu de *Spanheim* que *Differt. p. 813—834*. Il y parle des rois que les Romains donnoient aux nations.

7.]—J'ai employé toute la matinée à la bibliothèque, où j'ai lu des morceaux très étendus de la deuxième partie du troisième tome de l'*Antiquité expliquée, par le Père Monfaucon*, sur les théâtres et les amphithéâtres des Romains.

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concerning infallibility, and the rights of an erroneous conscience, you see the accurate and enlightened dialectician; but he is rather too diffuse. No man was ever better qualified than Bayle for assuming the character of his adversary, shewing his system in a new garb, and for availing himself of all the places open to assault; which is one of the greatest advantages of the sceptical philosophy. His chapters on the marriage of the clergy are full of pleasantries, learning, and knowledge of human nature; and his two letters on the love of parents towards their children, and on jealousy, contain a profound philosophy; in which he unfolds a chain of prejudices connected with our existence, necessary for our happiness, and intended by the Supreme Being to supply the place of a reason too exalted for the bulk of mankind, and too weak to be a principle of action. The new letters appear to me far superior to the two first volumes.

April 5.]—I read only the ninth *Differt. of Spanheim, p. 813—834*. He treats of kings appointed by the Romans.

7.]—I spent the whole morning in the library, reading very extensive articles in the second part of the third volume of *Monfaucon's Explanation of Antiquities*. He treats of the theatres and amphi theatres of the Romans.

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Avril 9.]—J'ai parcouru une bonne partie de Keyfler, pour en tirer ce qui pouvoit intéresser la tournée d'Italie que j'entreprends dans quelques jours avec Guise. Ce Keyfler me plaît beaucoup. Il est plein de choses utiles, curieuses et même savantes sans aucune affectation. Quand je songe qu'il a bien vû l'Italie dans neuf mois, je sens combien le tems est long à qui fait le mettre à profit.

10.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p. 834—860*. Il y est question des victoires des empereurs, de leurs ouvrages publics, et de leurs *allocutions* aux soldats, qu'eux seuls avoient droit de faire. Les chefs d'accusation contre *Metius Volusianus*, n'étoient point aussi ridicules dans les mœurs des Romains que dans les nôtres. MM. de Montesquieu et Spanheim sont du même avis, et l'érudition a prouvé ce que le génie avoit entrevû.

11.]—J'ai lu *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p. 860—914*; fin de l'ouvrage. Il y parle des secours que la chronologie et la géographie peuvent tirer des médailles. M. D'Alembert pouvoit bien les ignorer.

12.]—J'ai repassé le Traité de Spanheim: c'est un vrai trésor d'érudition médallique, et un livre classique sur cette science.

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April 9.]—I read a considerable part of *Keyfler*, in order to extract from him whatever might be useful in my travels in Italy; on which I set out in a few days with Guise. I am much pleased with Keyfler; his work is useful, curious, and learned without affectation. When I consider how well he examined Italy in nine months, I am sensible that time is long, when we know how to make a good use of it.

10.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p. 834—860*. He treats of the victories of the emperors, their public works, and the speeches which *they only* had a right to make to the soldiers. The heads of accusation against *Metius Volusianus* were not so ridiculous according to Roman, as they would be according to modern manners. Montesquieu and Spanheim think alike on this subject; the suggestions of genius are confirmed by erudition.

11.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p. 860—914*; which concludes the work. He treats of the assistance which chronology and geography may derive from medals. Mr. d'Alembert's ignorance on this subject is pardonable.

12.]—I re-examined Spanheim's work, which is a real treasury of medallie erudition, a classic book on this science.

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Avril 14.]—J'ai parcouru l'ouvrage de Vaillant sur les médailles des colonies, pour l'article de Jules César. Que n'ai je le tems de l'approfondir!

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16.]—J'ai trouvé moyen, au milieu de beaucoup d'embarras, de parcourir l'ouvrage de Vaillant jusqu'au regne de Claude. Je voudrois qu'il eût nommé les cabinets d'où il a tiré les médailles.

Gênes, Juin 11.]—Je n'ai rien fait quant aux études que de lire les sept premières épîtres du premier livre d'Horace. Le charmant philosophe et l'excellent poète! Dans quelques autres momens perdus, j'ai fait des essais de traductions Angloises sur quelques endroits de mes recueils, qui m'ont donné lieu de faire plusieurs observations sur l'idiome différent des deux langues, et sur l'extrême difficulté d'écrire bien dans l'une et l'autre, sans que leur pureté ne soit altérée par le mélange réciproque. Un matin je me suis jetté dans des réflexions qui m'ont souvent occupé sur les monnoyes anciennes. J'étois si bien en train, qu'avec quelques livres je serois allé loin. Je crois que notre *livre de Troye* pourroit bien être l'ancienne livre Romaine. En attendant des recherches qui peuvent se faire, quoiqu'on ne les ait pas encore faites, voici ma table. Je fixe le denier par un moyen proportionnel entre ceux de MM. Greaves et Arbuthnot, et les déductions du *Conge Farnèse*: toujours en y comptant une sixième partie d'alliage.

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Denier

April 14.]—I read hastily Vaillant's book on the medals of colonies, with a reference to the article of Julius Cæsar. I much wish that I had time to examine it more deeply.

16.]—I found leisure, amidst multiplied occupations, to read Vaillant down to the reign of Claudius. I wish he had mentioned the cabinets in which his medals are to be found.

Genoa, June 11.]—I have done nothing in the way of study but read the first seven epistles of the first book of Horace; who was as delightful a philosopher as an excellent poet. At leisure moments I translated into English some parts of my Collection, which suggested to me various observations concerning the different idioms of the two languages, and the extreme difficulty of writing in both, without injuring the purity of either. One morning I gave way to reflections which had often occurred to me, on ancient coins; and was so well disposed for diligence, that, with the assistance of a few books, I might have made great progress in the subject. I believe that the pound Troy was the ancient Roman pound. Until more accurate researches are made, which however have hitherto been neglected, I would propose the following table. The denarius should be ascertained by a mean proportional between the estimate of Greaves and Arbuthnot, and the conclusion resulting from the Farnese Congius; deducting a sixth part for alloy.

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Denier Romain, ou drachme Grecque est à $7\frac{1}{2}$ sous d'Angleterre, environ 14 sous de France.

Le talent Attique à 187l. 10s. sterling, environ 4280 livres de France, plus ou moins.

Le grand sesterce est de 7l. 16s. 3d. sterling, de 180 livres de France.

Florence, Juin 25.]—Je me suis procuré deux tomes des *Symbola Florentina* de M. Gori, pour lire la dissertation de M. de Muratori sur la table de bronze, trouvée auprès de Velleia, laquelle il a mise à la tête d'une copie fort exacte de la table même. *V. Symbola, tome V. p. 1—56*, et sept feuilles pour la table. Elle est écrite avec érudition, avec précision et avec clarté. M. Muratori n'est point un simple érudit; il prouve très bien que Trajan est le premier qui institua des *Pueri Alimentarii* en Italie, l'an de J. C. 103; que cet établissement utile fut soutenu par ses successeurs jusqu'au regne de Pertinax, qui l'abolit entièrement, et qu'on peut tirer de cette inscription, unique par son étendue, des lumières très utiles sur l'histoire, la géographie et l'économie de ce siècle. Je le pense avec lui; mais après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, je crois qu'il ne les a pas toutes tirées.

Juillet 2.]—J'ai revu la dissertation de Muratori avec soin. Je me donne la peine d'extraire de la table de bronze,

The Roman denarius, or Greek drachma, will make $7\frac{1}{2}$ English pence, about 14 French sous.

The Attic talent 187l. 10s.; about 4280 French livres.

The sestertium, or great sesterce, 7l. 16s. 3d. or 180 French livres.

Florence, June 25.]—I procured two volumes of Mr. Gori's *Symbola Florentina*, in order to read Mr. Muratori's dissertation on the brazen table found near Velleia, which he has prefixed to an accurate plate of the table itself. See *Symbola, Vol. v. p. 1—56*, and seven sheets for the table itself. It is written with as much precision and perspicuity as learning. Mr. Muratori is not a mere antiquary. He proves clearly that Trajan first instituted the *Pueri Alimentarii* in Italy, A. D. 103; and that this institution was supported by his successors to the time of Pertinax, who entirely abolished it. He thinks that this inscription, far longer than any other, may throw much light on the history, geography, and economy of that age. I quite agree with him; but, after maturely considering the inscription, do not think that he has seen all the consequences which ought to be drawn from it.

July 2.]—I carefully re-examined Muratori's dissertation. I take the trouble of extracting from the bronze table the rents which a vast number of citizens of Velleia covenant to pay, and the funds from which they

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bronze, les rentes auxquelles un si grand nombre des citoyens de *Valeia* s'étoient affujettis, et les fonds sur lesquels on les avoit assignées. C'est un travail sec et ingrat; mais quand on construit un édifice, il faut en creuser les fondemens. L'on est obligé de faire le rôle de maçon, aussi bien que celui d'architecte. J'espère pouvoir tirer quelque chose de cette espèce de recensement.

Juillet 4.]—J'ai achevé le volume des *Statues*, avec les observations de M. Gori.

14.]—J'ai lu l'*Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarck*, par M. Mallet; avec la *Traduction de l'Edda*, le livre sacré des anciens Celtes. Nous avons à présent une demi-douzaine de ces bibles (en y comprenant les nôtres.) Ce seroit un bel ouvrage à faire que le tableau philosophique des religions, leur esprit, leur raisonnement et leur influence sur les mœurs, le gouvernement, la philosophie et la poésie de chaque peuple. M. Mallet est sage et sensé; il a étudié son sujet avec soin, et il le développe d'une façon plutôt claire qu'élégante. Son idée principale, que la religion d'Odin a formé le caractère des Septentrionaux, qui se fait encore sentir parmi nous, est une idée judicieuse, vraie à bien des égards et parfaitement suivie. Ses réflexions sur la population ancienne du pays, sont excellentes; il fait voir que ces essaims nombreux pouvoient fortir du Nord, sans le supposer plus peuplé qu'à présent. L'Edda lui avoit beaucoup fourni sur la

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religion

they are to raise them. The task is dry and unpleasant; but, before building an edifice, it is necessary to lay the foundation; there must be bricklayers as well as architects. I hope to benefit by this enumeration.

July 4.]—I finished the volume of *Statues*, with Gori's observations.

14.]—I read Mr. Mallet's *Introduction to the History of Denmark*, with a *Translation of the Edda*, the sacred book of the ancient Celts. We have now half a dozen of bibles, if we include our own. A valuable work might be written, giving a philosophical picture of religions, their genius, reasonings, and influence on the manners, government, philosophy, and poetry of their respective votaries. Mr. Mallet is a man of sense and candour; he has carefully examined his subject, but treats it with more perspicuity than elegance. His great principle, that the religion of Odin formed that character of the northern nations, whose effects are still perceptible among ourselves, is judicious, in many respects well founded, and perfectly well illustrated. He makes excellent observations on the populousness of the North; tending to shew that the numerous swarms which issued from it in ancient times do not prove it to have been more populous than it is at present. The Edda supplied him with copious materials on the subject of religion and morals. In

treating

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religion et les mœurs. Destitué de ce secours sur le gouvernement, il s'abandonne à Tacite et à l'analogie; mais ces guides lui sont-ils toujours fidèles? Tacite comprenoit la Scandinavie sous le nom de Germanie; mais il songe dans sa description générale des constitutions, à celles qu'il connoissoit le mieux, celles des voisins du Rhin et du Danube. La religion d'Odin, est-elle d'ailleurs aussi ancienne que Tacite? Lorsque je vois que cet historien suppose comme une vérité claire et incontestable que les Germains sont une nation indigène, qui n'a jamais été altérée par aucun mélange étranger, j'ai de la peine à me persuader qu'il ait pu ignorer qu'une grande colonie Scythique s'étoit emparée de la Scandinavie 150 ans auparavant. J'aime mieux supposer avec M. Dalin, que la migration d'Odin est du tems de Trajan. La foiblesse des Cimbres, et l'esclavage des *Sinones*, que Tacite a aperçu, ont dû donner de grandes facilités à ce conquérant. Cette époque me fait voir que le peu d'invention des hommes, encore plus que la politique des prophètes, les oblige d'enrichir toujours des religions nouvelles aux dépens des anciennes, et d'affujettir celles là au caractère national, &c. Une religion qui auroit prêché la crainte de la mort, auroit été mal reçue parmi les Celtes. C'est pourquoi je trouve un même fond de mœurs et de religion chez les Cimbres, les devanciers d'Odin,

et

treating of government, he has not a voucher equally authentic, and is obliged to have recourse to Tacitus and analogy. These guides are not always to be trusted. Tacitus indeed comprehended Scandinavia under the name of Germany; but in his general description of the Germanic institutions, he had chiefly in view the nations with which he was best acquainted, those situate near the Rhine and the Danube. Besides, it is not certain that the religion of Odin is as old as the time of Tacitus. When that historian takes it for a truth certain and incontrovertible, that the Germans were indigenious, and that the purity of their blood was never corrupted by any foreign admixture, there is some difficulty in conceiving how he could be ignorant that a great Scythian colony had conquered Scandinavia one hundred and fifty years before his own times. I would rather suppose with Dalin, that Odin's migration happened in the reign of Trajan. That conqueror's design must have been greatly facilitated by the weakness of the Cimbri, and the slavery of the *Sinones*, sufficiently indicated in Tacitus. This era tends to shew that the poverty of human invention, as well as the policy of prophets, always obliges them to enrich new religions at the expence of the old, and to mould them conformably to the national character. A religion inculcating the fear of death would have met with a very unfavourable reception among the Celts. The genius of Odin's superstition and morals prevailed

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et les Celtibères qui n'entendirent peut-être jamais parler de lui. Quant au lieu d'où sortit le fondateur du culte d'Edda, je m'en tiens à la tradition commune, qui le place aux environs du Tanais et du Palus Méotide. L'éloignement ne me rebute point. Ces courses immenses conviennent aux nations sauvages. Je sens que les connoissances géographiques sont très bornées parmi elles, mais les accidens les étendent souvent. Un Scythe de la tribu des *Asæ*, fait prisonnier par ses voisins, aura passé de main en main jusqu'aux bords de la mer Baltique. A son retour, il aura parlé des avantages du pays, et des facilités qu'on auroit à en faire la conquête. Odin (il faut le supposer homme de génie) aura compris que les nations limitrophes de l'empire étoient plus aguerries, et moins ignorantes, et que le chef d'une petite cité qui vouloit fonder un grand empire, devoit s'avancer plus au Nord. Les peuples sur sa route se feront délivrés d'un aventurier inquiet, en lui accordant un passage; grace que la science militaire de ces siècles, rendoit peu importante, et dont la sincérité héroïque des barbares ne leur permettoit pas d'abuser. Les rivières auront pu faciliter sa marche. Il aura remonté le *Tanaïs* ou le *Volga* pour descendre le *Dina* jusqu'aux environs de Riga. Les sources de ces rivières sont peu éloignées les unes des autres, et dans un siècle où les terres avoient soixante dix huit

prevailed among the Cimbri, who were long anterior to that legislator; and among the Celtiberians, who probably never heard of his name. As to the country from which the author of the Edda came, I would adopt the common tradition which fixes his ancient seat in the neighbourhood of the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. I am not frightened at the greatness of the distance. Great journies are accomplished by savage nations; and their scanty geographical knowledge is often extended by accident. A Scythian of the tribe of *Asæ*, taken prisoner by his neighbours, may have passed through successive masters to the shore of the Baltic. At his return, he would describe the advantageous situation of the country, and the facility with which its conquest might be effected. Odin (we must suppose him a man of genius) would perceive, that the nations bordering on the empire were less ignorant, and more warlike, than those removed at a greater distance; and that the leader of a small tribe, who wished to found a great kingdom, must march against the northern extremity. The intermediate nations would gladly deliver themselves from a dangerous invader by granting to him a free passage; a favour which, in an age little skilled in the art of fortification, is of small importance; and which the heroical sincerity of barbarians seldom permitted them to abuse. The courses of the great rivers must have much facilitated his journey. He would sail up the Tanais and the Volga, to descend with the stream of the Dina to the neighbourhood of Riga. The sources of those rivers are not widely distant from each other; and when the land

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huit pieds d'élévation moins qu'à présent, on a soupçonné que les mers avoient des communications qu'elles n'ont plus. Il a établi son culte dans la Scandinavie. Il s'est répandu parmi les peuples Septentrionaux de la Germanie, connus sous le nom de Saxons, qui l'ont porté en Angleterre au cinquième siècle. Voilà, ce me semble, les pays où il faut le chercher. M. Mallet s'en fait une idée un peu trop générale. Je ne vois point dans l'Edda que le conquérant du Nord, le prêtre du dieu Odin, nommé Odin comme lui, ait jamais voulu se faire passer pour dieu ; ni que les Scandinaves aient adoré des hommes déifiés, culte bien plus rare qu'on ne pense. Odin le conquérant se vantoit d'être magicien, non pas dieu ; l'une de ces prétensions exclut l'autre.

Juillet 16.]—Je n'ai pas voulu m'engager dans la grande histoire du Dannemarck de M. Mallet, qui fuit l'introduction. Elle m'auroit trop écarté de mes vues actuelles ; mais je n'ai pu me refuser le plaisir d'en lire un morceau détaché, qui regarde la conversion de la Scandinavie, et de voir la chute d'un culte dont j'avois vu l'établissement et les principes. Il me paroît séchement traité, et d'une très petite manière. C'est une question intéressante, pourquoi les peuples du Nord ont rebuté le Christianisme avec tant d'opiniâtreté, pendant que leurs compatriotes établis dans l'empire, l'ont embrassé

was less elevated by seventy-eight feet than it is at present, there may have been communications, now lost, between neighbouring seas. Odin established his worship in Scandinavia. Thence it spread among the northern nations of Germany called Saxons, by whom it was carried into England in the fifth century. In those countries only, I think, we ought to look for it : Mr. Mallet's system supposes it too extensive. I do not find in the Edda that Odin the conqueror of the North, and the priest of a god also named Odin, wished ever to pass himself for a divinity ; nor that the Scandinavians ever worshipped deified men ; a worship much rarer than is commonly imagined. Odin the conqueror boasted of being a magician ; a pretension altogether inconsistent with that of his divinity.

July 16.]—I did not wish to proceed with Mr. Mallet's large history, which followed his introduction ; this would have diverted me too much from my present pursuits ; but I could not deny myself the pleasure of reading a detached part, relative to the conversion of Scandinavia, in order to see the downfall of Odin's superstition, of which I had beheld the establishment, and examined the principles. This subject is treated dryly, and without taste. An important question occurs, why the inhabitants of the North should have so obstinately rejected Christianity, while their countrymen established in the empire embraced it with the utmost readiness. Mr. Mallet will answer, that the latter consisted only

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embrassé avec une si grande facilité. M. Mallet nous répondra que ceux-ci n'étoient qu'une jeunesse inquiète, qui avoit quitté son pays avant que d'être affermie dans les préjugés de ses pères. Cependant il fait assez lui-même, que la plupart de ces migrations se sont faites en corps de nation, et que cette jeunesse traînoit avec elle des vieillards, dont le cœur et l'esprit ne peuvent plus changer, des femmes dont le tempérament foible et craintif les porte à la dévotion, et des bardes, des prophétesses et des prêtres, qui combattoient le nouveau culte par tous les moyens qu'ils empruntoient de la crainte, de l'habitude et du point d'honneur. Cette raison ne vaut rien. Je ne pense pas non plus que les chefs des barbares aient souvent embrassé le Christianisme par politique, ni qu'ils aient voulu risquer d'aliéner les cœurs des vainqueurs, pour captiver ceux d'un peuple de vaincus qu'ils méprisoient. Je vois d'ailleurs que les chefs des Burgundiens, et des Vandales, ont embrassé l'Arianisme. Un politique auroit-il adopté les sentimens du plus petit nombre de ses sujets? Je trouve les vrais motifs de cette différence, dans la seule circonstance que les uns sont restés dans leurs pays, et que les autres en sont sortis. Je ne parle pas ici des Saxons, qui ne connoissoient la religion que par le baptême et le supplice. Ces hommes libres repoussent une religion qui ne leur paroïssoit qu'une partie des loix impérieuses de Charlemagne. Je ne fais attention qu'à ces nations chez qui le Christianisme a parû

only of unsteady young men who had left their native country before they were thoroughly confirmed in the prejudices of their ancestors. Yet he well knows that several of those migrations were made by communities at large; and that the young men were accompanied by men far advanced in years, whose hearts and principles were no longer susceptible of change; by women whose weakness and timidity render them peculiarly prone to superstition; as well as by bards, priests, and prophetesses, who combated the new worship by every weapon that their custom, fear, or honour could supply. This explanation, therefore, will not answer the purpose. Neither do I think it probable that the leaders of the Barbarians embraced Christianity through policy, and ventured to provoke the conquerors, in order to ingratiate themselves with the conquered, whom they despised. Besides, those leaders of the Vandals and Burgundians embraced Arianism. Policy would not have taught them to adopt the sentiments of the smallest portion of their subjects. I believe the true reason for the difference arose merely from this circumstance, that the one class left their country, whereas the other remained at home. I speak not here of the Saxons, who knew Christianity only by baptism and punishment; and whose love of liberty rejected that religion as a badge of the imperious laws imposed by Charlemagne.

I have

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I have in view only those nations among whom Christianity appeared not as a conqueror or persecutor, but as a suppliant. All religions depend in some degree on local circumstances. The least superstitious Christian would feel more devotion on Mount Calvary than in London. Among learned nations reading and reflection, and among the nations of the East a natural warmth of fancy, supply, in some measure, the real presence of objects, and give them in all times and in all places a mental existence. But mental representations are too subtle to make an impression on the phlegmatic insensibility of Scandinavians; and a missionary must have combated their faith with great disadvantage in their native country. The temple of Upsal in which they had purchased the favour of Odin by thousands of human victims; those rocks which the ancient Scaldi had covered with Runic characters, the more venerable because unintelligible; those mounts which religion had raised to the glory of their ancestors, and by which they hoped that their own would be perpetuated:—all these objects kept possession of their minds, because they were continually striking their senses. But the nations of Germany, when transported into southern countries, lost hold of the firmest foundation of their faith. Temples, altars, tombs, and consecrated places were on the side of a new religion, which naturally insinuated itself into the void of credulity left craving in their minds. They first wondered, and

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changement que le nouveau climat produisit bientôt dans la façon de vivre des vainqueurs, et dans le tempérament même de leurs enfans, les éloignoit encore d'une religion qui convenoit mieux aux bords de l'Elbe qu'à ceux du Tage, aux forêts qu'aux villes. Un barbare qui avoit goûté le vin de Falerne, se foucioit assez peu de s'enivrer d'hydromel aux festins d'Odin, et quand il souffroit toute l'ardeur d'un soleil Africain, un enfer dont les fenêtres seroient ouvertes du côté du Nord, ne lui paroïssoit plus bien redoutable. Son esprit s'éclaircit, et son cœur s'adoucissoit dans le commerce des vaincus, et tout contribuoit à le détacher d'un culte, qui n'est fondé que sur la barbarie et sur l'ignorance, pendant qu'il le dispoisoit en faveur de celui qui contenoit toute la science du siècle qu'il commençoit à goûter, et qui n'enseignoit que cette humanité dont il sentoît déjà le prix. Il se trouvoit encore environné d'un peuple de missionnaires que l'intérêt, aussi bien que le zèle, animoit dans le travail de convertir ses maîtres, et d'arrêter ces tigres féroces dans les liens de la religion. Les évêques, les prêtres, et jusqu'à leurs maîtresses qui mêloient les caresses et la controverse, s'attachoient surtout aux princes, dont la nation, déjà indifférente, suivoit sans peine l'exemple. Quelle différence de l'entreprise d'une pareille conversion, à quelques Bénédictins qui vont dans les forêts de la Suède prêcher la patience, l'humilité et la foi, à des nations nombreuses de pirates. Ces guerriers les massacrent, ou s'ils les épargnent,

and then believed.' The changes produced by a new climate in their modes of life, and in the education of their children, tended to estrange them from a superstition better adapted to the banks of the Elbe than to those of the Tagus, and to forests than to cities. A Barbarian, who had tasted the wine of Falernum, would not feel much desire of intoxicating himself with hydromel at Odin's festival; and when he panted under an African sun, a hell open to the north would not greatly excite his terror. His understanding would be improved, and his heart softened, in his perpetual intercourse with the vanquished; and every cause would concur to make him quit a mode of worship founded on ignorance and barbarism, and to substitute in its stead a religion connected with science which he began to relish, and inculcating the virtues of humanity which he began to value. He was besides surrounded by a nation of missionaries, whose zeal was animated by a personal interest in the conversion of their masters, that those fierce tigers might be confined in the chains of religion. Bishops, priests, and women, who mingled caresses with controversy, were sedulous to convert the princes and great men, whose example was easily followed by that of the careless multitude. Such means of conversion are far more efficacious than those with which a few Benedictines are furnished, who travel into the woods of Sweden to preach patience, humility, and faith to numerous bands of pirates. These

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épargnent, c'est moins par bonté que par mépris. Une exception, qui ne fait que confirmer ma thèse ; c'est celle des Saxons établis en Angleterre, et qui ne se convertirent qu'au bout de cent cinquante ans. Mais c'est parcequ'ils avoient chassé tous les anciens habitans dans la province de Galles, parceque le climat étoit moins différent du leur, et que cette province de l'empire étoit la plus inculte : les causes agirent néanmoins, quoiqu'avec plus de lenteur, et lorsqu'ils furent tranquillement établis, ils embrasèrent sans difficulté le Christianisme que leur annoncèrent les missionnaires Romains.

Un Protestant diroit encore que le Christianisme du dixième siècle étoit bien plus difficile à digérer que celui du cinquième : il l'est assurément pour un raisonneur.

These warriors either massacred the priests, or spared them through mere contempt. An apparent exception to this theory tends really to confirm it : the Saxons, who settled in England, were not converted till one hundred and fifty years after their establishment in that country. This happened, because they drove the ancient inhabitants into Wales ; because the climate of England was not widely different from their own ; and because this kingdom was the least polished of all the Roman provinces. But the same causes operated on the Saxons, though more slowly ; and when they began to enjoy tranquillity at home, they readily embraced Christianity as taught them by the Roman missionaries.

A Protestant would also observe, that the Christianity of the tenth century is of far more difficult digestion than that of the fifth. It certainly is so to a man who reasons.

RECUEIL de mes OBSERVATIONS, et PIÈCES
DETACHÉES, sur différens Sujets.

Nº I.

Le 23 Décembre 1763.

TOUS les poètes épiques ont paru croire qu'un catalogue détaillé des armées qu'ils mettoient en campagne, et des héros qu'elles avoient à leur tête, faisoit une partie essentielle et nécessaire de leurs poèmes. Un commentateur est obligé de les justifier ; mais quel lecteur les a lus avec plaisir ? Ils refroidissent l'intérêt, ils ralentissent l'action au moment que l'attention est la plus attachée. Toutes les beautés des détails, tous les ornemens de la poésie, nous garantissent à peine de l'ennui. On le sent un peu cet ennui, lorsqu'on parcourt un pareil dénombrement dans un ouvrage historique : mais on le pardonne parcequ'il est nécessaire. Dans l'histoire, c'est ordinairement le nombre et la qualité des troupes, qui donnent la victoire. Dans l'épopée, c'est toujours la protection des dieux et la valeur merveilleuse d'un

A COLLECTION of my REMARKS, and
DETACHED PIECES, on different Subjects.

No I.

23d December 1763.

ALL epic poets seem to consider an exact catalogue of the armies which they send into the field, and of the heroes by whom they are commanded, as a necessary and essential part of their poems. A commentator is obliged to justify this practice ; but to what reader did it ever give pleasure ? Such catalogues destroy the interest and retard the progress of the action, when our attention to it is most alive. All the beauties of detail, and all the ornaments of poetry, scarcely suffice to amuse our weariness ; a weariness produced by such enumerations even in historical works, but which are pardoned in them, because necessary. In history, the victory commonly depends on the number and quality of the troops ; but in epic poetry, it is always decided by the protection of the gods and the marvellous valour of the hero. Achilles is invincible ;

d'un héros. Achille est invincible ; mais les Myrmidons sont à peine connus. Homère a fait un catalogue des Grecs : je le fais ; mais Homère peut n'avoir pas eu raison. Il peut ne l'avoir eue que pour lui seul. Son exemple particulier fait-il une loi générale ? En ce cas tout poème épique doit être un siège ; il doit finir sans que la place soit ni prise, ni délivrée. Une preuve frappante que tous les poètes ont sentie eux-mêmes qu'ils suivoient l'usage, plutôt que la raison ; c'est qu'ils ont toujours traité ces catalogues comme des hors d'œuvre, que les héros du catalogue sont rarement ceux de l'histoire, et que les premiers, après avoir brillé un instant à la revue, disparoissent pour faire place aux personnages plus essentiels. Le poète n'a pas besoin d'une ressource aussi froide et aussi usée, pour faire connoître à ses lecteurs les véritables héros de son épopée.

Un critique peut condamner ces catalogues poétiques ; mais malheur à ce critique, s'il est insensible à toutes les beautés que Virgile a su mettre dans le sien, à la vivacité du coloris, au nombre et à la différence des tableaux, et à cette harmonie douce et soutenue qui satisfait toujours l'oreille et l'esprit. L'armée des Etrusques n'est pas inférieure à celle de Turnus : comme elle, c'est l'élite de plusieurs peuples belliqueux rassemblés sous les étendards des héros et des demi-dieux. Mais elle a sur les *Rutuli*
un

ble ; his myrmidons are scarcely known. Homer has indeed given a catalogue ; yet this perhaps was not right in Homer, or right only in him. Ought his particular example to make a general law ? In that case, the subject of every epic poem ought to be a siege, and the poem ought to conclude before either the place is taken or the siege raised. Poets themselves afford a convincing proof that they were sensible of following custom rather than reason, by treating those catalogues merely as episodes, and by introducing into them heroes, who are rarely those of history ; and who, after shining a moment in those reviews, totally disappear, in order to make room for characters more essential to the action. An epic poet stands not in need of so dull and vulgar an expedient for making the reader acquainted with his true heroes.

A critic may condemn those poetical catalogues ; but woe to the critic, if he is insensible to all the beauties by which that of Virgil is adorned ; the brightness of his colouring, the number and variety of his pictures, and that sweet and well-sustained harmony, which always charms the ear and the soul. The army of the Tuscans is not inferior to that of Turnus ; being also composed of the flower of many warlike nations assembled under the standards of heroes and demigods. But it enjoys over the Rutuli an advantage which it was natural should belong to the allies of Eneas ; having justice and the gods on its side. Every
reader,

un avantage, tel qu'il convenoit aux amis d'Enée. Elle a pour elle la justice et les dieux. Chaque lecteur, en détestant les forfaits de Mézence, applaudit aux efforts d'une nation libre et généreuse, qui a osé détrôner son tyran, et qui cherche à le punir. J'ai toujours été étonné que le courtifan d'Auguste ait songé à cet épisode, qui auroit mieux convenu à l'ami de Brutus. Tout y respire les idées républicaines les plus fortes, et peut-être les plus outrées. Mézence étoit souverain légitime et héréditaire d'un pays dont il devint le tyran. Son peuple aussitôt le précipite du trône, et se regardant désormais comme libre ; il ne songe pas un instant aux droits d'un fils infortuné et vertueux. Mézence trouve un asyle chez les *Rutuli*, mais ses sujets furieux implorent les secours de leurs alliés. Toute l'Etrurie les armes à la main, veut enlever son roi à ses défenseurs, pour le conduire au supplice ; et cette fureur des Etrusques est approuvée des loix, des dieux et du poète :

*Ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
Regem ad supplicium presenti Marte reposcunt.*

VIRGIL, *Æneid* viii. 494.

Si je voulois établir la thèse générale et illimitée du droit qu'ont les sujets de punir les crimes de leurs princes, je ne choisirois que cet exemple qui ne permet plus de restriction ni de modification. Parmi les anciens eux-mêmes

reader, while he detests the crimes of Mezentius, must applaud the exertions of a free and generous people, who have ventured to dethrone their tyrant, and are eager to punish him. I have always wondered that the courtier of Augustus should have introduced an episode which would have been more properly treated by the friend of Brutus. Every line breathes republican sentiments, the boldest, and perhaps the most extravagant. Mezentius was the lawful and hereditary sovereign of a country, of which he rendered himself the tyrant. His subjects hurled him from the throne, and thenceforth regard themselves as free, without once considering the rights of his unfortunate and virtuous son. Mezentius finds an asylum among the Rutuli ; but his furious subjects implore the assistance of their allies. All Etruria in arms determine to tear their king from the hands of his defenders, in order to subject him to punishment ; and this fury of the Tuscans is approved by the gods and the poet :

*Ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
Regem ad supplicium presenti Marte reposcunt.*

If I wished to establish it as a general and unlimited principle, that subjects have a right to punish the crimes of their sovereigns, I would prefer this example, which admits of neither modification nor restriction. Among the ancients themselves, it appears to me to have been as singular

mêmes je le crois unique dans la théorie, comme la mort d'Agis l'est dans la pratique. Auguste devoit lire en tremblant l'un et l'autre ; et si Virgile avoit eu le tems de réciter le huitième livre de l'Enéide, je ne fais pas si on l'auroit recompensé comme l'éloge de Marcellus.

Ma surprise augmente, lorsque je pense que l'histoire de Mézence est de l'invention du poète ; qu'il n'entroit point dans la première ordonnance de son poème ; et qu'il l'ignoroit lui-même quand il composoit le septième livre. Il paroît que Virgile, après avoir conçu l'idée générale du but où il tendoit, s'abandonnoit à son génie pour lui fournir des moyens pour y arriver, et que revêtissant l'esprit et la situation de son héros, il cherchoit des difficultés pour les surmonter, sans savoir précisément comment il les surmonteroit ; qu'en un mot dans le tems qu'il faisoit débarquer Enée sur les bords du Tybre, il ignoroit le détail des événemens qui conduiroient à la mort de Turnus. Je dis le détail des événemens : le personnage de Mézence dépend de celui d'Evandre et de Pallas, et la mort de celui-ci est essentiellement liée avec celle de Turnus. Cette méthode de travailler n'a-t-elle pas ses avantages ? On a donné des applaudissemens à celle de Richardson, qui n'en est que l'imitation. La vérité et la hardiesse valent bien le timide embarras d'un poète qui même en formant le nœud, ne s'occupe

singular in theory as the death of Agis was in practice. Augustus must have read both with terror ; and had Virgil continued to recite the eighth book of the *Eneid*, I suspect that he would not have been so well rewarded for the story of Mezentius as he was for the panegyric of Marcellus.

My surprise increases, when I consider that the story of Mezentius is entirely Virgil's invention ; that it entered not into the general plan of his poem ; and that he himself had not thought of it when he composed his seventh book. It appears that Virgil, after forming a general idea of his design, trusted to his genius for supplying him with the means of carrying it into execution ; and that entering into the character and situation of his hero, he prepared for him difficulties to encounter, without knowing exactly how he would surmount them : in one word, when he landed *Enecas* on the banks of the *Tiber*, that he knew not the whole series of events which should lead to the death of *Turnus*. I say the whole series of events ; for the part of Mezentius depends on the introduction of *Evander* and *Pallas*, and the death of *Pallas* is intimately connected with that of *Turnus*. This manner of writing is not destitute of its advantages. It is applauded in Richardson, who has only imitated Virgil. The truth and boldness by which it is characterised far surpass the timid perplexity of a writer, who, while he forms his plot, is at the same time considering how he shall unravel it.

s'occupe que du dénouement. L'exemple de Virgile vaut bien celui de Chapelain, qui avoit écrit toute la Pucelle en prose, avant de la traduire en vers. Je sens que Virgile auroit revû son travail, s'il avoit vécu, pour en former un tout simple et uniforme, et qu'il auroit effacé avec soin toutes les traces aux-quelles un lecteur attentif pourroit reconnoître des pièces détachées, qui n'étoient point faites les unes pour les autres. En voici deux or trois.

1. Mézence paroît à la tête des guerriers qui suivent Turnus : mais il y paroît en roi maître de ses états. Il arrive des côtes Tyrrhéniennes avec des troupes nombreuses, et son fils, le vaillant Lausus, le suit avec mille guerriers de la ville de *Cære*. 2. Messapus, roi des *Falisci*, est Toscan. *Fescennium*, *Soracte*, la forêt Ciminienne, sont parmi les lieux les plus célèbres de l'Etrurie. Ce prince Etrusque auroit-il abandonné le corps de la nation entière, rassemblée par les crimes de Mézence ? Se seroit-il trouvé dans le camp des ennemis, auroit-il amené au secours de Turnus des peuples énervés par la mollesse, et qui ne connoissoient plus la guerre que pour la détester ? Le poète n'auroit-il pas donné à une démarche si singulière des motifs vraisemblables ? Auroit-il dit que toute l'Etrurie s'étoit soulevée contre Mézence ? 3. Cet Aventinus du Mont Aventin, le fils d'Hercule, est un personnage pittoresque dans le catalogue ; mais il ne peut subsister avec Evandre. L'un et l'autre regnoient
dans

it. Virgil's example is surely more worthy of imitation than that of Chapelain, who wrote the whole of his Pucelle in prose, before he translated it into poetry. I am sensible that had Virgil lived to revise his work, he would have given to it uniformity and unity ; and carefully effaced all those marks by which an attentive reader may perceive in it detached parts, not originally written the one for the other. Of these take the following examples.

1. Mezentius appears at the head of the warriors who follow Turnus, but appears as a king completely master of his dominions. He arrives from the Tyrrhenian coasts with numerous troops, and his son, the valiant Lausus, follows him with a thousand warriors from the city of *Cære*. 2. Messapus, king of the *Falisci*, is a Tuscan. *Fescennium*, *Soraacte*, the Ciminian forest, are among the most celebrated places of Etruria. This Tuscan prince, would he have forsaken the whole body of his nation united by the crimes of Mezentius ? Is it to be expected that he should be found in the camp of the enemy ; or that he would have brought, as auxiliaries to Turnus, a people sunk in effeminacy, and who knew war only by their detestation of it ? The poet would have coloured so extraordinary a measure, by assuming for it some probable motive. Would he have said that all Etruria was in insurrection against Mezentius ? 3. Aventinus, of Mount Aventine, the son of Hercules, makes a striking figure in the catalogue ; but his part is inconsistent

dans les mêmes lieux, et en même tems. On dira peut-être que l'un de ces princes occupoit le Mont Palatin pendant que l'autre dominoit sur l'Aventin. Non;—Evandre montre à Enée cet Aventin, qui n'étoit qu'un rocher désert *, situé dans son petit royaume, qui n'étoit borné que par le Tybre et les *Rutuli* †.

Je crois que Virgile auroit encore corrigé quelques fautes qu'on apperçoit avec peine dans le catalogue des guerriers Toscans. Il savoit bien que lorsqu'un poète parle d'une science, il doit en parler avec précision, et il se seroit rappelé, que la géographie ne nuit point à la poésie. 1. Sur les douze cités de l'Etrurie, qui composoient le corps de la nation, il en auroit nommé plus de deux, *Clusum* et *Cære*, et il se seroit moins appesanti sur une foule de lieux subalternes et obscurs, dont les habitans ne pouvoient que suivre les étendards de leurs maîtres. 2. Il auroit pensé peut-être que sept ou huit beaux vers ne valaient pas la peine qu'il fit paroître les Liguriens, nation étrangère et ennemie, dans une guèrré civile, qui ne pouvoit intéresser que le corps Etrusque. 3. Je vois le camp des Toscans assis sur les bords de la mer, aux environs de *Cære*; je vois leurs vaisseaux, et tous les préparatifs d'une expédition éloignée. Ils s'embarquent en effet, mais ce n'est que pour une navigation de trente milles. Ils la préfèrent cette navigation à une marche aisée

consistent with that of Evander. They reigned at the same time, and over the same place. It will be said that one of those princes occupied the Palatine, while the other reigned over the Aventine Mount. This is impossible; for Evander shews the Aventine to Eneas, which was a barren rock *, situate in his little kingdom, which had no other boundaries than the Tiber, and the territory of the Rutuli †.

I believe that Virgil would also have corrected some faults, which it is painful to see in his enumeration of the Tuscan warriors. He well knew that when a poet speaks of a science, he ought to do it with precision; and he could not forget that accurate geography is not incompatible with poetry. Of the twelve cities which composed the confederacy of Etruria, he would have named more than *Cære* and *Clusum*, and he would not have dwelt on the crowd of secondary towns, which could not do otherwise than follow the standards of their respective capitals. 2. He would not have thought that seven or eight beautiful verses compensated for introducing the Ligurians, a foreign and hostile nation, into the civil wars of the Tuscans, which could only be interesting to the members of their own confederacy. 3. I see the camp of the Tuscans on the sea-shore near to *Cære*; I see their vessels, and all the preparations for a distant expedition. They embark, but it is only for a voyage of thirty miles. They prefer this navigation to an easy march of two days, which would have brought them to the country

* Virgil, *Æneid* viii. 190.

† Le même, 473.

aisée de deux jours, qui les auroit conduit aux terres d'Evandre leur allié. Ils y auroient passé le Tybre, et se feroient vûs sur la frontière des *Rutuli*. 4. Cette expédition navale me surprend, mais celle des troupes de Mantoue ne se conçoit pas. Cinq cens guerriers, qui s'embarquent sur le *Mincius*, ne peuvent se trouver dans les mers de l'Etrurie, sans avoir fait le tour de l'Italie entière. Virgile aimoit sa patrie, mais il auroit facilement trouvé le moyen de l'amener au secours d'Enée, sans choquer la vraisemblance ou la géographie.

N^o II.

Le 24 Décembre 1763, à LAUSANNE.

JE vais dire quatre mots du catalogue de Silius Italicus. 1. Il me conviendrait mal de parler de l'ordonnance générale d'un poëme, dont je n'ai lu qu'un morceau détaché ; mais ce morceau me fait sentir que Pline avoit très bien connu son contemporain, quand il a décidé qu'il devoit plus à l'art qu'à la nature. Cet art paroît moins dans le style qui est aisé et coulant, que dans les idées qui sont d'un homme qui se donne la torture pour être sublime, et qui lutte contre son génie en faveur de son sujet. Je croirois volontiers que Silius auroit mieux fait de prendre Ovide pour son modèle que Virgile.

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of their ally Evander. There they would have passed the Tiber, and found themselves on the frontiers of the Rutuli. 4. This naval expedition affords matter of surprise ; but that of the troops of Mantua is totally incredible. Five hundred warriors embarking on the Mincius, could not arrive in the Tuscan sea without making the circumnavigation of the whole Italian coast. Virgil loved the place of his birth ; but he might easily have discovered the means of bringing its ancient inhabitants to the assistance of Eneas, without offending against probability and geography.

N^o II.

24th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

I PROCEED to say a few words on the catalogue of Silius Italicus. 1. It would ill become me to speak of the general plan of a poem, of which I have read only a detached passage : yet this passage is sufficient to convince me that Pliny well knew his contemporary, when he pronounced that Silius owed more to art than to nature. This art is less apparent in the style, which is easy and flowing, than in the thoughts, which are those of a man who is continually striving to be sublime, and continually struggling against his own genius in favour of his subject. I am persuaded that Silius would have judged better in taking Ovid than Virgil for his model. Wherever he does not offer violence

Dans tous les endroits où il ne fait pas violence à son esprit, je vois une imagination riche, aisée, et naturelle. Avec ce caractère, je m'étonne qu'il ait préféré l'épopée à l'épique. La plupart de ceux qui ont échoué dans la haute poésie, avoient l'esprit dur et l'imagination déréglée. Comme malheureusement ils avoient aussi peu de goût que de talent, il leur étoit facile de prendre ces qualités pour la force, l'élévation et un génie créateur. Ces défauts y avoient du moins quelques rapports. 2. Virgile étoit libre; Silius étoit esclave. L'un pouvoit choisir sur tous les peuples de l'Italie, ceux qui lui convenoient le mieux; l'autre ne pouvoit en omettre aucun. Il se voyoit dans la dure nécessité d'écrire une géographie poétique de tout ce pays, depuis le Détroit de *Rhegium* jusqu'aux Alpes. Cette contrainte ne se fait que trop sentir dans son ouvrage. 3. Silius a voulu suivre son grand modèle avec un respect trop superstitieux. L'Italie ne renfermoit plus dans son sein, une multitude de nations différentes, dont les armes, les mœurs, et jusqu'à la langue, répandoient sur le poème une variété intéressante, pendant que leurs chefs et leurs fondateurs fournissoient au poète des écarts agréables dans le pays des fictions. Toutes ces nations devenues Romaines ne connoissoient plus que les loix, les drapeaux et la discipline de la république, et ce grand corps présentait plus d'objets

violence to his genius, his fancy is rich, easy, and natural. With such a character, it is surprising that he did not prefer the elegiac to the epic. The greatest part of those who have failed in this last species of poetry are distinguished by a severity of character, and a wild irregularity of fancy; and, as they had as little taste as talent, they easily mistook those qualities for strength, elevation, and originality of genius. Faults were confounded with excellencies, to which they bore some bastard resemblance. 2. Virgil was free, Silius in fetters. The former might choose among all the nations of Italy those who most suited his design: the latter could not omit any of those nations without being guilty of a fault. He was under the hard necessity of writing a poetical geography of the whole country between the Strait of *Rhegium* and the Alps; and this constraint is but too visible in his performance. 3. Silius followed his model with a respect bordering on superstition. Italy no longer contained in her bosom a multitude of different nations, whose arms, manners, and even languages, diffused a pleasing variety over the subject, while the story of their chiefs and founders invited the writer to agreeable excursions in the region of fancy. All those nations were become strictly Roman, and had exactly conformed to the laws, ensigns, and discipline of the republic; a vast but uniform object, which was better fitted for suggesting reflections to a philosopher, than for animating the descriptions of a poet. Silius, after seeking for characteristic

differences,

jets à la spéculation du philosophe qu'aux descriptions du poëte. Le nôtre, après avoir cherché des traits caractéristiques qui ne subsistoient, et qui ne convenoient plus aux nations qu'il décrit, se jette à tout instant sur ceux des pays qu'ils habitoient. Ses tableaux sont vifs et variés, mais ils sont assez peu à leur place. La nation qui vient se mêler aux combats, peut influencer sur l'action du poëme. Le pays qu'elle a laissé, ne peut qu'être étranger à l'épopée. 4. Silius auroit dû se souvenir qu'*Aquilina* ne subsistoit point dans la seconde guerre Punique*, et que nous ne la connoissons que depuis la colonie Latine que le sénat y plaça contre les Gaulois, plus de trente ans après la bataille de Cannes †.

Nº III.

Le 25 Décembre 1763, à LAUSANNE.

UN chapitre à faire dans l'Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire, par Bergier, c'étoit l'usage que les Romains en faisoient. Il a bien parlé des postes qui n'étoient utiles qu'à un petit nombre de personnes ; mais il restoit encore bien des choses à dire. Une recherche critique sur les journées ordinaires des voyageurs, auroit été intéressante par les lumières qu'elle auroit répandues

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differences which no longer prevailed among the nations whom he describes, is continually introducing those of the countries which they inhabited. His pictures have life and variety ; but they are not in their proper place. The character of the people who were to fight was of importance in deciding the issue of the battle ; the nature of the countries which they left behind them was entirely foreign to the subject. 4. Silius ought to have remembered that *Aquilina* was not in existence during the second Punic war* ; and that we knew nothing of this place till it became the seat of a Latin colony, sent thither to check the incursions of the Gauls, thirty years after the battle of Cannæ †.

Nº III.

25th December 1763. * LAUSANNE.

AN useful chapter might be added to the History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, by Bergier, explaining the uses to which the Romans applied them. He has indeed mentioned posts, which afforded conveniency to a small number of persons ; but has omitted many important particulars that still remain to be told. A critical examination of the ordinary journeys of travellers would afford important informa-

* Silius Ital. viii. 606.
L. i. C. 15.

† Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. Vell. Patercul.

sur la vie privée des Romains, et souvent même sur la géographie et la chronologie. Je fais que les différences d'âge, de condition et de circonstances, ne peuvent manquer d'y mettre de l'incertitude ; mais les moyens qui sont les mêmes, réduiront ces différences dans de certaines limites.

Auguste voyageoit avec une lenteur singulière dans les environs de Rome ; une promenade à Tibur (20 milles Romains *), ou à Preneste (25 milles †), étoit pour lui un voyage de deux jours, ou plutôt de deux nuits ‡. Mais la situation d'Auguste étoit aussi singulière que son goût. Une santé languissante depuis sa jeunesse, l'obligeoit aux ménagemens les plus excessifs, et l'on peut soupçonner que l'inclination lui faisoit encore outrer les conseils de la raison. On voit par son fidèle biographe, que ce prince s'étoit bientôt rassasié de la débauche, qu'il méprisa toujours le luxe, mais qu'il conservoit un grand penchant pour la mollesse. Ajoûtons encore qu'il voyageoit en litière, porté par des esclaves, et qu'il marchoit avec beaucoup de lenteur pour ne pas dérober un instant au travail. La douceur de la voiture lui permettoit de lire, d'écrire, et de vaquer aux affaires, comme dans son cabinet §. Un pareil exemple ne tire point à conséquence.

II

tion concerning the private life of the Romans, and even throw light on geography and chronology. I am sensible that the differences of age, condition, and circumstances, must render our general conclusions uncertain ; but as the means were universally the same, these uncertainties will be reduced within certain limits.

Augustus travelled with an extraordinary slowness in the neighbourhood of Rome. A journey to Tibur (20 Roman miles *), or to Preneste (25 miles †), consumed two days, or rather two nights ‡. But the situation of Augustus was as singular as his taste. The weakness of his health from his youth upwards compelled him to the strictest regimen ; and by his own temper he would be inclined to carry the dictates of prudence to an extreme. It appears from his faithful biographer that this prince was soon tired of debauchery ; and that he always despised luxury, though much addicted to effeminacy. We may add to these circumstances, that he travelled in a litter carried by slaves ; and proceeded with great slowness, that his attention might not be withdrawn a moment from his usual occupations. The gentle motion of his carriage allowed him to read, write, and attend to the same affairs which employed him in his cabinet §. From such an example, no general consequence can be deduced.

* Itineraria Antiq. Edit. Wesseling, p. 309.

† Idem, p. 502.

‡ Sueton. in August. lxxviii. § Plin. Epist. iii. 5. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 239.

Il en est de même de ces courses rapides et surprenantes dont les anciens nous ont conservé la mémoire. Quelle différence entre la marche d'Auguste et celle de son fils Tibère qui fit deux cens milles en vingt quatre heures, quand il alla fermer les yeux à son frère Drusus * ; ou du Dictateur César, qui couroit cent milles par jour avec des voitures de louage † ! Stace nous parle d'une vitesse aussi extraordinaire, quand il dit qu'un voyageur pouvoit partir de Rome le matin, et coucher à *Baia* ou *Puteoli* ; cette journée est bien forte, puisqu'elle est de 141 milles Romains ‡, ou de 127 milles d'Angleterre.

*Nil obstat cupidis ; nihil moratur
Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
Primo vespere naviget Lucrinum §.*

Je sens que le poète veut faire l'éloge du beau chemin que Domitien avoit fait construire de Sinuessæ à Cumæ, qui avoit affermi les sables de *Liternum* et contenu les débordemens du *Vulturnus*. Les trente milles qu'il parcouroit, et qui consommoient un jour entier, étoient devenus l'affaire de deux petites heures. Peut-être qu'il faut rabattre quelque chose pour l'adulation d'un poète qui vouloit faire sa cour. Cependant la possibilité du voyage

The same may be said of those rapid and extraordinary journeys of which the ancients sometimes make mention. How wide is the difference between the mode of travelling of Augustus and that of his son Tiberius, who accomplished a journey of two hundred miles in twenty-four hours, when he hastened to close the eyes of his brother Drusus * ; or that of Cæsar the dictator, who posted one hundred miles a-day with hired carriages †. Statius speaks of a rapidity as extraordinary, when he says that a traveller might set out from Rome in the morning, and sleep at *Baia* or *Puteoli* ; an expeditious journey indeed, since the distance is 141 Roman ‡, or 127 English miles.

*Nil obstat cupidis ; nihil moratur
Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
Primo vespere naviget Lucrinum §.*

I know that the poet wished to celebrate the fine road which Domitian had made from Sinuessæ to Cumæ ; which had fixed the sands of *Liternum*, and restrained the inundations of the *Vulturnus*. The thirty miles which he had passed, and which used to be the work of a day, now scarcely consumed two hours. Perhaps we must make some allowance for the flattery of a poet, who wished to pay his court. Yet

* Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 20.

† Sueton. in Cæsar, lvi.

‡ Vetera Itiner. p. 107, 108. 122.

§ Stat. Sylvar. 14. Carm. iii.

voyage devoit être reconnue. Ce n'est pas sur des objets aussi simples, aussi publics et aussi précis que l'on ose mentir.

Je conçois jusqu'à quel point les chemins des Romains avoient facilité les voyages, quand je me rappelle la marche du courier qui apporta à Rome la première nouvelle de la défaite de Persée. Le jour de la bataille est fixé par une éclipse de Lune, qui arriva le jour précédant le troisième des Nones de Septembre, c'est à dire, le 21 de Juin de l'année Julienne Proleptique *. Ce courier arriva dans le Cirque, le second jour des jeux Romains, et le treizième jour après la défaite †. Ces deux caractères montrent que pour avoir les treize jours, il faut compter l'un et l'autre, puisqu'ils nous indiquent le seizième des calendes d'Octobre ‡, le 4 Juillet. On peut donc leur donner douze jours complets. La navigation de *Dyrrachium* à *Brundysium* pouvoit lui en emporter deux, puisqu'elle étoit de 1300 stades, ou 225 milles § ; et que Ptolémée compte la navigation ordinaire d'un vaisseau à 1000 stades par jour ||. Il reste à distribuer dix jours sur la route de *Pella* à *Dyrrachium*, qui étoit de 253 milles ¶, et sur celle de *Brundysium* à Rome, qui étoit de 368 milles **. Ce total de 621 milles, ne lui

the possibility of the journey must be admitted, since falsehoods are not to be risked in matters so simple, public, and precise.

We may perceive how much the Roman roads must have facilitated travelling, when we call to mind the journey of the courier, who brought to Rome the first news of the defeat of Perseus. The date of the battle is precisely fixed by an eclipse of the moon, which happened the day preceding the nones of September, that is, the 21st of June of the Julian year *. The courier arrived in the Circus the second day of the Roman games, and the thirteenth after the defeat †. These two circumstances shew, that to get the thirteen days we must reckon both the day of his departure and that of his arrival, which will bring us to the 16th of the calends of October ‡, the 4th of July. We may therefore reckon twelve complete days; two of which might be employed in sailing from *Dyrrachium* to *Brundysium*, since the distance is 1300 stadia, or 225 miles §; and Ptolemy estimates an ordinary ship's way at 1000 stadia each day ||. The ten remaining days were consumed in the journey from *Pella* to *Dyrrachium*, 253 miles ¶; and in that from *Brundysium* to Rome, 368 miles **. in all, 621; which gives no more

* Isaac. Bulliad. Epist. ad Calcem. Tom. iii. Tit. Liv. ex Edit. Gronov.

† Tit. Liv. xlv. 37. xlv. 1.

‡ Rosin. Antiq. L. iv. C. 13.

§ Itineraria, p. 317. et Not. Wesseling. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 2.

|| Ptolemæi Geog. C. ix.

¶ Itineraria, p. 319.

** Itineraria Ant. p. 307. iii. 117.

lui donne guères que soixante milles par jour. C'étoit néanmoins un seul courier qui apportoit dans la plus belle saison de l'année, la nouvelle d'une grande victoire. Aussi devança-t-il de plusieurs jours les députés du consul, qui faisoient eux-mêmes toute la diligence possible. Mais la voye Egnatienne n'étoit pas encore faite : la voye Appienne ne s'étendoit que jusqu'à Capoue, et les Grecs ne se sont jamais occupés de la construction des grands chemins *.

Parmi les voyages plus ordinaires des Romains, qui n'alloient ni en courier, ni en malade, j'en trouve deux que nous connoissons avec quelque détail : le voyage d'Horace à *Brundisium* par *Canusium*, et celui de Cicéron au même endroit, par la route de *Venusia* et *Tarentum*. L'un et l'autre m'arrêteront quelques instans. Commençons par le Journal d'Horace.

1. Horace ne pensoit point à nous instruire, mais à nous amuser ; il marque assez confusément ses journées, et on les devine plutôt qu'on ne les connoît. Il s'attache aux lieux qu'il a trouvés en chemin, à proportion des objets qu'il y a vûs, plutôt que du tems qu'il s'y est arrêté. Les commentateurs veulent qu'Horace ait été quinze, ou dix sept jours en chemin † ; mais le principe sur lequel ils se fondent, qu'Horace a couché dans tous les endroits dont il fait mention, me paroît des plus faibles.

than sixty miles a-day. We are to remember that this journey was performed by one courier, in the finest season of the year, and bringing the news of a great victory. He therefore anticipated, by several days, the deputies of the consul, although they likewise travelled with the greatest expedition. The Egnatian road was not yet made; the Appian extended no further than to Capua; and the Greeks never applied themselves to the making of highways *.

Among the ordinary journeys of the Romans, who travelled neither like invalids nor couriers, there are two which we know with some degree of accuracy : the journey of Horace to Brundisium, by the way of Canusium; and that of Cicero to the same place, by the way of Venusia and Tarentum : I shall speak of both, beginning with that of Horace.

1. Horace's aim was not to inform, but to amuse us : his day's journeys are described confusedly, and we rather guess at, than ascertain them. He dwells on the places in his route, in proportion to the objects which they presented to his fancy, rather than to the time during which he remained in them. Commentators would persuade us that Horace was fifteen or seventeen days on the road † ; but the foundation of this opinion, namely, that the poet slept at all the places of which

* Strabon. Geog. v. p. 162.

† Horat. L. i. Sat. 5. v. 134. Edit. ad usum Delphini.

bles. Il est bien plus naturel de ne faire attention qu'aux circonstances caractéristiques de soir, de matin, de repas, &c. qui se trouvent dispersées dans la satire. Voici le journal que j'en voudrois tirer. Premier jour, Horace partit de Rome avec le rhéteur Heliodore, pour aller coucher à Aricie, seize milles ;

*Egressum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ,
Hospitio modico *.*

Deuxième jour, il arriva à *Forum Appii*, à l'entrée de la nuit ; vingt sept milles.

————— *Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, et cælo diffundere signa parabat.*

Il voyageoit sur le canal pendant la nuit, et prit terre vers la quatrième heure (dix heures du matin du troisième jour). Après avoir pris un repas léger à *Feronia*, il marcha trois milles pour gagner Terracine, qui étoit à dix huit milles de *Forum Appi*. Je ne vois point qu'il se soit arrêté à Terracine, ni à *Fundi*. Aussi étoit-il bien fatigué lorsqu'il arriva à *Formiæ*, qui étoit à trente deux milles de *Feronia*.

*In Mamurrarum lassî deinde urbe manemus,
Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.*

* Pour tout le voyage, la cinquième Satyre du premier livre d'Horace.

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he makes mention, appears to me to be an exceedingly weak one. Our conjectures will be more natural, if we attend to the characteristic circumstances of the evening, morning, the hour of repast, &c. circumstances which are scattered through the satire. The following is the journal, with which this consideration will furnish us. The first day Horace left Rome, with the rhetorician Heliodorus, to take up his night's abode at Aricia, sixteen miles distant.

*Egressum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ,
Hospitio modico †.*

The second day he arrived at the *Forum Appii*, towards the evening ; twenty-seven miles.

————— *Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, et cælo diffundere signa parabat.*

He sailed along the canal in the night, and landed at the fourth hour (ten o'clock A. M. of the third day.) After a light breakfast at *Feronia*, he travelled three miles towards Terracina, which is eighteen miles distant from the *Forum Appii*. I do not perceive that he halted either at Terracina or at *Fundi* ; so that he was much fatigued when he arrived at *Formiæ*, which is thirty-two miles from *Feronia*.

*In Mamurrarum lassî deinde urbe manemus,
Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.*

† The whole journey is described in the fifth Satire of the first book of Horace.

Le quatrième jour, Mécène et sa suite arrivèrent de bonne heure à Sinuessæ, éloignée de *Formiæ* dix huit milles.

*Postera lux oritur multo gratissima : namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ Virgiliûsque
Occurrunt.*

Les commentateurs ont senti eux-mêmes que nos voyageurs ne firent que manger un morceau à Sinuessæ, et qu'ils poussèrent jusqu'au pont de la Campanie, *Pons Campanius*, sur le *Savo*, à huit milles de Sinuessæ, et à seize de Capoue *.

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
Præbuit ; et parochi quæ debent ligna salemq.*

Le cinquième jour, leurs mulets les menèrent à Capoue de très bonne heure.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

Je vois que les poètes se couchèrent, et que Mécène alla jouer à la paume, ce qui annonce l'heure des exercices, qui finissoient avant deux heures après midi ; mais Horace ne parle, ni du bain, ni du souper qui le suivoient à l'ordinaire. Je pense qu'au lieu de se mettre à table, ils remontèrent en voiture, et firent encore vingt un milles pour aller souper et coucher chez Cocceius, l'un de
la

The fourth day, Mecenas and his suite arrive early at Sinuessæ, eighteen miles from Formiæ.

*Postera lux oritur multo gratissima : namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ Virgiliûsque
Occurrunt.*

The commentators have themselves observed that our travellers only dined at Sinuessæ, and then proceeded to the bridge of Campania, *Pons Campanius*, on the *Savo*, eighteen miles from Sinuessæ, and sixteen from Capua *.

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum
Præbuit ; et parochi quæ debent ligna salemq.*

The fifth day, the mules brought them early to Capua.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

The poets went to sleep, while Mecenas diverted himself at tennis ; which shews that it was the time for exercise, which ended before two o'clock P. M. Horace says nothing of the bath and supper which commonly followed. I conclude, therefore, that instead of sitting down to table, they again entered into their carriage, and proceeded twenty-one

* Clavier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p. 1077. Itiner. Hierosolytanum. Edit. Wessel. p. 611.

la compagnie, qui avoit une maison sur les hauteurs au-dessus de Caudium.

*Hinc nos Cocceii recipit plenissima villa,
Quæ super est Caudî cauponas.*—————

* * * * *

Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.

Le sixième jour, ils ne firent qu'une très petite journée du château de Cocceius à Beneventum : elle n'étoit que de onze milles. On peut soupçonner que la gaieté et la bonne chère les fit veiller un peu tard chez Cocceius, et qu'il ne les laissa partir qu'après le diner du lendemain ; c'est pourquoi je ne compterai ici qu'une demi-journée. Nous avons donc 164 milles Romains à répartir sur cinq jours et demi, ce qui donne environ 30 milles Romains, ou 27 milles d'Angleterre, par jour. Mais je crois qu'il ne faudroit compter que quatre jours et demi. Horace voyagea avec la paresse d'un homme de lettres, jusqu'à la rencontre des ambassadeurs à Terracine. Il mit deux jours pour aller de Rome à *Forum Appi*, mais il avoue en même tems, que des voyageurs plus actifs n'en auroient fait qu'une seule journée.

*Hoc iter ignavi divissimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum. Minus est gravis Appia tardis.*

Les

miles, to sup and sleep at the house of Cocceius, one of the company, which was situate on the heights of Caudium.

*Hinc nos Cocceii recipit plenissima villa,
Quæ super est Caudî cauponas.*—————

* * * * *

Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.

The sixth day, they performed only a very short journey from the castle of Cocceius to Beneventum : it was no more than eight miles. It is probable that the gaiety and good cheer of the house of Cocceius made them sit up late, and that he did not allow them to depart next day till after dinner ; for which reason I shall reckon this but half a day's journey. In the whole, therefore, we have 164 Roman miles to divide by five days and a half, which gives 30 Roman, or 27 English miles, a day. But I am of opinion that we ought to divide by four days and an half. Horace travelled with the laziness of a man of letters, until he met the ambassadors at Terracina. He employed two days between Rome and the Forum Appii ; but he confesses that more expeditious travellers would have performed that journey in one day.

*Hoc iter ignavi divissimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctus unum. Minus est gravis Appia tardis.*

The

Les ambassadeurs voyagèrent avec beaucoup plus d'embaras, mais en même tems avec plus d'aisances et de diligence. Mais il faudroit être mieux instruits que nous ne le sommes de leur négociation, pour déterminer s'ils avoient envie d'arriver au plutôt à *Brundisium*. Quelquefois un négociateur veut gagner du tems; il lui convient quelquefois d'en perdre. Ces quatre jours et demi auxquels j'ai réduit le voyage d'Horace de Rome à *Beneventum*, donneront par jour $36\frac{1}{2}$ milles Romains, ou près de 33 milles d'Angleterre.

Jusqu'à *Beneventum* nous voyageons en pays de connoissance: mais en sortant de cette ville, Horace va se perdre dans les montagnes de l'Apulie, pour ne reparoître qu'à *Canusium*. Tout est obscur dans cette partie de sa route, et si nous avons quelques lueurs, elles sont si propres à nous tromper, qu'elles ont fait soupçonner au Père Sanadon qu'Horace s'étoit égaré dans les montagnes de son pays*. Mais pourquoi veut-on que la *Villa Trivici* soit *Trivicum*; et qu'*Equotutium* soit le nom qu'on ne pouvoit pas exprimer en vers? La géographie de ces lieux s'y oppose. Pourquoi s'obstine-t-on à vouloir déterminer une maison de campagne et une bourgade (*oppidulum*), situées dans le Canton de l'Italie le plus désert et le moins connu. Contentons-nous de la connoissance générale que ces deux endroits, ignorés d'ailleurs,

The ambassadors were embarrassed with a more numerous suite, but they travelled with more conveniencies and greater expedition. Yet we ought to be better informed than we are of the object of their negotiation, to determine whether they were bent on reaching *Brundisium* with all possible haste. An ambassador wishes to accelerate or retard his journey as the business of his mission may require. These four days and an half to which I would reduce the journey of Horace from Rome to *Beneventum* will give $36\frac{1}{2}$ Roman, near 33 English miles, for the progress of each day.

While we travel to *Beneventum*, we traverse a well-known country. But, after quitting this city, Horace is lost among the mountains of Apulia, until he re-appear at *Canusium*. We meet with little but obscurity in this part of his route; and the glimmerings of light are so well fitted to deceive us, that Father Sanadon suspects Horace of having lost his way among his native mountains*. Yet why should we suppose that the villa *Trivici* must mean *Trivicum*, or that *Equotutium* must be the name of the place that cannot be introduced into an hexameter verse? These conjectures are inconsistent with geography. Why should we persist in fixing with accuracy the situation of a country-house, and of a village (*oppidulum*), belonging to the most desert and least known district of all Italy? Let us be contented with knowing that

* Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 138.

d'ailleurs, étoient sur le grand chemin de *Beneventum* à *Canusium*, et il n'y a plus de difficulté. Mais cette connoissance générale ne nous permet plus de compter les journées d'Horace comme auparavant. Cependant notre poëte, tout obscur qu'il est sur les lieux, est encore assez exact sur le tems. Continuons son journal, qu'on peut ensuite comparer avec la distance connue de *Beneventum* à *Brundisium*. Le septième jour il partit de *Beneventum*, grimpa avec peine les montagnes qui séparent le pays des *Hirpini* de l'Apulie, et se reposa dans le château de *Trivicus*.

————— *Quos*
Nunquam erepsimus; nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrymoso non sine fumo.

Le huitième jour ils firent une traite de vingt quatre milles, et couchèrent dans un petit endroit, dont le nom baroque ne se pliât point à la mesure des vers.

Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est.

Le neuvième jour je les retrouve à *Canusium*; mais je pense qu'ils poussèrent jusqu'à *Rubi*. Ils y arrivèrent du moins très fatigués d'avoir fait une grande journée. Auroient ils donné ce nom à une traite de vingt trois milles.

Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter.—————

Le

these two undiscovered places stood on the high road from Beneventum to Canusium; and all difficulties will be removed. Yet this general knowledge will not allow us to ascertain the day's journies as above. Our poet, however, though he speak in obscure terms of the places, is exact with respect to time. We may continue, therefore, his journal, and then compare it with the well-known distance between Beneventum and Brundisium. The seventh day, he left Beneventum, clambered with difficulty over the mountains which separate the territory of the Hirpini from Apulia, and rested in the castle of Trivicus.

————— *Quos*
Nunquam erepsimus; nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrymoso non sine fumo.

The eighth, our travellers proceeded twenty-four miles, and slept at a small village, whose grotesque name could not enter into a verse.

Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est.

The ninth day, I find them at Canusium, but I imagine they proceeded to Rubi; at least they arrived there much fatigued with a long journey. This appellation could not have been given to twenty-three miles.

Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter.—————

The

Le dixième jour ils ont dû aller à *Bari* ; Ponzième à *Gnatia* ; et le douzième enfin à *Brundisium*. Je conviens que ces trois derniers jours sont mal exprimés ; mais il est clair qu'il n'y en avoit pas davantage ; et à moins de faire faire sans raison à nos voyageurs, soixante milles dans un jour, il n'y a pas moyen d'en rien rabattre. De *Beneventum* à *Brundisium* nous avons 205 milles. C'est à raison de 34 milles Romains (près de 31 milles d'Angleterre) par jour. Ils voyagèrent plus vite les premiers jours ; mais ils ne trouvoient point alors les montagnes de l'Apulie, et des chemins difficiles en eux-mêmes, et gâtés par la mauvaise saison. Ces plaintes réitérées me feroient soupçonner que la voye Appienne ne s'étendoit encore que jusqu'à Capoue, et que ce ne fut point Jules César qui la poussa jusqu'à *Brundisium* *. Ces chauffées, élevées, formées de trois couches de matériaux, et pavées de cailloux, ont bravé l'effort des tems. Vingt ans après leur construction auroient-elles cédé à un peu de pluie !

Si j'avois des yeux de commentateur, je dirois que cette satire est excellente, et je l'appellerois, avec le Père Sanadon, un modèle achevé de narration †. Il est vrai que je vois avec plaisir les deux traits du sot orgueil du prêteur de *Fundi*, et de la superstition plus sotte encore du peuple

The tenth day, they proceeded to Bari ; the eleventh, to Gnatia ; and the twelfth at length brought them to Brundisium. It is true that these three last days are not accurately distinguished ; but it is certain there were no more : and without obliging our travellers to make one day's journey of sixty miles, it is impossible to reduce their number. From Beneventum to Brundisium we have 205 miles ; which gives the rate of 34 Roman, nearly 31 English, each day. They travelled faster the first days, not being then retarded by the Apulian mountains, and by roads, bad in themselves, and then rendered worse by the rain. Their repeated complaints on this subject give reason for suspecting that the Appian way then reached only to Capua, and that it was not Julius Cæsar that carried it to Brundisium *. Raised causeways, formed of three layers of materials, and paved with flint stones, have resisted the impressions of time. Is it credible, that in twenty years after they were made, they should have been spoiled by a shower of rain ?

With the eyes of a commentator, I should see nothing but excellence in this satire, and call it, with Father Sanadon, a model of the narrative style †. It is true that I observe in it with pleasure two well-applied strokes of satire ; one against the stupid pride of the pretor of Fundi, and another against the more stupid superstition of the people of

* Berg. Grands Chemins, L. ii. C. xxvi. p. 226.

† Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 119. Paris, 1756.

ple de *Gnatia* ; mais je ne crains pas de dire que le voyage presque inconnu de Rutilius me paroît très supérieur à celui d'Horace pour les descriptions, la poésie, et surtout, pour le choix des objets. Les propos d'un batelier, et les injures que se disent deux bouffons, sont au moins du plus bas comique. Ils pouvoient réjouir des voyageurs en humeur de s'amuser de tout ; mais comment un homme de goût pouvoit-il s'en souvenir le lendemain ? Ils valent cependant encore mieux que les infirmités du poète, qui reviennent plus d'une fois, les emplâtres qu'il se mettoit aux yeux, et le fâle accident qui lui arriva pendant la nuit. Si tout ce qui regarde les grands hommes peut intéresser, c'est de leur esprit, et non pas de leurs corps, qu'il faut entendre cette maxime. Quels objets pour Horace, pendant que la face du pays et les mœurs des habitans, lui offroient une riche moisson, et d'instruction, et de plaisanterie ! Peut-être que ce voyage d'Horace à la suite de Mécène, avoit fair causer ses envieux *, et qu'il fit cette pièce pour les convaincre que ses idées et ses occupations en route, n'avoient rien eu de sérieux, ni de politique.

2. Ce fut l'an de Rome 702 qu'un décret du sénat chargea Cicéron du gouvernement de la Cilicie. Il fallut obéir ; il quitta la ville, le théâtre de sa gloire, pour aller cueillir des lauriers sur le Mont *Amanus*. Atticus et

Gnatia : but I would not hesitate to pronounce that the almost unknown journey of Rutilius is superior that of Horace in point of description, poetry, and especially in the choice of incidents. The gross language of a boatman, and the ribaldry of two buffoons, surely belong only to the lowest species of comedy. They might divert travellers in a humour to be pleased with every thing ; but how could a man of taste reflect on them the day after ? They are less offensive, however, than the infirmities of the poet, which occur more than once ; the plasters which he applies to his eyes, and the nasty accident which befel him in the night. The maxim, that every thing in great men is interesting, applies only to their minds, and ought not to be extended to their bodies. What unworthy objects for the attention of Horace, when the face of the country and the manners of its inhabitants in vain offered to him a field of instruction and pleasure ! Perhaps this journey, which our poet made in company with Mécenas, creating much envy against him *, he wrote this piece to convince his enemies, that his thoughts and occupations on the road were far from being of a serious or political nature.

2. In the year of Rome 702, a decree of the senate entrusted Cicero with the government of Cilicia. In compliance with the decree, he quitted a city the theatre of his glory, and went to gather laurels on Mount Amanus. Atticus and his other friends were requested to at-

* V. Horat. Serm. ii. 6. v. 20—60.

et tous les amis étoient chargés de veiller à ses intérêts, et d'abrèger, autant qu'ils pourroient, le terme de son exil. Il eut de la peine à s'arracher des environs délicieux de la capitale. Il se promena de maison en maison, avant que de se mettre sérieusement en route. Il partit de Rome le premier de Mai *; le dix du même mois, je le retrouve à son château de *Pompeii*. Voici le partage le plus naturel qu'on pourroit faire de ces neuf jours. 1 *Mai*, Cicéron n'alla que jusqu'à la maison qu'il avoit auprès de *Tusculum*. Il parle de la conférence qu'il y eut avec Atticus, qui l'accompagna peut-être jusqu'à cet endroit charmant. Il s'y fera assurément reposé ce soir-là, 2 *Mai*, de *Tusculum* à *Arpinum*, il y a environ 63 milles. La journée seroit trop forte pour un homme qui n'alloit pas en courier. J'aime mieux la couper en deux; et supposer que Cicéron s'arrêta à *Tarentinum*. 3 *Mai*: en ce cas-là il n'avoit plus qu'une vingtaine de milles jusqu'à son château d'*Arpinum*. Le plaisir de revoir ses concitoyens, et de recevoir les complimens d'un peuple qui regardoit sa gloire comme la sienne propre, devoit l'occuper le reste du jour. 4 *Mai*: ce jour, moins agréable que le précédent, est marqué très distinctement. Il dina au château de son frère Quintus à *Arcanum*, peu éloigné

* Pour le détail de ce voyage il faut consulter les épîtres à Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, et 10. L'Histoire de Cicéron, et par Fabricius, et par M. Middleton, à l'an de Rome 702.

d' *Arpinum*.

tend to his interests, and to shorten as much as possible the term of his banishment. It was with difficulty that he could tear himself from the delightful neighbourhood of the capital. He travelled from one villa to another, before he could seriously set out on his journey. He left Rome the first of May†; the tenth of the same month, I find him at his villa near Pompeii. The following is the most natural division of these nine days. The 1st: Cicero went no further than to his house near Tusculum. He mentions the conversation he had there with Atticus, who probably accompanied him to that charming villa; where he would certainly sleep that night. The 2d May: Tusculum is sixty-three miles from Arpinum. This would have been too great a journey for a man who did not travel with the speed of a courier. I therefore divide it into two, and suppose that Cicero stopt short at Tarentinum. 3d May: in that case he had but twenty miles to travel to his villa at Arpinum. The pleasure of seeing his fellow-citizens, and receiving the compliments of a people who considered his glory as their own, would detain him there the remainder of that day. The 4th May: this day, which was less agreeable than the preceding, is marked very distinctly. Cicero

† For the detail of this voyage it is proper to peruse the epistles to Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. The History of Cicero, by Fabricius, and by Middleton, the year of Rome 702.

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d'*Arpinum*. Il y vit une scène domestique, où la mauvaise humeur de la femme de Quintus troubla les plaisirs d'une fête, et laissa la patience de son mari et de son beau frère. Cicéron coucha ce soir à *Aquinum*, à 15 milles seulement d'*Arpinum*. 5 et 6 Mai : d'*Aquinum* à *Cumæ* il y a 65 milles *. La traite seroit un peu longue. D'ailleurs pour passer d'*Aquinum* sur la voye Latine, à *Minturnæ* sur la voye Appienne, il falloit prendre un chemin de traverse. Encore ne suivoit-on la grande route que pendant neuf milles. Il falloit la quitter de nouveau à *Sinuessa* pour s'enfoncer dans les marais du *Vulturnus*, et dans les sables de *Liturnum*. Je pense que Cicéron aura couché à l'un de ces endroits pour ne se rendre que le lendemain à sa maison auprès de Cumes. Le 7 Mai, Cicéron a dû le passer tout entier à Cumes, pour y recevoir les visites du voisinage. Je fais que toute la Baye de Naples étoit ornée de maisons de plaisance qui se touchoient ; mais il falloit bien un jour pour rassembler une petite Rome dans celle de Cicéron. Le 8 Mai, il alla à son château de *Pompeii*. Il y avoit 39 milles par terre par Puteoli, Naples, et Herculaneum. Mais il pouvoit l'abréger de beaucoup en traversant la Baye. Cependant on peut toujours lui donner une journée pour cette prome-

* Toutes les distances dont il n'est pas fait mention dans les Itinéraires, je les ai mesurées sur la carte de M. Delisle.

nade.

dined at the villa of his brother Quintus at Arcanum, not far from Arpinum; and witnessed a domestic scene, in which the bad humour of Quintus's wife disturbed the pleasure of the entertainment, and tired the patience of her husband and brother-in-law. Cicero slept that night at Aquinum, only fifteen miles from Arpinum. The 5th and 6th of May: from Aquinum to Cumæ the distance is sixty-five miles †. The journey would have been rather too long. Besides, in passing from Aquinum, which is on the Latin way, to Minturnæ, which is on the Appian, it was necessary to cross the country; since the highway extended in that direction only nine miles. It was necessary to quit it again at Sinuessa, to wade through the marshes of Vulturnus and the sands of Liturnum. I imagine that Cicero slept at one of these places, and proceeded next day to his house at Cumæ. The 7th of May must have been spent entirely at Cumæ, to receive the visits of the neighbourhood. I know that the whole bay of Naples was adorned by country-houses contiguous to each other; but it must have required at least one day to assemble a little Rome in the house of Cicero. The 8th of May, he went to his villa at Pompeii. The distance was thirty-nine miles by land, through Puteoli, Naples and Herculaneum. He might have shortened it by cross-

† All the distances not noticed in the Itineraries, I have measured on the chart of M. Delisle.

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nade. *Le 9 Mai*, il le passa sûrement à *Pompeii*. Il lui falloit quelque motif, ou de plaisir, ou d'affaires, pour l'engager à s'écarter autant de sa route.

On reconnoît dans cette promenade un grand seigneur qui voyage dans les environs d'une capitale, qui fait de grandes journées sans se presser, et qui jouit partout de ses aïssances. Parmi les anciens, ces commodités n'étoient que pour les grands, parcequ'il falloit se les procurer par soi-même, suppléer aux postes par des relais, et aux bonnes auberges par ses propres maisons. Aujourd'hui que l'intérêt a établi pour le public toutes ces commodités, chacun peut se les approprier, dèsqu'il en a besoin. *Le 10 Mai*, Cicéron partit de *Pompeii* pour aller coucher dans une maison de campagne, qu'un de ses amis avoit auprès de *Trebula* ; 30 milles. Il commençoit à se mettre sérieusement en route, et comme il le dit lui-même à Atticus, il ne veut plus faire que de bonnes journées, *justa itinera*. *Le 11 Mai*, il arriva à *Beneventum* ; 30 milles. *Le 12 Mai*, il me paroît qu'il s'y arrêta. Il parle d'une lettre qu'il y reçut de très bonne heure, et d'une autre qui ne lui parvint que plus tard. *Le 15 Mai*, il partit de *Venusia* pour grimper le Mont *Vultur*, pour descendre dans la plaine de la Lucanie, et pour arriver à *Tarentum* le 18 Mai. Cette ville est éloignée de *Beneventum* de 155 milles. Il passa trois jours avec le grand Pompée, occupé à affermir les bons principes

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sing the bay : yet one day must be allowed for this journey. The 9th day was surely spent at Pompeii. Some motive of business or pleasure must have carried Cicero so far out of his road.

In this journey, we see a great man travelling in the neighbourhood of the capital, making great journies without being in haste, and every where enjoying his conveniencies. Among the ancients, these conveniencies could only be enjoyed by the great ; because it was necessary to procure them for one's self, to supply the want of posts by relays, and the want of good inns by private houses. In modern times, the interest of individuals supplies to the public all these conveniencies, which each man may purchase whenever he stands in need of them. On the 10th of May, Cicero left Pompeii ; and went to sleep in a country-house which one of his friends had at Trebula ; thirty miles. He began to travel seriously ; and writes to Atticus that he proposed in future to make good journies, *justa itinera*. The 11th of May brought him to Beneventum ; thirty miles. The 12th of May, he seems to have stopped there, since he speaks of a letter received early, and one which came later. The 15th May, he left Venusia to climb Mount Vultur, and thence descend into the plain of Lucania. He arrived at Tarentum on the 18th of May : this place is 155 miles from Beneventum. He spent

dans le cœur d'un citoyen qui tenoit encore, ou du moins qui croyoit tenir, la balance de la république. Le 22 Mai, Cicéron alla à *Brundisium*, qui étoit à 43 milles de *Tarentum**. Les vents contraires et ses affaires le retinrent plusieurs jours dans ce port. Ce ne fut que le 15 Juin qu'ayant mis à la voile il arriva à *Actium*. Il se remit de nouveau en chemin; traversa l'*Achelous* et l'*Evenus*; et ayant passé par les villes de *Delphi*, *Thespie*, *Megara*, et *Eleusis*, il se trouva à Athènes le 25 Juin, après un voyage de 205 milles depuis *Actium*†. Je ne le pousserai pas plus loin (ce voyage de Cicéron). Je remarquerai seulement que depuis *Pompeii* jusqu'à Athènes il fit 463 MILLES ROMAINS (environ 417 milles d'Angleterre) dans dix neuf jours de marche. C'est à raison de $24\frac{1}{2}$ milles Romains par jour.

Je m'étonne un peu de la lenteur de ce voyage de Cicéron, dont les journées ne surpassoient guères la marche qu'un fantassin Romain, chargé de ses armes et de tant d'autres fardeaux, pouvoit faire dans cinq heures d'été (environ six heures équinoxiales). Ma surprise n'est diminuée que par les réflexions suivantes. 1. Cicéron s'expatrioit sans savoir le terme précis de son exil: Combien de préparatifs de toutes espèces étoient nécessaires

* Itinerar. p. 119. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 16. ne compte que 35 milles.

spent three days with the great Pompey, employed in fortifying the good principles of a man who yet held, or believed that he held, the balance of the republic. On the 22d of May, Cicero proceeded to Brundisium, forty-three miles from Tarentum†. Contrary winds and business detained him several days in that harbour. He at length sailed the 15th of June, and arrived at Actium. He again set out, crossed the Achelous and the Evenus, passed through the cities of Delphi, Thespie, Megara, and Eleusis, and arrived at Athens on the 25th of June, after travelling 205 miles from Actium‡. I shall not dwell longer on this journey of Cicero; but only remark, that from Pompeii to Athens he travelled 463 Roman, about 417 English miles, in nineteen days: which gives $24\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles for each day's journey.

This slowness is surprising, since Cicero did not travel in a day farther than a Roman soldier, loaded with his arms and so many other burdens, advanced in five hours of summer (about six equinoctial hours). My surprise is however diminished by the following considerations. Cicero left his country without knowing precisely how long his absence from it was to continue. A multitude of preparations were necessary for a

† Itinerar. p. 119. Pliny says 35 miles. Nat. Hist. iii. 16.

‡ Itinerar. p. 325—326.

laire pour un gouverneur qui alloit établir une grande maison dans une province éloignée et barbare. Cicéron dépendoit d'un nombre de choses qui se rassemblaient pour lui à *Beneventum*, à *Tarentum*, à *Brundisium*, et dont le retard influoit nécessairement sur le voyage. Je ne fais si je me trompe, mais je crois voir dans toutes les lettres de notre orateur, qu'il n'avoit pas un génie merveilleux pour ses arrangemens économiques. 2. La maison d'un proconsul étoit trop nombreuse pour lui permettre de précipiter sa marche. Un questeur, quatre lieutenans, douze tribuns accompagnoient Cicéron, pour remplir leurs fonctions respectives dans son gouvernement. Une foule de jeunes Romains de condition, le suivoit, pour apprendre sous ses auspices l'art de la guerre, dirai-je, ou celui de la politique. A cette troupe illustre, il en faut ajouter une autre bien plus nombreuse d'officiers, de licteurs, de commis, d'affranchis, et d'esclaves, tant du proconsul lui-même, que de ses compagnons. Ce petit corps d'armée marchoit avec lenteur ; il avoit trop d'embarras et trop de besoins, pour suivre la route d'un voyageur ordinaire. Cicéron auroit mieux aimé aller par mer d'*Actium* à *Patras*. Mais il auroit fallu se servir des petites barques du pays, et ce trajet ne se feroit pas fait avec la dignité d'un ministre public, qui vouloit en imposer aux Grecs, autant par la magnificence de son équipage, que par la modération de sa conduite. 3. Il a dû trouver de mauvais chemins d'*Actium* à Athènes.

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governor, who was going to establish a great household in a distant and barbarous province. He had to wait for a number of conveniencies which were collecting for him at *Beneventum*, *Tarentum*, and *Brundisium*, and which could not but retard his journey. It is possible that I may be mistaken ; but I think it apparent in all our orator's letters, that such æconomical arrangements were by no means suited to his genius. 2. The family of a proconsul was too numerous to admit of dispatch in travelling. A questor, four lieutenants, twelve tribunes, accompanied Cicero to execute their respective functions under his government. A crowd of young Romans of high rank followed the proconsul, to learn under his auspices the art of war, or rather that of politics. To this illustrious band we must add one, far more numerous, of officers, licitors, clerks, freed men, and slaves, belonging to the proconsul himself, or to the companions of his journey. This little army was embarrassed with too many wants to allow him to proceed with the expedition of an ordinary traveller. He would have preferred going by sea from *Actium* to *Patras* : but in that case he must have made use of the little barks of the country ; and the passage would not have been performed with the dignity of a public minister, who wished to surprise the Greeks as much by the magnificence of his equipage, as by the moderation of his conduct. 3. The roads must have been very bad between *Actium* and Athens.

Le principe de la construction des chemins, n'étoit ni la commodité des provinces que les vainqueurs Romains ont toujours méprisées, ni le commerce, dont ils n'ont jamais connu le prix ; mais les troupes dont ils vouloient faciliter la marche. La Grèce, devenue de très bonne heure une province intérieure et soumise, ne se trouvoit pas même sur ces grandes routes qui unissoient Rome et les frontières. Pendant que les autres parties de l'empire étoient coupées par les voyes militaires dans tous les sens possibles, la Grèce n'en a jamais eu qu'une seule. Elle a pu servir au voyage du proconsul, si elle étoit déjà construite ; mais dans l'ignorance où nous sommes de cette époque, nous devons croire qu'elle ne l'étoit pas. La plupart des chemins provinciaux sont l'ouvrage des empereurs *. 4. Le Grèce attira peu l'attention du gouvernement Romain ; mais qu'elle étoit digne de celle de Cicéron ! Le moyen de parcourir rapidement un pays dont chaque bourgade étoit célèbre dans l'histoire, ou dans la fable ? L'homme de lettres, qui admiroit d'autant plus les Grecs qu'il cherchoit à les surpasser, l'antiquaire curieux, qui avoit déterré le tombeau d'Archimède, le philosophe éclairé, qui dévoila les fourberies de *Delphi*, devoit s'arrêter par tout, pour y voir cent objets inconnus, ou indifférents aux yeux vulgaires. Que je voudrois suivre un pareil guide dans un tel voyage !

A ras-

Athens. The motive of the Romans in making roads was neither the benefit of the provinces, which those conquerors always despised, nor the conveniency of commercial intercourse, of which they never knew how to estimate the value ; but merely to facilitate the marches of their troops. Greece, which early became an interior and submissive province, was not in any of the direct lines which united Rome with the frontiers ; and had but one only road, while the other parts of the empire were intersected by military ways, in all possible directions. The proconsul might have followed this road, if it was then made ; but as we are ignorant of its era, we ought rather to think that it was not so early. Most of the Roman roads are works of the emperors *. 4. Greece attracted but weakly the attention of the Roman government ; but how well did it deserve that of Cicero ! How could he rapidly traverse a country, each village of which was illustrious in history or fable ? The man of letters, who admired the Greeks in proportion as he was eager to surpass them ; the curious antiquary, who had discovered with such transports the tomb of Archimedes ; the enlightened philosopher, who had unveiled the frauds of Delphi ; must have been arrested at every step by an hundred objects unknown and indifferent to vulgar eyes. With what pleasure would I follow such a guide in such a journey !

* Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. ix. p. 27.

A rassembler les 369 milles Romains qu'Horace auroit pu faire en dix jours et demi, et les 463 milles que Cicéron fit en dix neuf jours, nous aurons le terme moyen de 30 milles Romains pour une journée ordinaire. J'aime cependant mieux la pousser à 33 milles (30 milles d'Angleterre). La lenteur de Cicéron est mieux constatée que la précipitation qu'on pourroit soupçonner à Horace.

Je ne m'étendrai point ici sur les postes des Romains, sur leurs auberges, ni sur leurs voitures. A en juger par les monumens qui nous restent, celles-ci étoient petites, ouvertes, et assez peu commodes ; posées sur deux ou sur quatre roues, sans être suspendues, elles devoient fatiguer les voyageurs sur le pavé des voyes militaires. Il y en avoit de plusieurs espèces, et ce qui paroît singulier, les Romains les avoient presque toutes empruntées des Gaulois. Ils les ornoient quelquefois d'argent, d'or, et mêmes de pierres précieuses ; faite barbare et déplacé, qui annonçoit plus de richesse que de goût. Mais il étoit réservé aux modernes d'inventer ces machines douces et élégantes, qui satisfont à la fois, à la mollesse du voyageur, à sa paresse et à son impatience *.

Je parlerai peu d'un autre genre de voyage, des marches des troupes. Des idées générales, et les exercices dont je viens de faire mention, me persuadent qu'elles étoient

In uniting the 369 Roman miles which Horace travelled in ten days, with the 463 which Cicero travelled in nineteen, we shall have the middle term of 30 Roman miles for an ordinary day's journey. I should prefer, however, extending it to 33 Roman, or 30 English miles; the slowness of Cicero being better ascertained than the supposed rapidity of Horace.

I shall not expatiate on the posts, the inns, or the carriages of the Romans. The last, if we may judge of them by subsisting monuments, were small, open, and inconvenient. They had two or four wheels; but, not being suspended, must have been very fatiguing to travellers on the paved military roads. These carriages were of various kinds; and what is extraordinary, almost all the different kinds had been borrowed from the Gauls. The Romans adorned them with silver, gold, and sometimes with precious stones; a barbarous and misplaced luxury, indicating more riches than taste. It was reserved for modern times to invent those soft and elegant machines which gratify at once the effeminacy, laziness, and impatience of travellers *.

I shall speak briefly of another kind of travelling, the march of troops. These marches. I am inclined to think, both by the exercises (of which

* V. l'Antiquité expliquée du P. Monfaucon.

étoient plus fortes que les nôtres. En attendant que j'aye fait les recherches nécessaires pour les déterminer avec plus de précision, je jetterai un coup d'œil sur la marche la plus hardie et la plus forte que je connoisse dans l'histoire ancienne ou moderne.

Les affaires des Carthaginois ne se soutenoient plus en Italie que par la conduite d'Annibal, lorsque Asdrubal passa les Alpes avec une armée nombreuse. La république craignoit de succomber sous leurs efforts réunis. Le Consul Néron observoit tous les mouvemens d'Annibal, qui épuisoit en vain toute la science des marches, et des contremarches. Le général Romain comprit qu'il falloit prévenir par un coup hardi, tant de dangers qui menaçoient sa patrie. Avec un corps choisi de mille cavaliers, et de six mille fantassins, il s'échappe de son camp, trompe la vigilance du Carthaginois, exécute sa jonction avec son collègue en Ombrie, sauve la république à la bataille du Metaurus, et revient avec la même rapidité, annoncer la mort de son frère à Annibal qu'il retrouve toujours dans l'étonnement et dans l'inaction *. Il avoit laissé Annibal dans les environs de *Canusium*. Il trouva le consul Livius dans ceux de *Sena Gallica*. La route qu'il prit par les pays des *Larinates*, *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Pratutii*, et par le *Picenum* dans l'Ombrie, étoit d'environ

I have made mention) and by my general opinion on the subject, were longer than ours; but, previously to making the researches necessary for determining this matter with precision, I shall cast a glance on the longest and boldest march which I have ever met with in history, either ancient or modern.

The fortune of the Carthaginians was sustained in Italy by the exertions of Hannibal, when Asdrubal crossed the Alps with a numerous army. The republic was in danger of sinking under their united efforts. Nero the consul observed the motions of Hannibal, who exhausted the whole science of marching and countermarching. The Roman general perceived that a bold stroke only could ward off the dangers which threatened his country. With a chosen body of a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, he marched from his camp, deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian, effected a junction with his colleague in Umbria, saved the republic at the battle of Metaurus, and returned with the same celerity, announcing to Hannibal the death of his brother, and finding that general himself still astonished and inactive *. He had left Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Canusium; he found the consul Livius in that of Sena Gallica. His route through the territories of the Larinates, Frentani, Marrucini, Pratutii, and Picenum,

* Tit. Liv. xxvii. 43—51.

d'environ 270 milles Romains *. J'ignore le tems qu'il y mit, mais je fais que dans son retour, il n'employa que six jours †. La nécessité de la diligence devenoit plus grande tous les jours, et ce n'est pas une petite tâche à la gloire d'Annibal d'avoir ignoré pendant une douzaine de jours, qu'il n'avoit plus un consul en tête. Je crois qu'Asdrubal s'en seroit aperçu à sa place, et qu'il auroit détruit une armée déjà affoiblie par la perte de son général, et d'un gros détachement § : 270 milles dans six jours nous donnent par jour 45 milles Romains ($40\frac{1}{2}$ d'Angleterre). Le fait est presque incroyable. Je sens que le corps de Néron étoit choisi sur toute l'armée, qu'il marchoit jour et nuit, et que les soins du général et le zèle des alliés, lui prodiguoient les soulagemens et les secours propres à adoucir ses fatigues, et à ranimer ses forces. Avec tout cela, cette marche seroit impossible à nos troupes. Il falloit des Romains du tems de Scipion. Légionnaires, leurs corps étoient endurcis à la peine et au travail ; citoyens, il avoient une patrie, ils combattoient pour elle. Leurs efforts étoient bien différens de ceux d'une troupe de mercenaires, qui n'espère que sa paye, et qui ne craint que les châtimens.

C'est ici une ébauche du chapitre dont j'ai parlé, mais quelle est encore imparfaite !

* Itineraria Anton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. J'ai mesuré sur la carte de Delisle la distance de Canusium à Larinum.

into Umbria, was about 270 Roman miles †. I know not how many days he employed in marching thither; but I know that only six were spent in his return †. Expedition became daily more necessary; and it is not a small stain on the glory of Hannibal that he remained ignorant for twelve days of the departure of the Roman general. I think this would not have escaped the vigilance of Asdrubal; and that he would have destroyed an army weakened by the absence of its general, and by a powerful detachment §. 270 Roman miles in six days give 45 Roman, or $40\frac{1}{2}$ English miles for each daily march. The fact is scarcely credible. Nero's forces, indeed, were selected from the whole army; he marched night and day; and the zeal of the allies co-operated with the attentions of the general in procuring for them in abundance every comfort and assistance proper for softening their fatigues and reviving their strength. With all these advantages, it would be impossible for modern troops to make such a march. To accomplish it required Romans, and Romans of the age of Scipio. As soldiers, their bodies were patient of fatigue and toil; as citizens, they had a country for which to fight. Their exertions were quite different from those of a herd of mercenaries, whose only hope is that of pay, and whose only fear is that of punishment.

This is a sketch of the chapter which I said was wanting;—but, how imperfect have I left it !

† Itineraria Anton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. I have measured on the chart of Delisle the distance from Canusium to Larinum.

‡ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 50. xxviii. 9.

§ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 46.

N^o IV.

à LAUSANNE.

IL y auroit bien des connoissances philosophiques et théologiques à tirer des *Fastes d'Ovide*. La religion des Romains, ses rapports et ses différences d'avec celle des Grecs, sont un sujet aussi curieux qu'il est neuf. Je ne compte pour rien les recherches d'un *Coyer*.

Quant à la poésie des *Fastes*, j'y trouve bien plus à reprendre qu'à louer. Je reconnois avec plaisir tout le mérite d'Ovide ; une imagination étonnante, une élégance soutenue, et beaucoup d'aménité dans l'esprit. Je suis frappé surtout de la variété, de la souplesse, et, pour ainsi dire, de la flexibilité de son génie, qui passe avec rapidité aux sujets les plus opposés, qui s'y livre avec aisance, et qui les présente avec tout l'agrément dont ils sont susceptibles. La pensée convient presque toujours à son objet, et rarement son expression manque à bien rendre sa pensée. Dans les *Fastes* l'idée du *lendemain* revient à chaque instant ; mais l'image du poète est toujours différente. Les endroits des *Fastes* qui m'ont fait le plus de plaisir, sont : 1. L'origine des sacrifices des animaux. 2. L'aventure de *Lucrèce*. 3. La fête d'*Anna Perenna*. 4. L'origine

N^o IV.

LAUSANNE.

MUCH philosophical and much theological knowledge may be derived from Ovid's *Fasti*. The religion of the Romans, the points in which it agrees with or differs from that of the Greeks, is a subject as curious as it is new. I reckon for nothing the researches of a *Coyer*.

The poetry of the *Fasti* appears to me more liable to blame than worthy of praise. I acknowledge with pleasure all the merit of Ovid ; his astonishing fancy, a perpetual elegance, and the most agreeable turn of mind. I principally admire his variety, suppleness, and (if I may say so) his flexibility of genius, which rapidly embraces the most opposite subjects, assumes the true style of each, and presents them all under the most pleasing forms of which they are susceptible. The thought almost always suits the subject ; and the expression rarely fails in being suitable to the thought. In the *Fasti*, the same ideas are perpetually recurring ; but the images under which they are represented are continually different. The passages of the *Fasti* which have given me most pleasure are, 1. The origin of sacrifices : 2. The adventure of *Lucretia* : 3. The festival

4. L'origine du nom de Mai. 5. La dispute des déesses pour celui de Juin.

Voici d'un autre côté quelques défauts dans le caractère du poète, ou dans celui de son sujet, que je n'ai aperçus qu'avec peine. 1. Ovide me paroît sans nerf, et sans élévation. Son esprit perd en profondeur ce qu'il a gagné en superficie. S'agit-il d'un tableau de la nature ? ses traits sont vagues et rarement caractéristiques. Dans ceux des passions, il est rarement juste, trop foible, ou trop outré, et presque toujours trop diffus ; il cherche toujours le chemin du cœur, mais il ne le trouve presque jamais. Son caractère tendre et léger, amolli par les plaisirs, et rendu plus touchant par le malheur, lui avoit un peu fait connoître le ton de la tristesse, et celui de la joye. Il fait gémir sur le sort d'une amante abandonnée, ou célébrer la victoire d'un amant heureux. Mais les grandes passions, la fureur, la vengeance, la force, ou la férocité d'une ame qui subjugué ses mouvements impétueux, ou qui leur laisse un libre cours, lui sont assez inconnues. Ses personnages sont plus occupés des lecteurs que d'eux-mêmes ; et le poète, qui doit être caché, paroît à tout instant, pour les louer, pour les blamer, ou pour les plaindre. Ovide avoit fait une tragédie ; quoiqu'en dise Quintilien, je ne saurois la regretter beaucoup. 2. Il connoissoit peu l'art des proportions, cet art si nécessaire

festival of Anna Perenna : 4. The origin of the name of May : 5. The dispute of the goddesses for that of June.

The following are some of the faults in the character either of the poet or of his subject ; which it is painful to perceive. Ovid appears to me defective in point of strength and elevation ; and his genius loses in depth what it gains in surface. In painting nature, his strokes are vague, and without character. His expression of the passions is rarely just ; he is sometimes weak, sometimes extravagant, always too diffuse ; and though he continually seeks the road to the heart, is seldom fortunate enough to find it. His light and tender character, softened by pleasure, and rendered more interesting by misfortune, made him acquainted with the tones of sadness and joy. He knows how to lament the misery of a forsaken mistress, or to celebrate the triumphs of a successful lover. But the great passions are above his reach ; fury, vengeance, the fortitude or ferocity of the soul, which either subdues its most impetuous movements, or precipitates their unbridled career. His heroes think more of the reader than of themselves ; and the poet, who ought to remain concealed, is always ready to come forward, and to praise, blame, or pity them. Ovid wrote a tragedy ; but, notwithstanding the judgment of Quintilian, I cannot much regret its loss. 2. He

faire à un écrivain qui marque à chaque idée sa place et son étendue, selon sa nature, et le but de celui qui l'emploie. Chez Ovide je vois des pensées essentielles, des récits qui tiennent au fond de l'ouvrage, passer légèrement sans laisser de traces, pendant qu'il s'appesantit sur des ornemens frivoles et peu nécessaires. Croiroit-on que l'enlèvement de Proserpine est décrit en deux vers, mais que le dénombrement des fleurs qu'elle alloit cueillir dans les campagnes d'*Enna*, en avoit occupé seize *. Je conviens que le sujet des *Fastes*, l'exposoit à se tromper souvent sur les proportions. Il est lié avec toute la mythologie des Grecs, il y entre beaucoup d'histoire Romaine. Quelquefois il falloit raconter toute une fable ; dans d'autres occasions il suffisoit de la rappeler, ou même de la supposer. Il s'agissoit de décider jusqu'à quel point elle devoit être déjà connue d'un lecteur un peu instruit, et combien cette connoissance étoit essentielle à celle de l'ouvrage. Cette décision étoit des plus délicates.

3. Quelques critiques ont loué dans Ovide, la finesse et l'art de ses liaisons dans un sujet aussi varié que les métamorphoses. Mais ce sujet, sans avoir l'unité de l'épopée, lui fournissoit des rapports très naturels. Celui des *Fastes* est entièrement décousu. Une cérémonie, une fête,

2 He was ignorant of the rules of proportion, rules so necessary to a writer who would give to each sentiment its due extent, and arrange it in its proper place, agreeably to its own nature, and the end for which he employs it. In Ovid, you may perceive thoughts the most interesting, and narratives closely connected with the very essence of his subject, pass away lightly without leaving a trace behind ; while he dwells with complacence on parts merely ornamented, frivolous, or superfluous. Can it be believed that the rape of Proserpine should be described in two verses, when the enumeration of the flowers which she gathered in the garden of Enna had just filled sixteen * ? I acknowledge that the subject of the *Fasts* exposed him to faults in proportioning the parts of his work. That subject is connected with the whole of the Greek mythology ; it contains, also, much of the Roman history. It was sometimes necessary to relate the whole fable ; at other times, to hint at or even to suppose it, was sufficient. It was requisite for him to decide how far each story was likely to be known by an ordinary reader, and how much the knowledge of it contributed to that of his subject : but the principles of such decisions are extremely delicate. 3. Some writers have praised Ovid for the artfulness of his transitions in a work so various as that of the *Metamorphoses*. Yet this subject, without possessing the unity of epic poetry, supplied him with very natural principles of connection.

* Ovid *Fast.* L. iv. p. 583.

fête, est tout-à-fait isolée de celle qui la suit ; encore ne la suit-elle que par une chronologie imaginaire. L'époque de leur institution, que le poète recherche toujours, tombe, si l'on veut, au mois de Janvier ; mais ce sont souvent des mois de Janvier d'une année, ou même d'un siècle différent. Ovide a si bien senti ce défaut, qu'il a voulu lier en quelque sorte, les fêtes de la terre avec les phénomènes du ciel, qui ont donné une liaison plus réelle, mais très peu intéressante, à son calendrier. 4. Ovide a reçu de la bouche des dieux toute la science de leur culte, la raison et l'origine de chaque fable, et de chaque cérémonie. Tel est l'esprit humain. Dans la fiction il faut une apparence de vérité. L'invention du poète ne doit jamais travailler sous nos yeux. Mais le nôtre laisse trop entrevoir que toutes ses conversations ingénieuses avec les dieux, n'ont eu lieu que dans son esprit. S'il en parle sérieusement une fois, à l'occasion de Vesta, c'est pour renverser l'édifice entier d'un seul trait. Je conviens que le mélange de sérieux et d'imaginaire, confondu avec la religion poétique, qui étoit en même tems celle de l'état, devoit embarrasser un poète Romain. Chez les premiers Grecs, l'inspiration d'Homère ne différoit point de celle de Calchas ; ses ouvrages et ceux de ses successeurs, étoient les livres saints de la nation. Chez nous au contraire ce n'est qu'une illusion.

But the *Fæsti* is a subject totally disjointed. Each ceremony, and each festival, is altogether distinct from that which follows it, and which follows it only by an imaginary chronology. The poet always traces the æra of their institution, which falls, if you will, on the month of January ; but they are Januaries of different years, or rather of different centuries. Ovid was so sensible of this defect in his subject, that he endeavours to associate festivals on the earth with the phenomena of the heavens, in order to give a connection more real, but extremely uninteresting, to his calendar. 4. Ovid heard from the mouth of the gods the laws of their worship, the origin and principle of each fable, and of each ceremony. Such is the nature of the human mind ; even in fiction we require the appearance of truth. We cannot bear to see the poet's invention at work. But Ovid shews to us too plainly, that all his ingenious conversations with the gods are the work of his own brain. When he speaks seriously, as he once does in mentioning Vesta, it is to over-run the whole fanciful fabric at one blow. I acknowledge, that a Roman poet must have been perplexed by the perpetual mixture of the serious with the fantastical, and by a poetical religion which was also that of state. Among the early Greeks, the inspiration of Homer did not differ from that of Calchas. His works and those of his successors were the scriptures of the nation. With us, on the other hand, the inspiration of poets is merely a transient and voluntary illusion to which

illusion volontaire et passagère, un langage de convention. Mais parmi les Romains qui croyoient un peu à leurs dieux, quoiqu'ils s'en moquassent très souvent, mais qui n'avoient nulle foi à leurs poètes, le rôle de ceux-ci étoit très difficile à soutenir. 5. Je ne dois pas compter la mesure des vers élégiaques pour un défaut particulier, quoique le caractère des Fastes eût fort bien comporté la mesure héroïque. Quoiqu'il en soit, la première m'a toujours ennuyé. Elle est obligée de placer régulièrement le repos du pentamètre sur le milieu du troisième pied, et de renfermer un sens complet dans les deux vers. Cette monotonie fatigue bientôt l'oreille, et des bornes aussi étroites produisent bien des chevilles. Il y a tout autrement de variété, de liberté et de vraie harmonie, dans la marche des vers héroïques.

N^o V.

à LAUSANNE.

AL'occasion du traité d'Addison, je ferai deux ou trois remarques sur les êtres allégoriques qu'on voit sur les revers des médailles. Que l'esprit humain est borné ! ses inventions les plus hardies ne sont que des copies.

1. On a voulu donner à tous ces êtres une figure humaine. Nos yeux, accoutumés à ne voir la raison que sous cette forme, exigeoient ce sacrifice. Mais notre esprit

which we submit ourselves. But among the Romans, who alternately believed in and laughed at their gods, but who had no faith whatever in their poets, the part of these last was very difficult to act; 5. I ought not to reckon the employment of elegiac verse as a particular fault, though heroic measure would have been well adapted to the subject of the Fasti. Elegiac verse has always tired me. The pause constantly recurs on the middle of the foot of the pentameter; and the sense must always be included in a couplet. This monotony fatigues the ear; and causes the introduction of many useless words merely for the sake of the measure. There is far more variety, liberty, and true harmony in the flow of heroic verse.

No V.

LAUSANNE.

IN consequence of reading Addison's treatise, the following remarks have occurred to me on the allegorical beings which we find on the reverses of medals. How limited is the human mind ! its boldest inventions are copies.

1. All those beings are represented under the human figure. Our eyes, accustomed to behold the exercise of reason only under this shape, required such a sacrifice. Yet by our inability of separating from the idea of

esprit incapable d'une abstraction nécessaire, hors d'état de séparer de la figure humaine, des idées qui l'accompagnent ordinairement, demandoit encore que le sexe fût déterminé. Ce sexe renfermoit cependant des images grossières, qui convenoient mal à la pureté des vertus et à la spiritualité des êtres métaphysiques. Après avoir fait ces deux sacrifices aux yeux et à l'imagination, il en falloit un troisième pour l'oreille. Pour distinguer le sexe, on ne rechercha point de caractères, des attributs qui pouvoient avoir quelque rapport avec ceux de la femelle ou du mâle. Cette méthode auroit fourni quelques allégories passables. On suivit sans réflexion les genres de leurs noms, qui n'ont été réglés dans toutes les langues que par le caprice et l'ignorance des premiers hommes. En Grec aussi bien qu'en Latin, la plupart de ces noms sont féminins. La plupart de ces êtres sont par conséquent représentés en femmes. Je dis la plupart, car malheureusement encore il y en a de masculins. Quelquefois il y a deux synonymes de genres opposés, et le même être se voit travesti en homme ou en femme, selon le mot par lequel on le désigne. Je ne citerai que l'exemple de *Gloria* et d'*Honos*. Par la suite nécessaire d'un arrangement aussi mal imaginé, le caractère du sexe et celui de l'être, sont souvent compromis. Les vertus ne peuvent se contrarier, et l'on ne peut imaginer la vérité, la justice,

of the human figure the circumstances which commonly accompany it, our fancy requires, also, that the sex should be determined. The circumstance of sex, however, implies gross images, which ill correspond with the purity of the virtues, or the spirituality of metaphysical beings. After having made those two sacrifices to the mind and the eyes, a third was still required by the ear. The distinction of sex was not marked by characteristic attributes appropriated to the male and female. This method might have furnished some tolerable allegories. But the genders of their names was injudiciously chosen as the only foundation of distinction, since in all languages those genders have been determined by the caprice and ignorance of the first persons who spoke them. In Greek and Latin, most of those names are feminine. The beings whom they express are therefore, for the most part, represented by female figures. I say for the most part, for they are sometimes unfortunately masculine: and at other times we have two synonymous words of different genders; and the same being assumes the male or female form, according to the word employed as its name. I shall mention only the example of *Gloria* and *Honos*. In consequence of so faulty an arrangement, the character of the being is often at variance with that of its sex. True virtue is consistent; and we cannot conceive the truth, justice or humanity of a woman exercised at the expence of chastity and decency. Yet when the attributes

tice, ou l'humanité d'une femme qui se déploie aux dépens de la chasteté, ou de la décence de son sexe. Dès que la nudité cependant paroît convenir aux attributs d'un être moral, on fait paroître la Valeur, l'Équité, ou l'Espérance, dans un état à faire rougir une femme modeste. On a beau me dire que ce ne sont pas de femmes, mais des figures féminines. Ma raison saisit la différence, mais c'est à l'imagination qu'il faut parler ici.

2. On a beau inventer des symboles, on ne peut représenter que des qualités humaines, sous une figure humaine. La piété n'est qu'une femme pieuse, le courage n'est qu'une femme intrépide, &c. C'est déjà beaucoup que de purger l'ame humaine de toutes les passions, à l'exception d'une seule qui l'occupe toute entière, et qui se montre à découvert dans ses actions, dans son air, dans son maintien, et jusques dans sa parure. Mais cette abstraction a existé, quoique bien rarement. On peut au moins en concevoir la possibilité, et dès lors elle peut être représentée. Encore ces symboles ne sont-ils jamais si frappans, que lorsqu'ils sortent du pays des chimères, pour nous ramener à des idées, et à la vérité des choses. Je ne connois point de symbole plus frappant que celui de la piété en Vestale Romaine. Le sénat a outré ce principe un peu, lorsqu'il a fait graver les vertus sous les traits de ses princes. Parmi les qualités humaines, celles qui sont permanentes et déterminées, se marquent avec plus de force, que celles qui sont vagues et passagères.

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attributes of an allegorical being require that it should be represented naked, we see Valour, Justice, and Hope exhibited, in a manner in which a modest woman would blush to appear. It is useless to tell me, these are not women, but female figures. My understanding perceives the difference; but the imitative arts must speak to the fancy.

2. Whatever symbols we invent, human qualities alone cannot be represented under human figures. Piety is only a pious woman; and Courage, a courageous one, &c. Much is done when the soul is purged of all passions but one, which occupies it entirely, and shews itself manifestly in air, action, demeanour, and even dress. This abstraction has been realized, though rarely; it may be conceived by the fancy, and may therefore be represented. But those symbols are always most striking which quit the region of chimeras, and give us ideas that are precise and conformable to the nature of things. One of the most interesting is that of Piety under the form of a Roman vestal. The senate carried this principle too far, when it represented the virtues under the portraits of its princes. Of human qualities, those that are fixed and permanent are marked with more force than those that are uncertain and transient. The latter are expressed alone by the air and attitude;

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Les dernières ne s'expriment que par l'attitude et l'air ; les premières peuvent y ajouter les traits, la figure, et l'habillement. Les symboles de la Chasteté ou de la Vertu, sont bien plus sensibles que ceux de l'Espérance ou de la Crainte.

Toutes les autres idées abstraites dont on a voulu faire des personnes réelles, la Victoire, l'Eternité, l'Abondance, &c. ne se font connoître que par quelques uns de leurs effets sensibles, ou par quelque objet réel dont l'idée est liée avec la leur. Encore seroit-on fort embarrassé à les trouver au besoin, si la fable et les institutions des hommes, ne fournissent beaucoup de signes arbitraires, qui n'ont leur valeur que par une convention tacite. Pour la femme dans le symbole, elle n'est qu'un hors d'œuvre. L'éternité est assez bien représentée par un globe et un *phœnix*. Dans la treizième médaille de la première suite, une femme assise les soutient dans la main. Dans la cinquième médaille on ne voit point de femme, mais l'idée est toujours la même. Elle y a si peu de part, que sa présence ou son absence n'y apportent pas le moindre changement. Qu'on réitère l'expérience sur toutes ces médailles, la femme n'y est que pour figurer. Elle n'est jamais *symbole* elle-même. Les provinces sont d'un genre mitoyen. Comme pays, elles ne sont point symboliques, mais elles le sont très souvent pour représenter le génie et les mœurs de leurs habitants.

3. M.

in the representation of the former, one may add to these characteristics, the features, figure, and dress. The symbols of Virtue or Chastity may be far more distinctly characterised than those of Hope or Fear.

The other abstractions which have been represented by human figures, Victory, Eternity, Abundance, &c. are recognised only by some of their perceptible effects, or by some real object whose idea is associated with their own. We should have much difficulty in inventing them, when wanted, if history and fable did not supply a number of arbitrary signs, which receive their meaning merely from convention. In the symbolic representation, the woman is merely an accessory. Eternity is very well represented by a globe and a phoenix : in the thirteenth medal of the first series, a woman sitting holds them in her hand. In the fifteenth medal there is no woman, though the idea is still the same ; and if we examine all the other medals, we shall find that women are there merely to make a figure, but never answer the purpose of symbols. The provinces are of a middle kind, they are never symbols of countries, but are often so of the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

3. Mr.

3. M. Addifon propofe une application de l'ode trente cinquième du premier livre d'Horace, à l'occafion d'une médaille qui représente la *Sécurité* qui s'appuye fur une colonne *.

*Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni;
Injuriofo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam.*————

Ils craignoient que la Fortune ne renverfât la colonne de leur confiance. Mais la crainte et la fécureté fubfiftent mal enfemble. D'ailleurs Horace fe feroit-il fervi d'une allufion auffi fine, et auffi éloignée, fans en avertir le lecteur, au moins par une feule épithete? Pourquoi ne pas rapporter tout uniment ces paroles à toutes ces ftatues, ces colonnes, que l'adulation érigeoit aux tyrans, et qui devenoient les premières viétimes de la fureur populaire dans une révolution? Je foupçonne même que le poète pouvoit avoir en vue le roi des Parthes, le plus puiffant monarque de l'Orient. Le meurtrier de fon père et de toute fa famille, avoit raifon de craindre la Fortune. Son inquiétude étoit fous les yeux des Romains; il avoit donné à Augufte plufieurs ôtages, de fes proches parens,

3. Mr. Addifon propofes an explanation of the thirty-fifth ode of the firft book of Horace, in fpeaking of a medal which represents Security refting on a pillar *.

*Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni;
Injuriofo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam.*————

They feared left Fortune might overturn the pillar of their fecurity. But fear and fecurity are inconfiftent. Befides, Horace would not probably have made ufe of fo fubtile and far-fetched an illufion without giving warning of it, at leaft, by fome epithet. Why may not thefe words be applied literally to thofe ftatues and pillars which flattery erects to tyrants, and which are commonly the firft viétimes of popular fury at the time of a revolution? I conjecture that the poet might allude to the king of the Parthians, the moft powerful monarch of the Eaft. Fortune might juftly be dreaded by the murderer of his father, and of his whole family. The Romans had feen proofs of his anxiety. He had given to Auguftus feveral of his neareft relations as hoftages,

* Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.

parens, que ce prince faisoit élever à Rome. Le superbe Phrahate cherchoit moins à flatter les Romains par cette démarche humiliante, qu'à priver les mécontents de chefs d'une révolte*.

N° VI.

à FLORENCE, le 5 Aout 1764.

J'AI lu un petit ouvrage intitulé, *Littera Critica del Cavaliere Lorenzo Guazzesi Aretino all' Illustri. Sig. Dottore Antonio Cocchi, Medico Antiquario de S. M. C. intorno ad Alcuni fatti della Guerra Gallica Cisalpina, seguiti l'Anno di Roma 529, in Arezzo 1752, in 12mo. pp. 103.* J'y trouve du savoir et de l'esprit, une bonne critique, et une très grande connoissance du local. Son défaut principal est celui de sa nation ; un style Asiaticque, ennemi de la force, de la précision et de la brièveté. Je vais rassembler sur ce sujet ce que M. Guazzesi m'a appris, et les idées que ma propre réflexion y a ajoutées. Cette ébauche seroit moins imparfaite, si j'avois un Polybe sous les yeux.

1. Je ne saurois concevoir un évènement plus dangereux pour la grandeur Romaine, que ne l'auroit été la réunion des Gaulois et des Carthaginois dans la première

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whom that emperor caused to be educated at Rome. The haughty Phrahates intended less to flatter the Romans by this humiliating measure, than to deprive his discontented subjects of men fit to head their revolt*.

N° VI.

FLORENCE, 5th August 1764.

I HAVE been reading a little work, intitled, *A Critical Letter of the Chevalier Lorenzo Guazzesi Aretino, to Doctor Anthony Cocchi, Physician and Antiquary of his Catholic Majesty; respecting some Transactions in the Cisalpine Gallic War, in the Year of Rome 529: Arezzo, 1752; in 12mo. pp. 103.* I find in this little work, erudition, good sense, sound criticism, with much local knowledge. Its chief fault is that of the Chevalier's country, an Asiatic style, prejudicial to strength, precision, and brevity. I shall unite, under one point of view, what I have learned from him on the subject, and the additions which my own reflections have made to it. This sketch would be less imperfect, had I a Polybius at hand.

1. I cannot imagine any event that would have more endangered the greatness of Rome than the union of the Gauls and Carthaginians in

* Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

guerre Punique. Ils étoient redoutables les uns et les autres à ce peuple ambitieux ; la politique la mieux entendue joignoit ses conseils à ceux de la haine. Chacun auroit mis dans l'alliance ce qui manquoit à son ami. Carthage se faisoit craindre par ses trésors, sa marine, et sa discipline militaire. Le nombre, la valeur, et la situation avantageuse des Gaulois, faisoient toujours regarder une guerre Gauloise comme une crise très dangereuse pour la république. Si les alliés avoient réussi, la différence de leurs vues et de leurs caractères, auroit facilité les partages, et cimenté leur amitié. Mais la politique timide et bornée des Carthaginois, et l'insensibilité paresseuse, si naturelle à une nation de barbares, qui ne prévoit jamais les dangers, épargnèrent aux Romains tous les perils de cette alliance. Je pense que cette république, qui favoit dissimuler et son ambition et sa vengeance, ménageoit les barbares avec soin, et qu'elle attendoit tranquillement, pour les irriter, le moment où ils n'auroient de ressource qu'en eux-mêmes.

L'an de Rome 470 les Gaulois *Senones* furent presque exterminés. On envoya les colonies de *Castrum* et *Sena*, dans leur pays, qui s'étendoit de l'*Æsis* à l'*Ufens* ; et tout leur territoire, l'*Ager Gallicus*, fut ajouté au domaine de l'état. Au bout de cinquante huit ans, un tribun avide de popularité, fit passer une loi, pour diviser parmi les citoyens ces terres de la république. On
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the first Punic war. Both these nations were formidable to that ambitious republic ; and in both the projects of vengeance would have been directed by the wisest policy. Each would have brought with it the advantages in which its ally was deficient. Carthage was powerful in wealth, shipping, and military discipline. The populousness, valour, and advantageous situation of the Gauls made the Romans always consider a Gallic war as an event big with alarm and danger. Had the allies succeeded, the difference of their views and character would have facilitated the friendly division of their conquests, and cemented their union. But the cautious and narrow policy of the Carthaginians, and the lazy insensibility natural to improvident Barbarians, delivered the Romans from the danger of this alliance. The republic, I imagine, who knew how to dissemble her hatred as well as her ambition, was careful to keep on good terms with the Gauls ; and, before provoking their resentment, patiently waited until they should have no other resource than in themselves.

In the year of Rome 470, the Galli Senones were almost extirpated. The colonies of *Castrum* and *Sena* were sent into the country extending from *Æsis* to the *Ufens* ; and the whole of their territory, the *Ager Gallicus*, was added to the dominions of the state. Fifty-eight years afterwards, a tribune, ambitious of popularity, obtained a law for dividing this public property among the citizens. It is difficult to perceive why

a de la peine à voir comment cette nouvelle distribution d'un bien qui n'étoit plus aux Gaulois, a pu allumer sur le champ une guerre aussi vive qu'elle fut générale. Je comprends seulement que les *Boii* limitrophes jouissoient de l'avantage du pâturage public, moyennant cette redevance légère qu'on nommoit *Scriptura*, et que des particuliers étoient intéressés peut-être dans les sousfermes de ces domaines. L'avidité des nouveaux habitans, aura chassé de leurs azyles quelque foibles restes des *Senones*, que la sage modération du gouvernement avoit oubliés. Le voisinage des Romains devenoit plus dangereux aux Gaulois, à mesure que cette frontière se fortifioit et se peuploit d'une colonie rivale et guerrière. Quoiqu'il en soit, cette loi répandit la crainte et la fureur dans toute la Gaule Cisalpine. Ces nations prirent les armes, et ils appellèrent encore en Italie un corps nombreux de mercenaires tirés des peuples Transalpins. Les Romains se préparèrent à soutenir l'orage. Par le dénombrement qu'ils firent de toute l'Italie, ils virent bientôt qu'ils pouvoient y opposer 700,000 fantassins, et 70,000 cavaliers. Le consul *Æmilius*, avec une nombreuse armée, se posta à *Ariminum* pour couvrir l'*Ager Gallicus*, l'objet de la guerre ; et un des préteurs fut chargé de la défense de l'Etrurie. L'autre consul, *Atilius*, étoit déjà en Sardaigne, occupé à soumettre les barbares de cette île.

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2. II

why this distribution of lands, which had ceased to belong to the Gauls, should at once provoke a war as fierce as it was general: all that I understand is, that the neighbouring *Boii* enjoyed the right of public pasturage, on paying a small quit-rent called *Scriptura*; and that the lands were perhaps subfarmed by individuals. The avarice of the new proprietors may be supposed to have expelled the feeble remnant of the *Senones*, which the wise moderation of government had left unmolested. The neighbourhood of the Romans would grow more formidable to the Gauls, in proportion as that frontier was fortified and peopled by a rival and warlike colony. Whatever were the reasons, it is certain that this law spread dismay and fury through the whole of Cisalpine Gaul. These nations flew to arms, and invited into Italy numerous mercenaries from beyond the Alps. The Romans prepared for resisting the storm. By an enumeration of their forces in Italy, they found they could send into the field 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. The consul *Æmilius*, at the head of a numerous army, took post at *Ariminum*, to defend the *Ager Gallicus*, the object of the war; and one of the prætors was entrusted with the defence of Tuscany. *Atilius*, the other consul, had sailed to Sardinia, with a view of conquering the barbarians of that island.

2. Il importe peu de savoir par quelle route les barbares vinrent fondre sur l'Etrurie, qu'ils avoient choisie pour le premier théâtre de la guerre. Le préteur étoit naturellement posté auprès d'Arezzo, la grande place d'armes des Romains dans la Toscane. Si les Gaulois ont suivi la route de la mer, ils peuvent avoir trompé sa vigilance ; s'ils prirent celle de Bologne et du Valdimugello *, ce commandant, trop foible pour les attaquer, se fera vû obligé de les laisser ravager et piller impunément les riches pâturages de la Toscane †. Ils y firent un butin immense en troupeaux et en esclaves. Fiers de marcher sur les traces de leurs ancêtres, ils osèrent pousser jusqu'à *Clusium*, sur la grande route de la capitale. Ce fut là qu'ils apprirent la nouvelle que le préteur, qui avoit peut-être reçu des renforts, les poursuivoit à grandes journées. Ils firent volte face pour aller à sa rencontre, et déjà le soir d'un premier jour de marche, les deux armées se trouvèrent en présence. Chacun y fortifia son camp. Si nous suivons la route de *Clusium* à *Arezzo*, dans la Valdichiana, nous trouverons les villages de Lucignana et de Sinalunga à une distance assez convenable ‡. Les Romains avoient pris un poste excellent ; et ces barbares, malgré leur impétuosité, songèrent plutôt à le leur faire abandonner qu'à les y attaquer. Ils partirent avec toute l'infanterie, laissèrent des feux allumés

pour

2. It is not material to determine by what route the barbarians penetrated into Etruria, which they thought fit to render the first theatre of the war. The prætor had naturally posted himself near to Arezzo, the principal fortress of the Romans in Tuscany. If they marched by the sea side, the Gauls might have deceived his vigilance; if they pursued the road of Bologna and Valdimugello *, the general must have been too weak to resist them, and therefore felt the necessity of allowing them to ravage with impunity the rich Tuscan pastures †. They got possession of an immense booty in cattle and slaves. Proud of following the footsteps of their ancestors, they advanced to Clusium, on the straight road to the capital. There they heard that the prætor, who had perhaps received a reinforcement, pursued them by forced marches. They changed their direction, in order to meet him; and on the evening of the first day's march, the two armies were in sight of each other. Both sides fortified their camp. If we examine the road by Clusium to Arezzo in the Valdichiana, we shall find the villages of Lucignana and Sinalunga situated at a convenient distance ‡. The Romans had occupied an excellent camp; and the barbarians, notwithstanding their impetuosity, thought it wiser to withdraw them from it by stratagem, than to dislodge them by force. They

* Littera Crit. p. 37.

† Id. p. 39.

‡ Id. 54.

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pour tromper les Romains, et leur cavalerie pour les harceler, et les attirer insensiblement à l'endroit où ils les attendoient. Le préteur donna dans le piège, et paya sa crédulité d'une défaite sanglante. Il se retira avec difficulté sur une hauteur, où il se défendit jusqu'à l'arrivée du consul Emilius, qui avoit forcé de marches et passé l'Apennin. Sa présence sauva le préteur, et les Gaulois ne songèrent plus qu'à mettre leur butin en sûreté, et à faire leur retraite le long de la mer. Ce récit est clair, et si Casaubon avoit aussi bien pris le sens de Polybe que M. Guazzesi, le texte de ce grand historien n'offriroit plus de difficultés géographiques. Il avoit dit de la retraite des Gaulois, Ποιησαμενοι την υποχωρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺν Φαισουλαν. Si on le traduit *Fasulas tendunt*, on fait faire aux Gaulois une marche presque incroyable, et une manœuvre ridicule, puisqu'elle suppose que les Romains poursuivirent leur cavalerie soixante milles, sans la mettre en déroute. Ces embarras augmentent, lorsqu'on a conduit les Gaulois jusqu'à *Fasula*, et au pied de l'Apennin; et comme on ne conçoit point comment ils ont pu retrograder jusqu'à Telamon, on prend le parti avec Cluvier, de préférer l'autorité d'Orose à celle de Polybe, et de supposer que la dernière bataille s'est donnée auprès d'Arezzo. Pourquoi ne pas rendre ὡς ἐπὶ Φαισουλαν *versus Fasulas*, du côté de *Fasula*, selon la signification la plus naturelle,

marched with their whole infantry, left their fires burning to deceive the Romans, as well as their cavalry, who might continually harass them until they were drawn to the place to which they wished to decoy them. The prætor fell into the snare, and was punished for his credulity by a bloody defeat. He with much difficulty retired to an eminence, and defended himself till the arrival of the consul Emilius, who by forced marches had passed the Apennines. His arrival saved the prætor; and the Gauls now thought only of securing their booty, and making their retreat along the sea coast. The narrative of Polybius is clear; and if Casaubon had taken the sense of the passage as well as Mr. Guazzesi, the text of this great historian would no longer contain any geographical difficulties. He says of the retreat of the Gauls, Ποιησαμενοι την υποχωρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺν Φαισουλαν. If we translate the words *Fasulas tendunt* we suppose the Gauls to perform a march almost incredible, and to make a movement altogether absurd, since it implies that the Romans pursued their cavalry sixty miles without putting them to the route. These difficulties are increased when we follow the Gauls to *Fasulæ* and the foot of the Apennines; and as it is impossible to understand how they can retreat to Telamon, we adopt the opinion of Cluverius, in preferring on this occasion the authority of Orosius to that of Polybius, and supposing that the last battle was fought near to Arezzo. Why should not the words ὡς ἐπὶ Φαισουλαν *versus Fasulas* be translated

naturelle, et la construction la plus facile? Les Gaulois suivirent donc la route de *Clusum* à *Fasula*, mais on peut penser qu'ils s'étoient à peine masqués derrière cette chaîne de collines, que sépare la Seigneurie de Florence, du territoire de Sienne, lorsque l'affaire s'engagea. Grace à cette idée heureuse de M. Guazzesi, le système entier de cette campagne se dévoile à nos yeux *. Les Romains se retirèrent sur une de ces collines; et ce fut en faisant passer quelques couriers à travers les bois qui les couvroient, qu'ils communiquèrent au consul leur situation.

Pourquoi les barbares préférèrent-ils le chemin des côtes, à celui du Valdimugello, qui étoit beaucoup plus court? Pourquoi n'ont ils pas traversé le pays en droiture, pour arriver à l'embouchure de l'Arne, et pour côtoyer ensuite jusqu'aux gorges de la *Valdimagra*? Il est toujours certain que le Port de Telamon est plus près de Rome que les montagnes de Sienne. M. Guazzesi répond très bien à ces difficultés, par les changemens que le tems a apportés au pays, et par l'ignorance où nous sommes, si cette route n'étoit pas la seule praticable pour une armée, par la préférence que les Gaulois donnoient à la plaine, où ils pouvoient faire agir leur cavalerie nombreuse, et par l'espérance de se servir des vaisseaux corsaires Liguriens et Gaulois, pour transporter tout leur butin,

translated in the direction of *Fasula*, according to the most natural signification and the easiest construction? The Gauls then pursued the road from *Clusium* to *Fasula*, but had scarcely concealed themselves behind the chain of hills which separate the Duchy of Tuscany from the district of Sienna, when they were obliged to come to an engagement.—Thanks to the happy discovery of Mr. Guazzesi, the whole plan of the campaign is unravelled *. The Romans retired to one of those hills; and by dispatching couriers across the thick woods by which they were covered, communicated the news of their situation to the consul.

Why did the Barbarians prefer the road by the coast to that of Valdimugello, which is far shorter? Why did they not traverse the country in a right line, in order to arrive at the mouth of the Arno, and then follow the coast to the openings of the hills of Valdimagra? We are sure that Port Telamon is nearer than the mountains of Sienna to Rome. Mr. Guazzesi well explains these difficulties, by the changes which time has effected in the nature of the country, and by our ignorance whether this route was not the only one practicable for an army; by the preference given by the Gauls to the plain country, where they could avail themselves of their numerous cavalry, and by the hope of meeting with piratical vessels belonging to their own nation or the Li-

* V. Surtout *Littera Crit.* p. 41—58.

gurians,

butin, sans danger et sans difficulté. Mais je crois qu'il faut pénétrer jusqu'aux ressorts qui ont fait mouvoir les conseils Gaulois, pour bien apprécier une conduite qui passe de la fureur au découragement, qui menace la capitale, et qui ne cherche ses ennemis que pour se retirer de devant eux, après avoir goûté les prémices de la victoire. Les Gaulois étoient gouvernés en effet par deux esprits très différens. Les peuples Cisalpins ne sentoient que trop, qu'une pareille guèrrre ne pouvoit finir que par leur destruction, ou celle des Romains. Ils combattoient avec cette ardeur qu'inspirent les plus grands intérêts; mais ils ne trouvoient point la même façon de penser dans les *Gesata* leurs alliés. Ces troupes, qui étoient moins une nation, qu'un corps d'aventuriers rassemblés de plusieurs peuples différens, n'avoient d'autre motif pour passer les Alpes, que l'espérance du butin, et ne songeoient qu'à conserver ce butin par une prompte retraite, sans s'exposer davantage dans une guèrrre qui leur étoit étrangère. Ce fut Anocreste leur chef, qui ouvrit le premier cet avis; et dans l'ignorance générale où l'on étoit de la géographie spéculative, des barbares qui ne connoissoient ni le pays, ni la langue du pays, ne pouvoient se guider que par le cours des rivières dont les torrens se frayent ordinairement un chemin dans les vallons les moins difficiles. Ils se trouvoient alors vers la source de l'Ombro, et comme cette rivière coule du côté du Sud-Ouest, ils s'étoient

gurians, in which they might transport their booty without difficulty or danger. But I believe it will be necessary to penetrate into the motives by which the Barbarians were actuated, before we can fairly appreciate their conduct in passing from fury to dismay; and in marching up to their enemies, merely that they might fly before them, especially after they had just tasted the sweets of victory. The Gallic army was governed by two principles extremely different. The Cisalpine nations perceived that such a war could only terminate in their own destruction or that of the Romans. They fought like men, who had their dearest interests at stake; but their allies the *Gesata* were not animated by a similar spirit. These troops were not a nation, but rather an assemblage from different nations, who had passed the Alps merely for the sake of plunder, and who wished to secure their booty by a speedy retreat, without longer exposing their persons in a war which did not concern them. Their leader Anocrestes was the first who proposed this measure; and as the age was ignorant of the principles of geography, and the Barbarians were acquainted both with the country and the language, they could only shape their route by the course of those rivers which, swelled to torrents, had forced their passage through the least obstructed vallies. They were then near the source of the Umbro; and as that river flows from the south-west, they must have approached Rome,

s'étoient rapprochés de Rome, lorsqu'ils étoient parvenus à son embouchure auprès du Port de Telamon. Si les Cisalpins, qui connoissoient le mieux ce pays, ne le quittoient qu'avec peine; on peut soupçonner qu'ils profitèrent avec plaisir de cette circonstance.

J'ai dit qu'ils suivirent l'Ombro jusqu'à son embouchure, quoique le Port de Telamon soit à dix huit milles plus près de Rome. Mais on fait par un passage des stratagèmes de Frontin, que ce fut auprès de Colonia qu'ils descendirent dans la plaine, et que les Boii jettèrent dix milles hommes dans un bois auprès de cet endroit. Le consul Æmilius découvrit l'embuscade, et les tailla en pièces. Les critiques, qui ne connoissoient point cette Colonia, ont voulu l'expliquer, ou la corriger à leur manière. Colonia, nommée *Columnata* dans le moyen age, et la *Colonna* à présent, n'est qu'un village du territoire de Grossetto entre l'embouchure de l'Ombro et le lac Castiglione ou Aprilis *. Voilà le lieu de la bataille. Le Port Telamon, endroit bien plus connu, lui a donné son nom.

On fait que le consul Æmilius suivit toujours l'armée des barbares, sans vouloir engager une bataille, et que par un hazard singulier, son collègue Atilius, qui avoit débarqué son armée à Pise, et qui revenoit à Rome par la voye Aurélienne, rencontra, sans s'en douter, l'avant garde

Rome, as they came to its mouth near Port Telamon. If the Cisalpine Gauls, who were better acquainted with the country, were loth to leave it; there is reason to think that they would with pleasure avail themselves of this circumstance.

I say that they followed the course of the Umbro till they came to its mouth, although Port Telamon be eighteen miles nearer to Rome. But we learn from a passage of Frontinus's Stratagems, that they entered the plain at Colonia; and that the Boii posted ten thousand men in a wood in that neighbourhood. The consul Æmilius discovered the ambush, and cut the enemy in pieces. Critics, to whom the name of Colonia was unknown, have endeavoured in their usual way to explain or correct it. This place, now Colonna, was called Columnata in the middle ages; it is a village in the territory of Grossetto, between the mouth of the Umbro and Castiglione, or Aprilis *; and was the scene of the battle, which derives its name from Port Telamon, a place far better known.

History informs us, that the consul Æmilius continued to follow the army of the Barbarians without venturing to provoke them to a battle; and that, by a singular chance, his colleague Atilius, who had disembarked his army at Pisa, unexpectedly fell in with their vanguard; that

* Littera Crit. p. 77—87.

garde des Gaulois ; que le combat s'engagea, et que le consul y fut tué, mais qu'*Æmilius*, qui les attaquoit de son côté, remporta une victoire complète, et que l'armée entière des barbares périt dans cette bataille, qui porta le coup mortel à la liberté des Gaulois en deça des Alpes. De toutes ces circonstances, il n'y a que la surprise d'*Atilius* qui me paroît inconcevable. Il n'avoit pu quitter la Sardaigne sa province, sans les ordres du sénat, et parmi ses instructions, il avoit certainement celui de s'informer des mouvemens de l'ennemi, et de ceux de son collègue, pour agir de concert avec lui. Cette tâche s'exécutoit d'elle-même dans un pays ami, où la désolation du peuple et la fuite des payfans, lui annonçoient assez l'approche des barbares. Quoiqu'il en soit, quand je vois les Gaulois pris en front et par derrière, par deux armées Romaines qui arrivent de deux côtés opposés, cette marche m'a plutôt l'air d'un projet très-bien entendu, que d'une négligence à peine concevable. * * *

* * * * *

M. Guazzesi croit qu'anciennement la Toscane avoit beaucoup de forêts, que les territoires de Cortone, d'Arezzo, et de Fesule en étoient couverts. On connoît l'étendue de la forêt Ciminienne. Il y en avoit auprès de

Clusum,

a battle ensued, in which that consul was slain ; while *Æmilius*, on his side, having also attacked the enemy, obtained a complete victory, destroyed the whole Barbarian army, and gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Cisalpine Gauls. Of all those circumstances, I find most difficulty in understanding the surprise of *Atilius*. He could not have left his province of Sardinia without the orders of the senate. His instructions must have required him to gain information, both of the motions of the enemy and of those of his colleagues, in concert with whom he was to act. This duty was easily performed in a friendly country, where the consternation of the people and the flight of the peasants loudly proclaimed the approach of the Barbarians. In whatever manner this may be explained, the Gallic army, attacked in front and rear by two Roman consuls, advancing in contrary directions, will always, in my opinion, wear the aspect of a well-combined project, rather than of a military neglect, hardly conceivable. * * *

* * * * *

Mr. Guazzesi is of opinion that Tuscany formerly abounded in forests ; and that the districts of Cortona, Arezzo, and Fesulæ were entirely covered with them. The extent of the Ciminian wood is well known. In the year of the city 444, Livy tells us, that there was a

Clusium, A. U. C. 444, selon Tite Live. Dans les guerres Puniques les Romains tiroient leurs bois de construction, des pays *Rusellæ*, de *Perugia*, et de *Clusium*; et on fait que les territoires de Sienne, de Volaterra, et celui de *Populonium*, où l'on travailloit le fer de l'île d'*Elba* avoient beaucoup de bois. Flavius Vopiscus marque que du tems d'Aurélien, il y en avoit beaucoup auprès de la voye Aurélienne, et Strabon l'affirme de toute la Toscane. Pour peu qu'on creuse dans la Valdichiana, on trouve des arbres d'une grandeur démesurée, qui sont devenus fossiles. Faut-il encore en appeller aux anciens noms de ce pays, la *Farneta*, *Alberofo*, *Fraffinetto*, *Cereto*, la *Selve*, et à l'obligation que ces communautés retinrent jusqu'à l'onzième siècle, de livrer les sangliers tous les ans à leurs seigneurs?

forest near Clusium. During the Punic wars, the Romans brought their timber for ship-building from Rusellæ, Perugia, and Clusium; and wood abounded in the territories of Sienna, Volaterra, and Populonium, whose inhabitants wrought the iron from the island of Elba. Flavius Vopiscus observes, that in the time of Aurelian there was a great quantity of wood near the Aurelian way; and Strabo extends the remark to all Tuscany. By digging into the Valdichiana, even near the surface, the workmen still find trees of a prodigious size, which are now petrified. Need we appeal to the ancient names and epithets of the country, *la Farneta*, *Alberofo*, *Fraffinetto*, *Cereto*, *la Selve*; or to the obligations imposed on the communities in those parts, as late as the eleventh century, of furnishing yearly to their lords a certain number of wild boars?

N^o VII.

Sur les TRIUMPHES des ROMAINS.

à ROME, le 28 Novembre 1764.

ROMULUS se vit bientôt forcé de prendre les armes contre les petites cités des Sabins, que l'enlèvement de leurs filles n'avoit que trop justement irrités contre son état naissant. Acron, roi des Cininiens, fut la première victime des armes Romaines. Il tomba sous les coups de Romulus, et son peuple fut trop heureux de se perdre dans la nouvelle colonie. Le vainqueur voulut jouir des prémices de sa gloire. Chassant devant lui des troupeaux et des prisonniers, suivi des compagnons de sa victoire, et entouré de l'allégresse publique, il rentra dans sa ville, et monta sur le Mont Capitolin, pour déposer dans un temple qu'il y avoit dédié à Jupiter Feretrius, sa reconnaissance et ses trophées. Par cette cérémonie, il associa pour jamais dans l'esprit de ses Romains la religion et la vertu militaire. Ce fut là l'origine des triomphes, *institution qui devint, dans la suite, la cause principale de la grandeur de Rome* *. Trois cens vingt de ces triomphes † la conduisirent à ce faîte de la grandeur, où

* Montesquieu Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, C. i. p. 2.

† Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis. Il a pris ce nombre dans Orose.

N^o VII.

Upon the TRIUMPHS of the ROMANS.

ROME, 28th November 1764.

ROMULUS was soon obliged to take arms against the little cities of the Sabines, whom the rape of their daughters had justly provoked against his rising state. Acron, king of the Cininians, was the first victim of Roman valour. He fell by the hand of Romulus; and his subjects had the good fortune to be allowed to unite with the new colony. The conqueror was eager to reap the first fruits of his glory. Driving before him herds and prisoners, and attended by the companions of his victory, he entered the city amidst public acclamation, and ascended the Capitoline hill, in order to deposit his trophies and his gratitude in the temple which he had dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. By this ceremony, military virtue was for ever associated with religion in the imagination of the Romans. Such was the origin of the triumph, *an institution which proved the principal cause of the greatness of Rome* †. Three hundred and twenty triumphs § raised her to that exaltation, which she

† Montesquieu on the Greatness and Decline of the Romans.

§ Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. The number is taken from Orosius.
had

où elle se trouva sous l'empire de Vespasien. Je vais hasarder quelques réflexions sur le droit de triomphe, sur le chemin que suivoient les triomphateurs, et sur le spectacle lui-même.

Le droit de triomphe peut s'envisager de trois manières différentes. 1. L'autorité qui l'accordoit : 2. les personnes à qui on l'accordoit ; et, 3. les raisons pour lesquelles on l'accordoit.

1. Je pense que les rois, dont l'autorité étoit aussi indépendante sur le militaire, qu'elle étoit bornée dans le civil, rentroient dans la ville en triomphe, toutes les fois qu'ils s'en croyoient dignes, et qu'ils se decernoient eux-mêmes cet honneur que leur prédécesseur avoit institué. Après l'expulsion de Tarquin, le sénat, déjà le conseil du prince et de la nation, devint encore l'arbitre des récompenses militaires *. Il accorda à Valerius Publicola l'honneur du triomphe pour cette victoire remportée sur les Tarquins, dans laquelle Brutus perdit la vie. Depuis cette époque, le triomphe acquit un prix réel aux yeux de quiconque connoissoit la véritable gloire. Cette cérémonie n'étoit plus une vaine pompe qui éblouissoit la populace : un consul y trouvoit désormais le plus beau de tous les éloges, l'approbation de nos égaux, et de nos émules. Quelques uns des sénateurs avoient aux-mêmes obtenu

had attained under the reign of Vespasian. I venture to submit the following reflections on the right of triumph, the road through which it proceeded, and the show itself.

The right of triumph may be considered under three aspects. 1. The authority by which it was conferred; 2. the persons upon whom; and, 3. the reasons for which it was granted.

1. Under the royal government, I should suppose that the kings, whose authority was as independent in military as it was limited in civil affairs, entered the city in triumph, whenever they thought themselves entitled to that honour; and thus dispensed in their own favour the benefits of an institution which had been established by their predecessor. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the senate, which had been the council of the prince, and was that of the nation, naturally assumed the power of dispensing military rewards *. The senate conferred on Valerius Publicola the honour of a triumph for having defeated the Tarquins in that battle in which Brutus was slain. From this æra, the triumph possessed a real value in the opinion of all acquainted with true glory. This ceremony was no longer a vain show, fitted merely to dazzle the populace; but a solemnity in which a meritorious consul found the best of all panegyrics; the praise of his equals and of his rivals. Some senators had attained, many of them inspired to, the triumph; and as all of

* Tit. Liv. L. ii. Dionys. Halicarn. L. v.

obtenu cette gloire, il y en avoit peu qui n'y aspirassent. Tous intéressés à ne point avilir un honneur qui étoit le leur, ils jugeoient le candidat avec une sévérité salutaire pour l'état, et glorieuse pour lui-même. Le sénat regardoit ce droit comme la plus belle de ses prérogatives: il le conserva jusqu'aux derniers jours de la république, et parut le conserver jusqu'au plus bas tems de l'empire. Il eut une fois la douleur de s'en voir privé, et de sentir encore qu'il méritoit de le perdre. L'an de Rome 305, Valerius et Horatius, ces deux consuls qui avoient chassé les Décemvirs, remportèrent deux victoires complètes sur les Volques, les Eques, et les Sabins; mais leur conduite trop populaire, et leur ardeur à poursuivre les Décemvirs, leur avoient attiré la haine de chefs du sénat, qui plaignoient leurs coupables parens, quoiqu'ils détestassent leurs forfaits. Le sénat refusa aux consuls le triomphe qu'ils demandoient *, et donna cet exemple si pernicieux dans un état libre, celui de distribuer les grâces militaires selon le parti que suivent les Généraux dans les affaires politiques. Un tribun appella au peuple de cette injustice, et ce peuple fut charmé d'étendre ses droits en récompensant ses favoris. Valerius et Horatius triomphèrent sans le consentement du sénat: mais le peuple, content de sa victoire, rendit au sénat le droit qu'il s'étoit

them felt an interest in keeping untarnished an honour which was in some measure their own, they judged the candidate with a severity as salutary for the state as glorious for himself. The senate considered this right as its most precious prerogative; preserved it in reality to the last days of the republic; and affected to preserve it to the latest times of the empire. It once had the pain to see itself divested of this right, and to feel that it justly merited the punishment. In the year of Rome 305, Valerius and Horatius, the two consuls who had abolished the Decemvirate, gained two complete victories over the Volsci, the Equi, and the Sabines; but their conduct too partial to the populace, and their eagerness in prosecuting the Decemvirs, drew on them the hatred of the leaders of the senate, who pitied their unfortunate kinsmen, at the same time that they detested their crimes. The senate refused to these consuls the honour of a triumph*; affording therein an example highly pernicious in a free state, of being influenced in the distribution of military favours by the party which the generals take in politics. In consequence of this injustice, a tribune appealed to the people, who seized with pleasure the opportunity of at once rewarding their favourites, and of extending their own power. Valerius and Horatius triumphed without the consent of the senate; to which, however, the people restored a prerogative, which they themselves had usurped on this particular occasion. I am not igno-

* Tit. Liv. L. iii. Dionys. Harlicarn. L. xi.

s'étoit arrogé dans cette occasion. Je crois que ce corps habile, qui a eu des siècles de sagesse et des momens de passion, chercha dans l'impartialité et la prudence de ses décrets, l'affermissement d'une autorité aussi précaire, et que l'état profita de ses craintes. Il devoit craindre en effet la décision d'une question délicate sur la constitution. Puisque les arrêts du peuple pouvoient déroger aux droits les mieux reconnus du sénat, ce sénat qu'étoit-il, si non une commission établie par le peuple, à laquelle il avoit délégué l'exercice de ses droits, qu'il étoit toujours le maître de reprendre ? Le parti patricien en auroit voulu faire les représentans de son ordre, comme les comices des tribus l'étoient de celui des plébéiens. Selon ces principes, ces deux corps se réunissoient pour former la république ; mais chacun y avoit ses droits sacrés et inviolables. Le consentement du sénat ouvroit les portes au char du triomphateur ; mais il dépendoit encore du peuple de l'arrêter. Tout commandement militaire se perdoit en passant le *Pomœrium*. Généraux au dehors, les consuls n'étoient que magistrats dans une ville, qui ne connoissoit de force que celle des loix. Cependant le triomphateur rentroit à la tête de ses légions, revêtu de son caractère militaire. Pour concilier la gloire du chef, et le respect qu'on devoit aux loix, le sénat proposoit toujours au peuple de lui continuer le commandement militaire,

rant that this politic council, which had ages of wisdom and only moments of passion, endeavoured, by the impartiality and prudence of its decrees, to confirm its precarious authority ; and that the public at large profited by its fears. It could not indeed but fear the decision of a delicate question respecting its own constitution. Since the decrees of the people superseded the best established rights of the senate, in what other light could that senate be regarded, but as a commission delegated by the people, for the purpose of exercising rights, which those who had conferred them might at pleasure resume ? The patrician party were glad to have the senate considered as the representatives of their own order, as the comitia tributa represented the plebeians. Agreeably to this principle, these two bodies united composed the commonwealth ; but each of them apart enjoyed its sacred and inviolable rights. The consent of the senate opened the gates to the triumphal car ; but the people were entitled to stop its career. Upon entering the *Pomœrium*, all military command ceased ; and the consuls, who were generals abroad, became simple magistrates in Rome ; which acknowledged no other authority than that of the laws. Yet the triumphant general returned at the head of his legions, and continued to appear in a military character. To reconcile respect for the laws with the glory due to conquerors, the senate always proposed continuing the general in his command during the

taire, pendant le jour de son triomphe. L'assemblée déféroit presque toujours à l'autorité des pères, mais elle pouvoit la rejeter; et on l'a vû prête à user de son droit pour arrêter le triomphe de Paul Emile.

2. Pour oser demander le triomphe il falloit avoir eu le commandement. La discipline des Romains n'auroit jamais permis qu'un tribun, ou qu'un lieutenant, se présentât au sénat pour y demander le prix qu'il avoit mérité par ses services; qu'avoit-il pu mériter ce subalterne, lui dont les vertus n'étoient que la valeur et l'obéissance? C'étoit à son chef à les récompenser. Cette idée de la subordination étoit portée si loin, que le général jouissoit de la gloire de ses lieutenants les plus éloignés*, et qu'ils étoient censés ne vaincre que par les ordres qu'il avoit donnés†. C'est ainsi que les empereurs, seuls chefs de la milice, se réservèrent seuls les honneurs du triomphe pour les victoires que leur génie remportoit à la fois sur le Rhin et sur l'Euphrate. On s'apperçoit encore ici de l'association constante parmi les Romains, de la religion et de la politique. Le peuple en confiant à ses magistrats le commandement suprême, lui confioit le droit de prendre les auspices, et d'interroger la fortune publique de la nation. Ce caractère sacré les mettoit (pour m'exprimer ainsi) en liaison avec les dieux de la république.

the day of his triumph. The people usually acceded to this proposal; which they were entitled, however, to reject; and which they had nearly rejected, in order to hinder the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

2. Those only could demand a triumph who had been invested with supreme command. The discipline of the Romans would never have allowed a tribune or a lieutenant, to apply to the senate for the reward of his services. What reward could a subaltern deserve, whose only virtues were those of valour and obedience; virtues which it was the duty of his general to remunerate. The principle of military subordination was carried so far, that a commander in chief appropriated the glory of his most distant lieutenants*, who were considered as indebted for their success merely to the orders which he had given to them†. The emperors therefore, as sole heads of the army, were alone entitled to triumph for the victories which their genius had obtained, at the same time on the Rhine and the Euphrates. On this occasion, also, we may perceive the perpetual connection, among the Romans, of religion and policy. The people, in conferring the supreme command, conferred with it the right of taking the auspices, and of interrogating the gods; concerning the fortune of the state. This sacred prerogative established

* Cicér. in Pison. C. xxiii.

† See the Abbé Bletterie's Dissertation on the title Imperator. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tome xxi.

lique. Eux, et eux seuls, pouvoient les interroger, et les solliciter par des vœux que l'état étoit obligé de remplir. Il n'y avoit donc qu'eux, à qui il convenoit de leur offrir des actions de grâces, lorsque ces dieux avoient exaucé leurs prières, et d'apporter à leurs pieds les dépouilles des ennemis et les trophées de leurs victoires. Dans la théologie toute martiale des Romains, on ne pouvoit leur présenter des offrandes plus agréables.

Dans les premiers siècles, les consuls et les préteurs réunissoient facilement des campagnes qui ne consistoient qu'en quelques jours de marche, suivis d'un combat, avec l'administration politique. Mais lorsque la république étoit forcée de se défendre et d'attaquer tout à la fois dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie, dans la Sicile, dans l'Espagne et dans l'Afrique, il falloit multiplier ses chefs, et continuer aux consuls et aux préteurs le même commandement, lorsque le terme de leur magistrature étoit expiré. Ces proconsuls et propréteurs devinrent à la fin les seuls généraux de l'état ; et quoique les mêmes personnes exerçassent les fonctions civiles et militaires, elles ne les exerçoient plus en même tems, effet naturel de l'étendue de l'empire, et de la grandeur des affaires. Ces magistrats extraordinaires, qui jouissoient des mêmes droits et des mêmes auspices, que lorsqu'ils étoient consuls ou préteurs, obtenoient toujours le triomphe, quand ils l'avoient

a peculiar connection between the general and the gods of his country. He alone could interrogate them, and solicit their favour by vows, which the state was bound to perform. When his prayers were heard, it belonged, therefore, to him in particular, to demonstrate the public gratitude to the gods; and to lay at their feet hostile spoils and victorious trophies. To the martial superstition of the Romans, no offerings could appear more acceptable.

In the first ages of the republic, it was easy for the consuls and prætors to unite with their civil functions the management of campaigns, which consisted only in marches of a few days, immediately followed by a battle. But when Rome was obliged to act, both offensively and defensively, in all the provinces of Italy; in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; it became necessary to increase the number of generals, and to extend the military command of the consuls and prætors beyond the term assigned for their civil authority. These proconsuls and proprætors finally became the only generals of the state; and in consequence of the weight of affairs which increased with the extent of the empire, although the same persons continued to exercise both civil and military functions, yet they ceased to exercise them simultaneously. These extraordinary magistrates, who enjoyed the same sacred prerogatives as when they were consuls and prætors, were entitled also to demand a triumph, when their exploits

merited

l'avoient mérité. Pouvoit-on en effet flétrir leurs lauriers, parceque la distance des lieux et la difficulté de la guerre, ne leur avoient pas permis de la terminer dans une seule campagne ? Mais pendant la seconde guerre Punique, le jeune Scipion vint demander ce triomphe qu'il avoit si bien mérité, en vengeant la mort de ses oncles, et en rendant à la république la grande province d'Espagne. Sa situation étoit singulière comme ses exploits. Sa propre hardiesse et la faveur du peuple, l'avoient élevé au commandement à l'âge de vingt quatre ans. Il étoit général sans avoir été magistrat. Il paroïssoit dangereux d'accoutûmer les favoris du peuple à mépriser les emplois de l'état, et à s'ouvrir des voyes plus abrégées. En lui refusant le triomphe, on proteïtoit en faveur des maximes même qu'on avoit violées ; on faisoit sentir au peuple combien étoient différentes ses loix et son autorité, et l'on refroidissoit les desirs téméraires que le succès de Scipion auroit excités, en séparant le prix de la gloire de celui de l'ambition. Le sénat prit le parti de la sagesse et de la discipline ; et le vainqueur se soumit à son refus. Ce décret fondé sur des raisons qu'on sentit plutôt qu'on ne les énonça, s'introduisit dans la jurisprudence des triomphe ; et il parut constant que le sénat n'en avoit jamais accordé à ceux qui n'étoient point magistrats : l'exemple de Scipion sembloit décider de l'avenir. Dans le sens propre, ce décret n'ouvroit le triomphe qu'à ceux d'entre

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merited that honour. It would have been unjust indeed to debar them from this reward, and to blast their laurels, because the distance of the province and the difficulty of the war had prevented them from terminating it in a single campaign. During the second Punic war, young Scipio demanded a triumph, which he had fairly earned, by avenging the death of his uncles, and by recovering for the republic the great province of Spain. His situation was as singular as his services. His own boldness and the favour of the people had raised him to supreme command at the age of twenty-four. He became a general without having ever been a magistrate. It appeared dangerous to accustom the favourites of the people to despise civil employments, and to open for themselves shorter roads to power. By refusing a triumph to Scipio, the Romans protested in favour of maxims which themselves had violated: people were taught to understand that their authority was subordinate to the laws; and that rash ambition was suppressed, which might too probably have been inflamed by the success of Scipio in separating the reward of military glory from the honours of civil magistracy. The senate maintained the cause of wisdom and of discipline; and the conqueror submitted to their refusal. This decree, which was founded on reasons of state, rather felt than expressed, came to be considered as the law of triumph; which the people never granted to any but magistrates: the precedent in the case of Scipio was thenceforth decisive. The strict

sense

les consuls et les préteurs, à qui le sénat continuoit l'exercice de cette magistrature qu'il leur avoit confiée; mais je vois que l'usage et la raison l'étendirent sans difficulté à ces citoyens à qui l'autorité publique accordoit le pouvoir de ces magistratures *, qu'ils avoient une fois exercées, et que l'indulgence du sénat supprimoit, pour ainsi dire, les années qui s'étoient écoulées depuis l'expiration de leurs charges, et les considéroit toujours comme revêtus du caractère qu'ils avoient une fois porté. J'ignore jusqu'à quel point le sénat auroit poussé son indulgence, et s'il eût accordé le triomphe aux exploits d'un ancien préteur, par exemple, revêtu de l'autorité proconsulaire. Je crois que ce sage conseil ne décida point d'avance un cas qui n'étoit pas arrivé; et qu'il auroit jugé selon les circonstances jusqu'à un proconsul, qui n'auroit jamais joui que de la dernière des magistratures, l'édilité. Cet édile, âgé au moins de trente huit ans, devoit être connu depuis vingt ans dans les troupes et dans la ville. Il devoit avoir fait connoître ses talens et son caractère dans la *questure*, et ses principes de politique dans le sénat. Mais le sens et la lettre de ce décret excluient de l'honneur du triomphe, tout particulier, tout chevalier Romain,

* Je ne puis renvoyer qu'à Tite Live et aux Fastes du sixième et septième siècles de Rome.

sense of this decree allowed a triumph only to those consuls and prætors whose magistracies had been prolonged by the people; but both reason and custom extended this honour to citizens invested by public authority with the power belonging to offices * which they had formerly filled; the indulgence of the senate obliterating, as it were, the years which had elapsed since the term of their employment, and considering them as still bearing a character which they had once honourably sustained. I know not how far the senate extended this indulgence; and whether it allowed, for example, the triumph to a prætor of a former year, when invested with proconsular authority. I am inclined to think that this wise council never anticipated the decisions of cases which had not actually happened; and that according to circumstances it would have extended the right of triumph even to a proconsul, who had never held any other magistracy than the ædileship. The ædile having attained at least the age of thirty-eight, must have been known for twenty years in the army and in the city. His talents and his character might have been appreciated by his behaviour in the *quæstorship*, and his political principles could not fail of being discovered in the senate. But both the letter and the spirit of this decree excluded from triumphal honours the simple citizen or knight, that the laws might not be suspended even in favour of the most distin-

* I can only cite the authority of Livy and the Fasti of the sixth and seventh centuries of Rome.

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main, qui auroit donné l'exemple pernicieux de faire déroger aux loix, en faveur même du mérite le plus distingué. Il établit si bien l'honneur de ces loix et du triomphe, que le peuple ne distribua plus ses graces, que selon l'ordre établi. Je fais que le jeune Pompée, encore chevalier, arracha au dictateur Sylla les honneurs du triomphe, dans ces tems malheureux où les loix se faisoient devant les particuliers trop puissans *. Si le sénat lui accorda ensuite une grace pareille, l'autorité de Pompée et la faveur du peuple justifioient assez une indulgence qui étoit sans conséquence pour lui.

3. On fait assez que le Général victorieux à son retour à Rome, faisoit assembler le sénat dans un temple hors de l'enceinte des murs, et qu'il lui exposoit ses prétensions au triomphe, en lui fournissant en même tems des mémoires exacts de sa victoire, dont il étoit obligé de constater la vérité par son serment solennel. La manière dont Claudius Néron et Livius Salinator demandèrent le triomphe pour leur victoire de Metaurus, étoit, selon Tite Live, la forme usitée de tous les Généraux. Ils supplièrent qu'on rendît graces aux dieux, et qu'il leur fût permis d'entrer en ville en triomphe, pour avoir administré la république avec courage et avec fidélité †. Je pense que cette condition, dont l'interprétation se prêtoit facilement à la prudence et à l'équité des juges,

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guished merit. The authority of these laws became so thoroughly established, that the people no longer sought to dispense their favours, but agreeably to the order which they prescribed. I know that young Pompey, while yet a simple knight, forced the dictator Sylla to grant him a triumph, at that unhappy crisis when the laws were overwhelmed by the power of individuals *. Although the senate afterwards bestowed on him a similar power, the authority of Pompey, and the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude, justified an indulgence which would not be construed into a precedent.

3. It is well known that the victorious general, at his return to Rome, assembled the senators in a temple without the walls, and explained to them his just pretensions to a triumph, by supplying them with a written narrative of his victory, confirmed by a solemn oath. The form by which Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator demanded a triumph for their victory at Metaurus was that employed by the subsequent generals. They requested that thanks might be rendered to the gods; and that they themselves might be allowed to enter the city in triumph, for their faithful and courageous management of the affairs of the republic †. I am of opinion that this condition, which admitted of great latitude of interpretation from the prudence and equity of the judges, was the only

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. Cicer. pro leg. Manil.

† Tit. Liv. xxviii.

étoit seule essentielle, quoique plusieurs écrivains y aient substitué une multitude de petites loix, qui arrêtoient les délibérations du sénat, et le mettoient à chaque instant dans l'impuissance, ou dans la nécessité d'accorder l'honneur du triomphe à ceux qui le sollicitoient*. Eux-mêmes n'ont point pu découvrir des loix dignes de ce nom sacré. Celles qu'ils nous ont données, ne sont appuyées que sur quelques exemples particuliers, qui sont détruits à leur tour par des exemples opposés; et l'on doit sentir que celui qui nie, détruit, d'un seul fait, toutes les vraisemblances qu'on peut accumuler contre lui.

C'est ainsi qu'ils ont statué qu'un Général ne pouvoit prétendre au triomphe, à moins que dans une seule bataille rangée, il n'eût fait périr cinq mille des ennemis; et à les entendre, cette seule condition remplit l'autorisation à le demander comme une récompense qui lui étoit due. J'ai cependant de la peine à me persuader que le sénat eût voulu s'assujettir à juger du mérite, sur une règle aussi incertaine que le nombre des morts. De combien d'occasions un Général pouvoit-il rendre à la république des services, qui méritoient toute sa reconnaissance, sans avoir satisfait à ces calculateurs scrupuleux, qui mesurent le sang humain avec tant d'exactitude? S'il avoit affaire aux peuples efféminés de l'Orient, qui osoient

one essential, although several writers suppose a variety of particular laws, which controlled the deliberations of the senate, and compelled them either to admit or to reject the pretensions of those who demanded a triumph*. Yet those writers have not been able to bring forward, on this subject, any thing deserving the sacred name of a law. The particulars which they mention are inferred from a few examples, the force of which is destroyed by others directly opposite; and they cannot but perceive that he who maintains the negative against them, overturns, by a single fact, all the probabilities which they can accumulate.

They lay it down as a law of the triumph, that a general could not claim that honour, who had not in a pitched battle killed five thousand of the enemy; and suppose that he was entitled to demand it, upon fulfilling this single condition, as the due recompense of his merit. Yet it is not easy to believe that in appreciating military services, the senate should have been guided by a circumstance so exceedingly uncertain as the number of the slain. On how many occasions might a general deserve the warmest gratitude of the republic, without contenting those nice arithmeticians who calculated the quantity of human blood with such scrupulous accuracy? If he carried on war against the effeminate nations of the East, whose cowardice was alarmed even by the war-

* V. Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis, et Appian in Lybicus.

osoient à peine soutenir le cri de guerre des légions, une victoire très peu sanglante pouvoit lui livrer un royaume entier. Un Général sage et avare du sang des citoyens, pouvoit penser qu'une campagne savante et heureuse déployoit bien mieux les talens militaires, que l'aveugle fortune d'un jour de combat. Ses manœuvres bien concertées et bien soutenues, pouvoient enlever à l'ennemi toutes ses ressources, sans lui laisser même celles d'une bataille, et le réduire à la nécessité de mettre bas les armes, et de se rendre avec une armée encore entière, et que les combats n'avoient point diminuée. Des places fortifiées par l'art ou par leur situation, et défendues par une garnison intrépide plutôt que nombreuse, pouvoient offrir de toutes parts des obstacles dignes de toute la constance des troupes, et de toute la science du Général, qui aura achevé par cette conquête, des guerres aussi onéreuses pour la république, qu'elles étoient pernicieuses aux provinces. Je ne citerai que le dernier de ces cas, et je ne rappellerai que l'exemple du second des Scipions, qui égala la réputation de son oncle, sans avoir jamais vaincu Annibal, et qui triompha deux fois, sans avoir livré une seule bataille rangée. Les sièges de Carthage et de Numance lui valurent ces deux triomphes, et deux surnoms encore plus glorieux. Il ne seroit cependant pas possible d'y trouver un combat où il ait pu périr cinq mille hommes. Il y a même de auteurs qui nous assurent que ces Numantins qui osèrent lutter avec tant de succès et de constance

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thouts of the legions, a victory almost bloodless might put him in possession of a whole kingdom. A commander, sparing of the blood of his fellow-citizens, might think military talents more honourably displayed in the skill and success of a campaign, than in the blind fortune and havoc of a day of battle. His well contrived and well-executed movements might deprive the enemy of every resource, without excepting that of an engagement; and compel them to surrender their arms and their persons, a prize undiminished by any loss in the field. Towns strongly fortified by art or nature, and defended by garrisons more obstinate than numerous, might oppose obstacles worthy of exercising all the skill and perseverance of a general; who, by carrying such places, might often terminate wars as burdensome to the republic as pernicious to the provinces. I shall exemplify only the second of those cases; and my example shall be that of the younger Scipio, whose glory equaled that of his uncle, though he had never conquered an Hannibal; and who triumphed twice, without having ever fought a single pitched battle. By taking Carthage and Numantium, he obtained those triumphs, and two surnames, still more glorious. Yet, in the course of those sieges, it is impossible to find an action in which five thousand of the enemy perished; and there are authors who affirm, that those brave Numantines who resisted with such perseverance and success the forces of

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contre les forces de la république, ne montèrent jamais à plus de quatre mille hommes, qui ne multiplièrent leur nombre que par leur valeur *.

Nous devons à ces mêmes écrivains un autre règlement aussi sage, et par bonheur aussi bien fondé que le premier. Pour obtenir, disent-ils, l'honneur du triomphe, il falloit avoir soumis quelque peuple qui n'avoit jamais reconnu l'autorité des Romains; il n'auroit pas suffi de réduire une province révoltée; le sénat ne comptoit que ces victoires qui reculoient les frontières de l'empire. Il me semble qu'on a voulu faire honneur à une certaine grandeur d'ame un peu romanesque, aux dépens de la prudence et du véritable honneur. En effet la possession d'une province importoit elle moins à la république, parcequ'elle l'avoit déjà possédée, et qu'elle l'avoit rendue d'un prix bien plus considérable, en versant dans son sein des colonies nombreuses, et en faisant valoir tous les avantages naturels ou artificiels du pays? Son honneur étoit-il plus intéressé à soumettre des nations libres, qui connoissoient à peine le nom de Rome, qu'à réduire des rebelles dont la révolte accusoit la justice de la république, bravoit sa puissance, et donnoit aux autres sujets un exemple dangereux séduisant? Trouvoit-on une résistance moins opiniâtre parmi ces peuples réduits à opter entre la victoire et la mort, et dont les chefs, et même les troupes, avoient

the republic, never exceeded four thousand men, whose numbers were multiplied only by their valour *.

Another regulation is mentioned, not less wise, and just as well founded as that already stated. A triumph, it is said, could be obtained only by the conquerors of nations, who had never previously acknowledged the authority of the Romans; the reduction of a province did not suffice; the senate made no account of victories which did not extend the frontiers of the empire. In this supposed regulation, it seems to me as if the heroism of romance were substituted instead of the dictates of prudence and true honour. Was a province the less valuable to the Romans because it had been long in their possession, peopled by their numerous colonies, and enriched by their attention in improving its natural and artificial advantages? Was the honour of the republic more concerned in subduing free nations, who had scarcely ever heard of the name of Rome, than in suppressing the rebellion of a revolted province, which upbraided her injustice, defied her power, and seduced by a dangerous example the allegiance of her other subjects? Was a less obstinate resistance to be expected from a people who had no other choice than victory or death, whose generals and even soldiers had

* V. Flori Epitom. Orosum, T. Liv. lv. Auſtor de Vir. illustrif.

avoient appris l'art de la guerre sous les drapeaux Romains, que parmi des nations de barbares dont le sénat accepta avec plaisir les soumissions les plus légères, content d'imposer d'abord le joug, pour ne l'appesantir que dans la suite? En un mot, ces guerres étoient-elles d'une si petite importance, qu'on dût en dégoûter les bons Généraux, en refusant à leurs exploits, la seule récompense qui en étoit digne? Pour me persuader que le sénat eût établi un pareil règlement, il faudroit des faits aussi décisifs en sa faveur, qu'ils lui sont opposés. Je ne veux pas me prévaloir de tous ces triomphes sur des peuples déjà cent fois vaincus, auxquels les Romains avoient accordé la paix à des conditions très inégales, et dignes plutôt de sujets que d'alliés *; mais lorsque Titus et son père triomphèrent des Juifs, et que le sénat éternisa leurs victoires par des médailles et par cet arc de triomphe que nous voyons encore, ils ne triomphèrent que de la réduction d'une province révoltée, jadis soumise par Pompée, et gouvernée par des magistrats Romains depuis cinquante ans. Je conviens avec Onuphrius Panvinus, que Fulvius ne triompha point de l'importante conquête de Capoue. J'ignore les raisons du sénat, et si la justice ou les intrigues ont fait échouer ce proconsul; mais je fais que vers le même tems, Fabius Maximus obtint cet honneur, pour avoir pris *Tarentum* †, ville qui reconnoissoit la domination Romaine depuis la fin de la guerre de Pyrrhus.

learned war under the Roman standard, than from those barbarous nations, whose slightest submissions were readily accepted by a senate, always content with merely imposing the yoke at first, that its weight might afterwards be more severely felt? In one word; were the wars against revolted provinces regarded as too unimportant to merit the only reward worthy of a victorious general? The existence of such a regulation could be proved only by the most decisive facts; but the facts on record are directly against it. I will not avail myself of the numerous triumphs over communities, an hundred times conquered, to which the Romans granted very unequal conditions of peace, and treated rather as subjects than allies *; but when Titus and his father triumphed over the Jews, and when the senate commemorated their victories by medals and that triumphal arch which has subsisted to the present day, they did nothing more than triumph over a revolted province, which had been subdued by the arms of Pompey, and governed by Roman magistrates for the space of fifty years. I agree with Onuphrius Panvinus, that Fulvius did not obtain a triumph for the important conquest of Capua. Of the reasons which made the senate refuse it to him, I am ignorant; it is uncertain whether justice or intrigue defeated the prospects of this proconsul; but I know that nearly about the same time, Fabius Maximus triumphed for the conquest of *Tarentum* †, a city which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome ever since the war against

* V. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic, et de Bell. Judaico. † Tit. Liv. xxvii. Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus. Je dis plus ; Rome s'est trouvée dans des situations malheureuses, où elle a dû prodiguer toute sa reconnaissance à ces Généraux qui avoient protégé la patrie, sans ajoûter ni rendre à sa domination un pouce de terrain. Ce ne sont pas Scipion ou Pompée, mais Camille et Marius, que la reconnaissance publique a associés avec Romulus dans le titre de fondateur de Rome. Ces grands hommes ont repoussé les débordemens des barbares ; ils en ont exterminé les armées, mais ils n'ont jamais songé à les poursuivre, pour les attaquer dans leurs pays dont ils connoissoient à peine la situation. Que pourroit-on penser d'une loi, dont la conséquence immédiate et naturelle auroit refusé des triomphes à de pareils hommes, pour les accorder à des propréteurs qui ne doivent leur souvenir qu'aux fastes Capitolins ?

*Hic tamen et Cimbros, et summa pericula rerum
Excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo postquam ad Cimbros, stragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secundâ *.*

On demanderoit avec plus de vraisemblance, si le sénat se contentoit d'une victoire, et s'il ne falloit pas achever la guerre par la soumission de l'ennemi, ou du moins par un

Pyrrhus. I go farther ; and observe, that Rome more than once experienced those disasters, which made it her duty to bestow the highest marks of her gratitude on those generals who had saved their country, without adding a foot of ground to its territory. Neither Scipio nor Pompey, but Camillus and Marius, were associated with Romulus, in the honourable appellation of Founders of Rome. These great men repressed the inundations of the Barbarians, and destroyed their armies ; but never thought of pursuing them into their own wilds, with the situation of which they were scarcely acquainted. What must have been the absurdity of a law, which denied to such men the triumph, while it lavished that honour on proprætors, whose names are known only by the Capitoline records ?

*Hic tamen et Cimbros, et summa pericula rerum
Excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo postquam ad Cimbros, stragemque volabant
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,
Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secundâ *.*

It may be asked with greater probability, whether the senate was satisfied with a single victory ? or whether, to have a right to demand

* Juvenal Satyr. viii. 249, et seq.

un traité avantageux pour la république, pour ofer lui demander un triomphe. Je ne verrois dans un pareil règlement, que la sagesse d'un sénat qui craignoit d'avilir ses récompenses en les prodiguant, mais qui toujours libre et souverain, favoit aussi refuser cet honneur à un Général présomptueux qui ne lui auroit offert que des ennemis et des conquêtes indignes de ses armes. Mais en interrogeant les faits (et ce sont les faits qu'il faut interroger), je vois que la conduite du sénat a varié dans les différens siècles de la république ; et je trouve la cause de cette variation dans un usage accessoire et étranger au mérite du chef. C'est celui qui associoit aux honneurs de son triomphe, ces braves citoyens qui avoient partagé ses dangers. Les soldats suivoient le char du triomphateur, couronnés de lauriers, et ornés des récompenses militaires que leur valeur avoit méritées*. Ils s'approprioient toute la gloire de leur chef, et ce chef trouvoit dans les éloges de ses légionnaires, et encore mieux dans ces railleries rustiques, preuves de leur franchise et de leur estime, le prix le plus doux de ses travaux. Dans les premières guerres de la république, lorsqu'elle ne luttoit que contre des ennemis peu éloignés, et qui n'avoient point de troupes réglées, le consul victorieux ramenoit ses légions à Rome, et les soldats n'avoient d'autres

the triumph, it was not necessary to terminate the war by subduing the enemy, or at least by making a treaty advantageous to the republic. In such a regulation, I should perceive nothing but the wisdom of the senate, which was careful not to debase its honours by too lavish a prodigality ; and which itself, always sovereign and free, knew how to refuse to a presumptuous general, who courted the triumph by inglorious conquests over unworthy enemies: But in deciding according to facts, and by facts we ought to decide, I perceive that the conduct of the senate varied in different ages of the republic ; and that the cause of this variation depended on a circumstance altogether distinct from the merit of the general. It was customary that the brave citizens who had shared his dangers should also partake of the glory of his triumph. The soldiers followed his chariot, crowned with laurels, and decorated with the military ornaments, which their valour had merited *. They appropriated to themselves the honours conferred on their commander ; and this commander derived his sweetest reward from the praises of his soldiers, and still more from their coarse raillery, the surest mark of their frankness and esteem. During the first wars of the republic, while Rome contended against enemies in her neighbourhood, and unprovided with regular troops, the victorious consul brought back his legions to the capital, and the troops needed no other winter quarters

* See the Oration of M. Servilius. Tit. Liv. xlv.

d'autres quartiers d'hiver que leurs foyers domestiques. Je vois dans ces siècles les plus attachés à la discipline, que le sénat accordoit sans peine les triomphes pour ces victoires qui décident du sort de la campagne, sans terminer la guerre. Il permet à Fabius Rullianus de triompher des Etrusques, des Umbriens, des Samnites, et des Gaulois *. Il savoit cependant que cette alliance étoit vaincue, sans être soumise, et que la victoire de Fabius n'avoit amené ni la conquête, ni la paix. Dans la guerre d'Annibal, sa conduite fut différente, mais ses principes étoient invariables. Il se défendoit à la fois dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie. Si tôt qu'une victoire considérable lui permettoit de retirer d'une de ces provinces, l'armée qui y avoit combattu, il accordoit le triomphe à son Général qu'il ne séparoit point de ses légions. Lorsqu'il décerna à Livius Salinator †, son collègue Néron suivit son char à cheval, et grossit le cortège de celui qu'il avoit fait vaincre. Une des raisons qui causèrent cette différence, étoit que l'armée du premier étoit revenue à Rome, et qu'on ne pouvoit rappeler les troupes de celui-ci, qui étoient opposées à Annibal. Lorsque la république attaqua les grandes puissances de la Grèce, de l'Orient, et de l'Afrique, les légions ne repassèrent la mer, qu'après avoir soumis les pays qu'elles avoient attaqués. Le triomphe ne s'achetoit que par les conquêtes; et par un effet admirable de ces loix qui s'exécutent par la nature des

than their respective homes. I perceive that in ages the most observant of discipline, the senate granted triumphs for victories which decided the fortune of a campaign, without terminating the war. Fabius Rullianus was allowed to triumph over the Tuscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls *. The senate well knew that the confederacy of those nations was conquered without being subdued; and that the victory of Fabius had given neither possessions nor peace to his country. In the war against Hannibal, the senate indeed varied its conduct, but its principles were unalterable. Rome was obliged to act on the defensive in all the provinces of Italy at once. Whenever a considerable victory allowed her to withdraw the army employed in one of those provinces, she granted a triumph to its general, that he might not be separated from his troops. When the senate decreed a triumph to Livius Salinator †, his colleague Nero followed his car on horseback, and swelled the train of him whom he had enabled to conquer. One reason for this was, that the army of Livius had returned to Rome, and that the troops commanded by Nero could not be recalled because they then opposed Hannibal. When Rome attacked the great powers of Greece, the East, and Africa, her legions did not recross the sea until they had subdued the countries which they invaded. Triumphs in those wars were purchased only by conquests; and, in consequence of the excellence of

* T. Liv. x.

† Id. xxviii.

des choses, plutôt que par les passions des hommes, la majesté du triomphe s'élevoit avec la grandeur de l'état. Mais depuis le tems de Marius, qui fit entrer la populace dans les légions, la guerre devint un métier au lieu d'un devoir; on laissoit des troupes dans les provinces, et la politique plutôt que la justice, décidoit le sénat sur le corps qu'il licenciolt, ou qu'il rappelloit. On commençoit à couronner les Généraux qui, après avoir vaincu un ennemi, laissoient à leur successeur le soin de le soumettre, et qui ne ramenoient à Rome qu'une petite troupe d'officiers et de soldats qui leur étoient attachés, ou qui pouvoient le mieux orner leur triomphe. Je ne citerai que l'exemple de Lucullus. Il reçut le triomphe qu'il avoit mérité par ses victoires sur ce grand Mithridate, vaincu si souvent, et toujours si redoutable. Un coup d'œil sur la harangue pour la loi *Manilia*, peut nous convaincre qu'aux yeux des Romains, cette guerre n'étoit point terminée.

Ces réflexions peuvent nous convaincre qu'il n'a jamais existé ce code des lois du triomphe, qu'Appien d'Alexandrie, et Onuphrius Panvinus ont essayé de compiler, et que le rhéteur Egyptien, et l'hermite Augustin, peu faits pour fonder les profondeurs de la politique du sénat, ont vû des lois générales, où il ne falloit voir que des exemples particuliers. L'esprit de ce corps habile, sur interprète de la justice et de la prudence, formoit une loi

those laws whose execution varies with the nature of things, rather than with the passions of men, the increasing majesty of the triumph kept pace with the growing greatness of the state. But from the time that Marius polluted the legions by a mixture of the vilest populace, war became a trade instead of a duty; the troops remained in the provinces; and, in disbanding or calling home the legions, the senate obeyed the maxims of policy rather than those of justice. It became the custom to crown generals, who, after once conquering an enemy, left it for their successors to subdue him, and who conducted back to Rome only a small band of officers and soldiers who were peculiarly attached to them, and who were best qualified to grace their triumph. I shall cite only the example of Lucullus. He triumphed for his victories over the great Mithridates, so often conquered, yet always so formidable. A glance at Cicero's oration in favour of the Manilian law, will convince us that the Romans were far from thinking this war concluded.

These observations are sufficient to prove that there never existed a code of triumphal laws, such as the fancies of Appian of Alexandria and Onuphrius Panvinus have thought fit to compile. The Egyptian rhetorician and Augustine hermit, being alike unqualified for founding the profound policy of the senate, have considered as general laws what were only particular examples. The spirit of this wise tribunal, which knew so well how to unite prudence with justice, formed to itself a living

loi vivante, qui embrassoit toute cette variété de circonstances, sur lesquelles les loix écrites seroient muettes, imparfaites, ou contradictoires. Il combinait l'habileté du Général avec le caractère de l'ennemi, l'importance de l'acquisition avec la fortune qui avoit secondé la faiblesse, et la facilité de la conquête avec les moyens qu'on y avoit employés. Les anciens sénateurs, dont l'autorité entraînoit les suffrages, avoient vieilli dans le commandement des armées, ils accorderoient des récompenses dont ils connoissoient le prix, à des généraux dont ils étoient dignes d'apprécier le mérite. Je vois même qu'aussi attentifs au salut des citoyens qu'à la gloire de l'état, ils ont su refuser plus d'une fois les triomphes aux consuls victorieux, qui avoient acheté leur victoire en prodiguant sans nécessité ou sans utilité le sang Romain *. Il leur importoit de réprimer l'ambition cruelle des chefs, en leur refusant l'entrée dans une ville que leurs exploits avoient remplie de deuil.

Je ne connois qu'une condition précise que le sénat paroît avoir toujours exigée, c'est la qualité des ennemis. Il auroit cru avilir le triomphe en l'accordant aux vainqueurs des esclaves ou des corsaires : ce sang trop vil, ou celui trop précieux des citoyens, flétrissoit également les lauriers du Général victorieux.

C'est

living law, which comprehended all that variety of cases, concerning many of which the dead letter of written laws must ever be silent, imperfect, or contradictory. The senate compared the abilities of the general with the character of the enemy, the importance of the acquisition with the wisdom or good fortune with which it had been obtained, and the facility of the conquest with the means employed in effecting it. The aged senators, whose authority guided the votes of their assessors, had grown old in military command ; and granted rewards whose value they could estimate, to generals whose worth they were capable of appreciating. I perceive also, that they were not less attentive to the safety of the citizens than to the glory of the state ; and more than once refused triumphs to victorious consuls, who had purchased their advantages by an unnecessary or useless prodigality of Roman blood *. They thought it their duty to repress the cruel ambition of leaders, by refusing to them a triumphant return into a city which their exploits had filled with mourning.

There was, as far as I can discover, but one precise condition always required by the senate, namely, the rank or quality of the enemy. The triumph would have been disgraced by granting it for victories over slaves or pirates ; *their* blood too vile, and that of the citizens too precious, equally blasted the laurels of a victorious general.

* Tit. Liv. x.

C'est au magistrat plutôt qu'au Général, à réprimer l'audace des malfaiteurs, qui osent braver les lois et la justice. Si des troupes de brigands sont quelquefois devenues assez nombreuses, pour attirer les armes du souverain, on a toujours envisagé ces expéditions comme plus nécessaires que difficiles, et plus difficiles que glorieuses. Cependant la faiblesse et la tyrannie des maîtres encouragèrent deux fois les esclaves Siciliens à secouer le joug. On rougit d'envoyer contre ces malheureux les légions Romaines, mais on rougit encore plus de les voir vaincues ; et lorsque leurs Généraux eurent soumis ces rebelles, le sénat devoit sentir qu'il avoit accordé le triomphe à des exploits moins considérables. Le nom d'esclave cependant l'emporta ; on craignoit de profaner le triomphe ; un refus paroïssoit sans conséquence. On n'accordoit aux Généraux victorieux que l'ovation, qui les couronnoit de myrte au lieu de laurier, et qui ne leur donnoit qu'un cortège de citoyens pacifiques, à la place d'une troupe militaire. On espéra avec raison que la discipline effrayante qu'on avoit établie parmi les esclaves, préviendrait à jamais de semblables révoltes. Mais dans ce même siècle, par une combinaison unique de circonstances, la république se vit obligée de soutenir contre des gladiateurs et contre des corsaires deux guerres opiniâtres, dont celle-ci attaquoit le commerce et la dignité de l'empire, et dont la première menaçoit de la destruction

It belongs to the civil magistrate, rather than to the military commander, to curb the audacity of malefactors, who set at defiance justice and the laws. When bands of robbers become so numerous that they must be opposed by a military force, such wars have always been regarded as more necessary than difficult, and more difficult than glorious. The weakness and tyranny of masters made the slaves in Sicily twice shake off the yoke. The Romans were ashamed only to employ their legions against such ignoble adversaries ; but their shame was greater to see those legions defeated ; and when their generals finally succeeded in repressing the insurrection, the senate was sensible that it had often decreed a triumph for less meritorious exploits. Yet the name of slave was not to be got over ; the senate feared lest the triumph should be profaned ; to deny it seemed not pregnant with very evil consequences. The victorious generals, therefore, were honoured only with an ovation ; which gave to them crowns of myrtle, instead of those of laurel ; and entitled them to be attended with a train of peaceful citizens, not by a military procession. The Romans reasonably expected that the dreadful discipline thenceforth established respecting slaves would in future prevent similar revolts. But, by a strange combination of circumstances, the republic was obliged in the same age to carry on two obstinate wars against pirates and gladiators ; the one of which endangered the commerce and dignity of the empire, and the other threatened the destruction

destruction du nom Romain. On peut juger si l'on avoit prévu ce cas, et si des loix pouvoient déterminer d'avance la conduite du sénat. Mais lorsque Crassus eut exterminé l'armée de Spartacus, ce corps sage, qui connoissoit le pouvoir d'un nom, craignoit d'éterniser la honte de l'état, plutôt que la gloire du général, en lui accordant pour une guerre servile les honneurs du triomphe. Je conçois que les partisans de Pompée employoient dans cette occasion le langage de Cicéron, et que le peuple les écouloit avec plaisir, lorsqu'ils accordoient à son favori presque tout le mérite de cette guerre. Dans la suite, lorsque ce même Pompée eut soumis les corsaires, l'orgueil de deux triomphes et les nouveaux lauriers qu'il alloit cueillir dans la guerre de Mithridate, ne lui permirent pas de s'abaisser jusqu'à une ovation, que Crassus avoit acceptée, et qui s'établit bientôt dans l'esprit des Romains comme la récompense digne de ces victoires.

L'orgueil, tout opposé qu'il est au mépris, produisit ici les mêmes effets ; on ne voulut pas triompher des esclaves qu'on méprisoit, ni des citoyens, parcequ'on les estimoit. Les vainqueurs des guerres civiles pouvoient arracher au sénat les récompenses qui auroient le mieux flatté leur vanité ; mais s'ils étoient maîtres des lois, ils respectoient l'opinion publique, et des préjugés qui étoient peut-être encore les leurs. Ils auroient craint d'avilir

destruction of the Roman name. Could the senate foresee such events, or uniformly decree the triumph according to rules previously established ? But when Crassus had ruined the army of Spartacus, the wisdom of the senate perceived that the public disgrace would be commemorated rather than the glory of the general, by granting to him a triumph for terminating a servile war. The partisans of Pompey would naturally employ on this occasion the eloquence of Cicero ; and would be themselves heard with pleasure by the people, when they ascribed to their favourite almost the whole merit of this exploit. Afterwards, when the same Pompey subdued the pirates, the pride of two triumphs, and the laurels which he expected to reap in the Mithridatic war, made him disdain the honour of an ovation, which Crassus had accepted ; and which thenceforth became, in the estimation of the Romans, the natural reward for such victories.

Pride, opposite as it is to contempt, produced in the present case precisely the same effects ; the Romans refused to triumph over slaves, the objects of their contempt ; and over citizens who were the objects of their esteem. The conquerors in the civil wars might have extorted from the senate the rewards most flattering to their vanity ; but, though masters of the laws, they still respected the public opinion, and the prejudices of their country, from which they themselves were not perhaps totally exempted. They were afraid of degrading the dignity of the

Roman

d'avilir la dignité du nom Romain, en traitant leurs concitoyens comme des rois vaincus ; et ce Sylla qui osa proscrire tant de sénateurs et de chevaliers, eût rougi peut-être de les enchaîner à son char, et de remercier les dieux du capitol pour ces tristes victoires qu'il eût fallu ensevelir dans l'oubli. Je crois que ces tyrans de la patrie, Sylla, César, et Auguste, qui connoissoient la dignité des lois qu'ils avoient violées, et le génie du peuple qu'ils opprimoient, craignoient d'irriter son désespoir en exposant à ses yeux avec un faste insultant, le tableau de la liberté qu'il avoit perdue, et des victimes illustres qu'ils avoient immolées à leur ambition. César lui-même eut la mortification d'entendre les cris de la douleur publique, lorsqu'il fit passer à la suite de son triomphe Africain, les images de Scipion, de Caton, et de Petreius *. S'il n'avoit pas eu la prudence de lui dérober celle du Grand Pompée, le cri de la douleur seroit peut-être devenu celui de la fureur, dans un peuple qu'on ne pouvoit encore consoler de son esclavage qu'en le lui cachant. Mais si d'un côté, l'ambition satisfaite pouvoit se rendre la justice de se sentir indigne des récompenses de la vertu, la liberté vengée pouvoit décerner à ses sauveurs la couronne de laurier aussi bien que la couronne civique. Dans la courte joye que le sénat éprouva à la nouvelle de la bataille de Modène, Cicéron † ouvrit un avis vigoureux que Caton auroit suivi avec plaisir. Il accorderoit

Roman name by treating their fellow-citizens like conquered kings ; and even Sylla, who ventured to kill by his proscriptions so many senators and knights, would have been ashamed to drag them after his triumphal chariot, and to have thanked the gods of the capitol for melancholy victories, which it was his duty to wish buried in eternal oblivion. I am persuaded that those tyrants of their country, Sylla, Cæsar, and Augustus, who knew the dignity of the laws which they violated, and the disposition of the people whom they oppressed, dreaded to provoke their despair, by presenting to the public eye, in an offensive show, the picture of lost liberty, and the illustrious victims sacrificed to ambition. Cæsar himself was mortified at hearing the lamentations of public sorrow, when the images of Scipio, Cato, and Petreius passed in the train of his African triumph *. If the image of the great Pompey had not been cautiously concealed, what was grief might have become fury in a people, whose only consolation for slavery was, that it was artfully disguised. But if, on one hand, satiated ambition could still retain the justice of feeling itself undeserving of the rewards of virtue, avenged liberty might surely decree to its restorers the laurel as well as the civic crown. During the short joy inspired into the senate by the news of the battle of Modena, Cicero † proposed a resolution to

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. ii.

† Cicer. Philippic xiv. pass. 5.

which

accordoit aux consuls et au jeune Octave, une supplication de cinquante jours, et le nom d'*Imperator*. La conséquence de cet avis ne lui auroit pas permis de leur refuser le triomphe, qui en étoit la suite ordinaire ; et l'on sent qu'il prévoyoit cette conséquence sans en être effrayé. " Accorderons nous," disoit-il aux sénateurs, " ces honneurs à des chefs qui ont fait périr un millier de barbares, pour le refuser aux sauveurs de la république. Oublions dans Antoine et dans ses partisans cette qualité de citoyens, dont ils ont méprisé tous les devoirs. Rome ne doit voir en eux que des ennemis aussi cruels, et cent fois plus coupables qu'Annibal." On n'auroit pu lui opposer que la défaite de Catiline, dont le vainqueur n'avoit point obtenu le triomphe. Mais ce vainqueur étoit le foible Antonius, qui n'osa être ni conjuré ni citoyen, et qui ne fut que spectateur du massacre de ses anciens amis par les armes de son lieutenant Petreius. Cicéron auroit ajoûté avec plaisir qu'il avoit lui même vaincu Catiline dans le sénat, et que ce conjuré redoutable à Rome, ne devint du moment de sa fuite qu'un chef de brigands méprisables.

Les vainqueurs de la liberté, qui craignoient de voir tomber dans l'oubli les exploits qu'ils avoient faits, lorsqu'ils étoient armés contre la patrie, songèrent, comme le

which Cato would have been happy to have acceded. He granted, in honour of the consuls and young Octavius, a supplication or thanksgiving of fifty days; and the name of *Imperator*. He could not have refused them the triumph which usually followed these honours; and it appears that he foresaw the consequence without alarm. " Shall we grant," he observed in the senate, " rewards to those who have killed a thousand Barbarians, which we deny to the saviour of the republic. Let us forget in Antony and his adherents the character of citizens, justly lost by their violation of all its duties. Rome ought to see in them nothing but enemies equally cruel, and an hundred times more deserving of punishment than Hannibal himself." The only objection that could have been made to Cicero was the defeat of Catiline, whose conqueror had not obtained a triumph. But that conqueror was the feeble-minded Antonius, who had not spirit to act the part either of a conspirator or of a citizen, and who tamely submitted to behold the destruction of his ancient friends by the arms of his lieutenant Petreius. Cicero would have been pleased to add, that Catiline had been conquered by himself in the senate; and that this conspirator, who was formidable only in Rome, became, from the moment of his flight from the capital, no better than the leader of a miserable band of robbers.

The subverters of liberty, who were unwilling that their exploits should be forgotten in fighting against their country, endeavoured, like the

le grand Condé, à employer des ressources adroites pour éterniser leur gloire sans perpétuer le souvenir de leurs crimes. 1. Ils substituèrent aux fastes du triomphe, l'ovation, cérémonie plus modeste et plus humaine, qui célébroit la victoire, sans insulter aux vaincus. C'est ainsi qu'Auguste rentra à Rome après la défaite de Brutus et de Cassius, et après la guerre de Sicile et sa victoire sur le jeune Pompée. 2. Comme les guerres civiles intéressoient tout l'univers, et que chaque chef de parti traînoit à sa suite des rois et des nations ses alliés, on triomphoit de ces alliés, et on laissoit à l'imagination des spectateurs à suppléer aux objets qu'on avoit le ménagement de paroître vouloir lui cacher. Auguste triompha pour la défaite de la flotte Egyptienne à Actium, et pour la conquête de l'Egypte. Il supprimoit le nom de Marc Antoine et de ses partisans, mais qui ne les associoit pas avec celui de Cléopâtre ? On se souvint de cette ruse jusqu'au tems de Vespasien *, ou l'on employa le nom des Sarmates, pour justifier les honneurs du triomphe que le sénat décerna à Mucianus pour la guerre civile.

J'aurois plusieurs autres observations à faire sur les droits de triomphe, sur le titre d'*Imperator*, sur les triomphes du Mont Alban, et sur les ornemens du triomphe.

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phe.

the great Condé, to contrive means for immortalizing their glory without perpetuating the memory of their crimes. 1. For the ostentation of a triumph, they substituted the more modest ceremony of an ovation, in which the victors were honoured, and the vanquished were not insulted. It was thus that Augustus returned to Rome after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius; and after the war in Sicily, and his victory over young Pompey. 2. As the civil wars involved the whole Roman world, and each factious leader had kings and nations for his allies, the triumph openly exposed only those foreign allies, and left to the imagination of the Romans the supplying of the domestic victims which the conqueror had the address to appear willing to conceal. Augustus triumphed for the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Actium, and the conquest of Egypt. He suppressed the name of Anthony and his lieutenants; but who did not recollect them at hearing that of Cleopatra? This artifice was employed so late as the reign of Vespasian *, when the name of the Sarmatians used to justify the triumphal honours decreed by the senate to Mucianus for his services in the civil war.

There remain many observations to be made on the right of triumphs; the title of *Imperator*; the triumphs on Mount Alba; and the triumphal

* Tacit. Hist. iv. 4.

phe. Mais c'est trop long tems arrêter nos Généraux aux portes de Rome, il est tems de les introduire dans la ville, et de rechercher la route qu'ils suivoient pour monter au capitol.

Sur le CHEMIN des TRIOMPHES.

J'AI d'abord cru que les triomphes ne suivoient point un chemin déterminé, et que la porte par laquelle ils entroient dans la ville, et les rues par lesquelles ils passaient, pour arriver au pied du Capitole, dépendoient du pays qui avoit été le théâtre de la guerre. Les triomphes, me suis-je dit, n'étoient que l'image du retour du Général. On aura voulu leur conserver un air naturel parmi tous les apprêts recherchés de l'orgueil et de la magnificence. Lorsque Paule Emile revint de la conquête de la Macédoine, il aura suivi la voye Appienne jusqu'à la porte *Capena*; et les vainqueurs des peuples du nord, seront entrés à Rome par les portes *Flaminia* ou *Collina*. Cicéron m'a détrompé. Cet orateur, dans sa sanglante invective contre Pison, lui met devant les yeux son retour honteux, mais digne de l'administration qu'il terminoit. Il oppose au cortège nombreux, aux acclamations, à la joye publi-

que,

ornamènts. But we have already detained our generals too long at the gates of Rome. It is time to conduct them into the city, and to examine the road which they followed in ascending the capitol.

Concerning the TRIUMPHAL ROAD.

I AT first thought that the triumphs did not follow any particular road; and that the gate through which they entered into the city, as well as the streets through which they passed to the foot of the capitol, depended on the situation of the country which had been the theatre of the war. The triumphs, I considered, were nothing but a picture of the general's return. Amidst all the artificial decorations of pride and magnificence, there must have been an inclination to confine them within the bounds of nature and probability. When Paulus Emilius returned from the conquest of Macedon, he must have pursued the Appian way to the Porta Capena; and the conquerors of the northern provinces must have entered Rome through the gates distinguished by the names *Flaminia* and *Collina*. A passage of Cicero first made me change this opinion. In his bloody invective against Piso, the orator sets before his eyes his shameful return to Rome, a return truly worthy of his scandalous administration. To the numerous train, the acclamations, and the public

que, qui accompagnoient les proconsuls victorieux, et qui leur faisoient goûter les prémices du triomphe, ce mépris, cet abandon général, qu'é prouva le gouverneur d'une province si féconde en lauriers pour tout autre que lui *: " Craignant," lui dit-il, " le jour et les regards des hommes, vous avez congédié vos lecteurs à la porte "*Calimontana*."—" Vous vous trompez," interrompit Pison, avec une effronterie assez sotte, " je suis entré " par la porte "*Esquiline*."—" Peu m'importe," répondit l'orateur, " pourvu que ce ne soit pas par la porte triomphale, porte qui a toujours été ouverte à vos prédécesseurs."—La conséquence est facile: les triomphateurs avoient une porte qui ne s'ouvroit que pour eux. Cette institution qui relevoit la dignité du triomphe, en le distinguant encore mieux d'un retour ordinaire, n'étoit pas indigne de la politique Romaine qui savoit que rien n'est indifférent, lorsqu'il faut parler à l'imagination des peuples. Le témoignage de Cicéron me prouve que cet usage étoit établi de son tems, et la nature même des choses me persuade qu'il étoit très ancien. Ce n'est pas dans un siècle éclairé, qu'on ose instituer des usages qui ne sont respectables, que par leur but. Le peuple, qui fuit avec respect la sagesse de ses ancêtres, mépriseroit celle de ses contemporains, et n'envifageroit ces institu-

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public joy by which victorious proconsuls were constantly attended, and which already gave them a foretaste of their triumph, he sets in opposition the contempt or obscurity with which Piso had returned from a province, that would have afforded laurels to every man but himself *: " Dreading," he observes, " to meet the light and the eyes of men, you dismissed your listeners at the Cælimontane gate." Piso foolishly enough interrupted him, " You are mistaken; I entered by the Esquiline." " What matters that," rejoined the orator, " provided you did not enter by the *porta triumphalis*, a gate always open to your predecessors?" The consequence naturally follows; that triumphant generals entered by a gate which was open for them alone. This custom raised the dignity of the triumph by clearly distinguishing it from an ordinary return; and was worthy of the policy of the Romans, who regarded no circumstance as unimportant which had a tendency to affect the imagination of the multitude. Cicero's authority proves that such an institution prevailed in his times; and the nature of the thing persuades me that it was still more ancient. In enlightened ages, men seldom venture to establish customs which are respectable only in their end and purpose. The people, who respectfully follow the wisdom of their ancestors, would despise that of their contemporaries; and would regard

* Cic. in Pison. C. xxiii.

tions que du côté où elles pourroient se prêter au ridicule. Romulus d'ailleurs, qui institua le triomphe, donna l'exemple du lieu qu'il choisit pour déposer ses trophées, et du chemin qu'il suivit pour y monter. Tous les siècles l'ont imité. Tous les triomphateurs sont venus adorer le Jupiter du capitol. J'ose penser qu'ils ont également suivi la route qu'il leur avoit tracée, et qui a dû prendre à leurs yeux un caractère sacré. Qui eût osé le premier changer la marche de cette ancienne procession, mépriser une autorité qui se fortifioit en vieillissant, et désertter les vestiges du fondateur de Rome et du triomphe ? Et par quel motif les auroit-il désertés, lorsque cette seule autorité pouvoit déterminer un choix indifférent en lui-même ? S'il s'étoit trouvé parmi les triomphateurs, ce caractère si singulier parmi les hommes, qui méprise les anciennes cérémonies, lorsqu'elles flattent les intérêts de notre gloire, le sénat se seroit-il prêté à son caprice ? Auroit-il substitué à une autorité ancienne et révéree, un changement sans poids et sans motif ? Romulus lui-même, qui choisit le Mont Capitolin comme un lieu

Religione patrum, et sacra formidine sacrum,

suivit sans doute le chemin le plus naturel et le plus commode dans son retour de Cenine. La diversité des auteurs à l'égard de cette ville, nous donne une idée générale

such establishments merely in that point of view which laid them open to ridicule. Romulus, besides, when he instituted the triumph, fixed by his example, not only the place where the trophies were to be deposited, but the road which the procession was to follow. Conformably to this example, all those who afterwards entered in triumph came to adore the Jupiter of the capitol. I am persuaded they also came by the same road which Romulus had traced ; and which, in the eyes of posterity, must have acquired the character of sanctity. Who would have been the first to venture to change the route of this ancient procession, to despise an authority fortified by time, and to forsake the footsteps of the founder of Rome and of the triumph ? What could be the motive for such an innovation, since the example of Romulus was surely sufficient to determine a choice totally indifferent in itself ? Had there been any of the triumphant generals of so very extraordinary a temper as to despise ancient ceremonies which are highly flattering to their own personal glory, would the wisdom of the senate have indulged so very unreasonable a caprice ; and have substituted, for the revered institution of their ancestors, an innovation proceeding from no warrantable motive, and terminating in no useful end ? Romulus chose the Capitoline Mount as a place

Religione patrum, et sacra formidine sacrum ;

and doubtless pursued the shortest and most convenient road in his return from Cenina. Amidst the different accounts of authors concerning this city,

rale de sa situation. Les uns la placent parmi les Sabins, les autres parmi les Latins; ce qui me persuade qu'elle se trouvoit dans cette lisière des deux bords de l'Anio, où les colonies des deux nations étoient entremêlées au point de se confondre *. Les routes différentes qu'on pourroit tirer de ce canton se réunissoient dans le Champ de Mars. Le côté du Mont Capitolin, qui y est opposé, a toujours été jusqu'aux derniers tems, rude et presque inaccessible. Romulus a dû le tourner, ou par le vallon entre le Quirinal et le Capitole, ou par la plaine entre celui-ci et le Tybre. La porte que nous cherchons devroit être dans l'un ou dans l'autre. Un enchaînement de conjectures m'a conduit à cette conclusion; c'est aux faits seuls à la justifier †. Parmi les honneurs extraordinaires qu'on destinoit à la mémoire d'Auguste, on proposa que son enterrement sortiroit par la porte triomphale. On savoit cependant que son sépulcre étoit déterminé. Tous les citoyens avoient devant les yeux ce superbe mausolée qui avoit déjà reçu une partie de sa famille. Celui-ci étoit placé dans le Champ de Mars. La porte triomphale doit se trouver du même côté de la ville.

Avec ces notions préliminaires, il n'est pas difficile de suivre la marche des triomphes, et surtout de ceux de Paule Émile, et de Vespasien. Ce dernier, après avoir
passé

city, we may form a general notion of its situation. Some place it in the territory of the Sabines, others in that of the Latins; which makes me believe that it stood in that slip of ground on the banks of the Anio, where the colonies of the two nations were mixed and confounded with each other *. The different lines which may be drawn from this district to Rome meet in the Campus Martius. The side of the Capitoline hill which faces the Campus Martius is rude and almost inaccessible. Romulus therefore was under the necessity of making a circuit, either by the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills, or by the plain which lies between the latter and the Tiber. The gate of which we are in quest ought to be found within these limits. A chain of conjectural evidence leads me to this conclusion, which facts alone can substantiate †. Among the extraordinary honours designed for the memory of Augustus, it was proposed that his funeral procession should pass through the triumphal gate. The place of his sepulchre was already fixed. The citizens constantly beheld before their eyes that lofty mausoleum which already entombed a part of his family. It stood in the Campus Martius. The triumphal gate therefore could not be far distant from it.

Guided by such preliminary notions, we may easily follow the triumphal processions, particularly those of Paulus Emilius and Vespasian.

* Plutarch et Stephanus, Tit. Liv. Dionys. Halicarn. et Eclius.

† Tacit. Annal. i. 8. Sueton. in Aug. c. 100.

passé la nuit dans le temple d'Isis, vint à la rencontre du sénat qui l'attendoit dans le portique Octavien. Ces deux circonstances nous fixent au Champ de Mars, et nous approchent même du théâtre de Marcellus. Au triomphe de Paule Emile, le peuple éleva des échaffauts, dans les cirques, pour y voir passer la pompe. Elle poursuivoit donc sa marche au travers le cirque de Flaminius, et celui connu sous le nom de *Maximus*. Enfin Horace s'applaudit déjà dans l'espérance de voir un jour des Bretons enchaînés descendre la *Via Sacra*. Le mot *descendre*, combiné avec la supposition que la porte triomphale étoit du côté du Champ de Mars, nous trace la route entière des triomphateurs. Ici je n'ai pu que suivre le Père Donati en l'abrégeant *. Cet habile antiquaire a traité cette question avec un goût et un savoir qui ont su dissiper presque toutes ces difficultés.

On peut donc supposer avec vraisemblance, que les triomphateurs, après avoir rassemblé tout leur cortège dans une place ouverte, telle que les *Equiria*, ou le Champ de Mars proprement dit, devant le mausolée d'Auguste, passoient par le cirque de Flaminius, pour entrer dans la ville par la porte triomphale, entre le capitol et le Tybre; qu'après avoir passé le *Velabrum* ils traversoient le Grand Cirque dans toute sa longueur, et qu'ils achevoient le tour du Mont Palatin, en descendant par

The latter, after spending the night in the temple of Isis, met the senate, which waited for him in the Octavian Portico. These two circumstances bring us to the Field of Mars, and even to the vicinity of the theatre of Marcellus. At the triumph of Paulus Emilius, the people raised scaffoldings in the two circuses to see the procession pass. It proceeded therefore by the circus of Flaminius, as well as by that distinguished by the epithet of *Maximus*. Horace, moreover, indulged the hope of one day seeing the Britons in chains descend the *Via Sacra*. This word "descend," combined with the supposition that the triumphal gate was near to the Campus Martius, enables us to trace the whole progress of the procession. On this subject, I could only follow and abridge Father Donati *, a skilful antiquary, who has treated this question with a degree of taste and erudition, which fully removes all difficulties.

It may be supposed, therefore, with much probability, that the triumphal train having assembled in an open space, such as the *Equiria*, or that properly called the Campus Martius, immediately under the mausoleum of Augustus, passed through the circus of Flaminius, entered the city by the triumphal gate between the capitol and the Tiber, traversed the place called the *Velabrum*, as well as the whole length of the Circus *Maximus*, and completed the circuit of the Palatine Mount by descending through the *Via Sacra* into the Forum, in order again to mount to

* Donat. Roma Vetus, L. i. C. 22. p. 79—88.

par la *Via Sacra* dans le *Forum*, pour monter ensuite au capitol par ce chemin qu'on appelloit *Clivus Capitolinus*, et qui commençoit à l'arc de Septime Sévère. Cette hypothèse appuyée, comme nous l'avons vû, sur des temoignages formels de l'antiquité, embrasse encore toutes les convenances que nous pouvons y désirer. Romulus (pour reprendre notre première idée) ne pouvant guères traverser sa nouvelle colonie, qui n'occupoit alors que le sommet escarpé du Palatin, aura du moins voulu en faire le tour, pour étaler aux yeux des citoyens les monumens de sa première victoire. Dans la suite, lorsque la ville embrassoit les sept collines, cette procession passoit dans les quartiers les plus considérables et les mieux peuplés. Une foule innombrable, assise à son aise dans les cirques et dans les portiques du *Forum*, la voyoit passer devant ses yeux; et il y avoit peu d'habitans du Palatin, et d'un côté de l'Esquilin et de l'Aventin, qui ne la vissent dans l'éloignement depuis les toits des maisons et des temples. On y trouve encore des arcs de triomphe de plusieurs des empereurs qui ont en effet triomphé, tels que Constantin, Titus et Septime. Il est difficile à la vérité de se faire une idée exacte du procédé du sénat à cet égard. Je croirois assez qu'après avoir décoré le chemin du triomphe d'arcs de bois qui n'étoient que pour l'occasion, il choisissoit souvent, pour les éterniser en pierre ou en marbre, quelque endroit qui n'étoit pas déjà trop rempli de ces monumens. A l'égard des princes qui

the capitol by the *Clivus Capitolinus*, which begins at the arch of Septimius-Severus. This hypothesis, which is supported by the direct testimony of ancient authors, also corresponds with all the circumstances known respecting the triumph. Romulus (to resume our first conjecture) not being able to traverse his new colony, which then occupied only the craggy top of Mount Palatine, naturally resolved to make a circuit round it, in order to display before the citizens the monuments of his first victory. When Rome afterwards extended over the seven hills, the procession would naturally advance along the most considerable and best peopled parts of the city. A numerous crowd of people, seated at their ease in the circuses and porticoes of the *Forum*, beheld it pass under their eyes; and there were few of the inhabitants of the Palatine, or of one side of the Esquiline and Aventine, who might not perceive it at a distance from the tops of their houses and temples. We still find triumphal arches of several of the emperors, Constantine, Titus, and Septimius; all of whom really triumphed. It is difficult to determine how the senate proceeded in raising them. I am inclined to think, that after adorning the triumphal road by temporary wooden arches, more solid ones were afterwards erected of stone or marble, in such places as were least crowded with those monuments. As to the arches of those emperors who never actually triumphed, it should seem that their own will,

qui n'avoient jamais triomphé, leur volonté, le goût du sénat, ou quelque circonstance particulière, décidait seuls du lieu, où s'élevoient ces preuves éternelles de leur vanité, et de la bassesse des Romains.

Je ne crains pas ici de m'opposer seul à l'autorité réunie de Nardini et de Donati *. Ils diffèrent à la vérité sur la situation de la porte triomphale. Celui-ci la place entre le capitole et la rivière ; celui-là détermine son emplacement entre le Quirinal et le Capitole ; mais ils s'accordent à séparer la porte Flaminia de la porte des triomphes, et à reléguer l'une dans l'endroit d'où ils ont exclu l'autre ; au lieu que la proximité de ces deux portes, me paroît un point essentiel à toute hypothèse vraisemblable. Je pourrois me contenter de faire combattre ces deux antiquaires, laisser prouver à Nardini que la porte *Flaminia* (la même que la *Flumentana*) étoit par conséquent dans le voisinage de la rivière, et à Donati que la porte triomphale étoit entre le Capitole et le Tybre, et tirer une conclusion générale de leurs preuves partielles. Mais j'aime encore mieux en appeler à ces vraisemblances simples, mais plus convaincantes, qu'à tout l'étalage d'une vaine érudition. Je vois clairement, 1. Qu'on a dû ménager à un des chemins les plus fréquentés, un abord libre, et qui communiquât facilement aux quartiers et aux édifices les plus considérables. 2. Que le triomphe a dû pareillement s'approcher de la ville par la route

will, the choice of the senate, or some particular circumstance, determined the site of those eternal proofs of imperial vanity and Roman meanness.

On this subject I am not afraid to oppose the united authority of Nardini and Donati *. They differ from each other with respect to the situation of the triumphal gate. Nardini places it between the Capitol and the Tiber ; Donati, between the Quirinal and the Capitol ; and both of them remove it to a part of the city far distant from the Porta Flaminia ; whereas its proximity to that gate seems to me essentially connected with every probable hypothesis on the subject. I might content myself with allowing these antiquaries to dispute with each other ; and listen to Nardini, while he proves that the Porta Flaminia was the same with the Flumentana, and therefore near to the river ; and to Donati, while he maintains that the triumphal gate stood between the Capitol and the Tiber ; and from the particular facts which they prove, might infer a general conclusion. But instead of displaying vain erudition, I choose rather to appeal to the following plain and convincing reflections : 1. There must have been an easy access to one of the roads most frequented, and communicating with the principal streets and buildings of the city. 2. The triumphal

* Donat. loc. citat. L. i. C. 21. p. 72. Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. 9. p. 38 ; et C. 10. p. 47—50.

route la plus célèbre, et au milieu des édifices les plus connus. Je ne change rien à cette supposition en la renversant. Si le chemin du triomphe a été celui de Romulus, la vanité des censeurs n'aura rien épargné pour le décorer d'une manière digne de sa destination. 3. Que la porte triomphale ne s'ouvrant qu'aux triomphateurs, en demandoit une autre à côté d'elle, pour recevoir cette foule innombrable qui se rendoit à Rome par le chemin des triomphes, que je confonds, à l'exemple de Martial, avec celui de Flaminius *. Comparons sur ces principes les deux endroits où l'on peut placer les portes triomphale et Flaminienne. Dans l'un je trouve les plus anciens bâtimens du Champ de Mars, et le commencement du Fauxbourg, qui s'étendoit déjà hors de la porte Carmentale dans le sixième siècle de Rome, le théâtre de Marcellus, plusieurs temples, et parmi ces temples celui de Bellone, où les Généraux assembloient le sénat pour y solliciter le triomphe, le portique d'Octave et le cirque de Flaminius, où Lucullus distribua la donative et les récompenses militaires. Dans l'autre, je ne vois presque rien plus ancien que le siècle de Trajan, lorsque ce prince coupa une partie du Quirinal, élargit le vallon entre cette montagne et le capitol, et l'orna d'un *forum* magnifique. Il étoit très naturel qu'on tirât bientôt de la
Via

procession must also have entered Rome by one of the broadest roads, and through the midst of the most distinguished buildings. This supposition may be overturned without affecting my inference. If the triumphal road was that followed by Romulus, the vanity of the censors would spare no pains to adorn it in a manner suited to its high destination. 3. As the triumphal gate was open only to the conqueror and his train, another was requisite for admitting the vast crowds of people who flocked to Rome by the triumphal road, which I consider with Martial to have been the same with the Flaminian *. Let us examine, according to these principles, the two most probable sites of the Triumphal and Flaminian gates. In the one, I find the most ancient edifices of the Campus Martius, and the beginning of the suburbs, which, as early as the sixth century of Rome, extended beyond the Carmentale gate; I find also the theatre of Marcellus; several temples, particularly that of Bellona, where the general convened the senate to solicit his triumph; the Octavian portico, and the Flaminian circus, in which last Lucullus distributed a donative to his troops. In the other of those sites, I scarcely discover any thing more ancient than the age of Trajan, when that prince dug through part of the Quirinal, extended the valley between that mountain and the capitol, and at the same time adorned it with a magnificent forum. It was extremely natural that a new road called the Broad-way should soon afterwards be made between the Fla-

* Martial Epig. x. 6.

Via Flaminia une nouvelle rue, à laquelle on donna le nom de *Via Lata*. Pourquoi dissimuler ici une conjecture sur la porte triomphale, qui m'a paru revêtue de plusieurs caractères de vraisemblance? Je pense que cette porte n'étoit point différente du fameux *Janus Geminus*, appelé souvent Temple de Janus, dont les portes ouvertes ou fermées servoient, depuis l'institution de Numa, à désigner la paix et la guerre. Voici quelques uns des caractères qui m'ont fait goûter une idée qui a d'abord un air de paradoxe. 1. Parmi les obscurités qu'on a trouvées, ou qu'on a cru trouver dans les anciens au sujet du *Janus*, je choisirai pour mon guide ce Varron qui a mérité des Romains, contemporains de Cicéron, l'éloge de les avoir comme introduits dans leur propre ville. Cet antiquaire décrit le *Janus*, lorsqu'il parle des portes de la Rome de Romulus: *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, et ideo ibi positum Jani signum, et ejus institutum a Numa Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus L. Piso, ut sit clausa semper, nisi cum bellum sit.*—On fait que l'enceinte de Romulus, en s'étendant de tous les autres côtés, demeura toujours la même vers le Capitole et le Tybre; et les expressions de Varron se rapportent assez clairement à une porte qui subsistoit encore de son tems, ou du moins de celui de Pison. C'est encore l'idée que nous puisons dans les auteurs les plus exacts de l'antiquité. Je connois trop le danger des propositions exclusives,

minian road and the city. Why should I here conceal a conjecture respecting the triumphal gate, which appears to me characterised by several marks of probability? I think that this gate was really no other than the famous Janus Geminus, called often the Temple of Janus, the gates of which, as they were open or shut, were appointed by Numa to denote respectively the conditions of war and peace. The following are some of the circumstances which persuade me of the truth of a supposition that may at first sight appear paradoxical. Among the real or pretended obscurities of the accounts of the ancients on the subject of Janus, I shall choose for my guide the learned Varro, who deserved from the Roman contemporaries of Cicero the praise of introducing them to the knowledge of their own city. That antiquary thus describes Janus, in speaking of the gates of Rome, in the time of Romulus: *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, et ideo ibi positum Jani signum, et ejus institutum a Numa Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus L. Piso, ut sit clausa semper, nisi cum bellum sit.*—It is known that the wall built by Romulus, though it was extended in all other directions, remained always the same on the side of the Capitol and the Tiber: and the expressions of Varro clearly refer to a gate which existed in his own time, or at least in that of Pison. The same sense may be extracted from the most correct writers of antiquity. I too well know the danger of exclusive propositions to affirm, that
the

clusives, pour assurer que l'expression, *Temple de Janus*, n'est point en usage parmi les écrivains des bons siècles; mais je vois que Tite Live, Horace, Suetone et Pline *, le désignent toujours par la dénomination simple et propre de *Janus Geminus*, ou de *Janus Quirini*, ou *Quirinus*. Virgile, qui décrit tous les anciens usages avec le feu d'un poète, et la précision d'un antiquaire, a introduit parmi ses Latins cette ancienne institution. Il n'y employe jamais le mot *temple*, dans le tems qu'il décrit ces portes de la guerre.

*Sunt gemina belli portæ, (sic nomine dicunt,)
Religione sacræ et sævi formidine Martis :
Centum arci claudunt vinctæ, æternaque ferri
Robora : nec custos absistit limine Janus†.*

Tout réveille ici l'idée d'une arcade, telle que les portes des villes, fermée des deux côtés par des portes de bronze, et consacrée par la statue de Janus, placée peut-être dans une niche dans la muraille. Si les modernes ont voulu faire du *Janus Geminus*, un temple célèbre, leur peu d'exactitude ne m'empêchera pas de le rappeler à son idée primitive, qui s'accorde très bien avec les expressions de Varron. Le Janus et la porte triomphale ont dû être des portes de la même enceinte. J'en conclus seulement que leur identité n'a rien d'impossible.

2. Pour

the phrase " Temple of Janus " is not to be found in any writer of pure Latinity; but I perceive that Livy, Horace, Suetone, and Pliny * always employ the proper expression of Janus Geminus, or Janus Quirini, or Quirinus. Virgil, who describes ancient customs with the fire of a poet, and the accuracy of an antiquary, makes mention of this institution among the ancient Latins; but never introduces the word " temple " in speaking of the gates of war.

*Sunt gemina belli portæ, (sic nomine dicunt,)
Religione sacræ et sævi formidine Martis :
Centum arci claudunt vinctæ, æternaque ferri
Robora : nec custos absistit limine Janus †.*

In this description, every word indicates an arcade, such as that of the gates of cities, shut on both sides by doors of bronze, and consecrated by a statue of Janus, placed perhaps in a niche in the wall. Although modern writers have endeavoured to convert the Janus Geminus into a celebrated temple, their want of accuracy needs not hinder me from giving to the words their primitive sense, which perfectly accords with the expressions of Varro. The triumphal gate and that of Janus belonged, therefore, to the same wall. I may thence

* Tit. Liv. L. i, Sueton. in August. xxii. et in Neron, xiii. Horat. Carm. iv. 15. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 7.

† Virgil. Æncid, L. vii. 6c8.

2. Pour changer cette possibilité en vraisemblance, il faut rapprocher les objets, et fixer la situation du *Janus Geminus*. Selon Tite Live *, Numa Pompilius institua le *Janus* à l'extrémité inférieure de l'*Argiletum*, pour être l'indice de la guerre et de la paix. Nous savons en général que l'*Argiletum*, qui n'a rien d'incertain que son étymologie, étoit situé au pied de la roche Tarpéienne peu éloignée du Tybre †; et Servius le détermine encore mieux par son voisinage du théâtre de Marcellus. La porte des triomphes et le *Janus Geminus* se trouveront également dans cette petite partie de l'enceinte, qui s'étend de la roche Tarpéienne à la rivière. Nous sommes déjà obligés d'y placer trois portes, la *Flumentana* ou *Flaminia* auprès de la rivière, la *Carmentale*, au pied des rochers, et la *Triumphale*, qui se trouveroit ainsi au milieu des deux autres. Dans une étendue de cent toises ‡, hérissée de tours, est il fort naturel de supposer une quatrième porte? Ne se sent-on pas porté à confondre cette quatrième avec une des trois premières? Cette idée du Janus dans l'*Argiletum*, formellement énoncée par Tite Live et Servius, et très conforme à Varron, n'éprouve de difficulté que dans l'autorité de Procope ||, qui place le Temple de Janus vis-à-vis du

‡ Je l'ai mesurée sur le grand plan de Rome de Nolli.

Capitole,

venture to conclude that their identity is possible. 2. But to render the thing probable, we must endeavour to fix more accurately the situation of the Janus Geminus *. According to Livy, Numa Pompilius erected it at the lower extremity of the Argiletum, to serve as the index of war and peace. We know that the Argiletum, though its etymology is uncertain, was situate near the foot of the Tarpeian rock not far from the Tiber †; and Servius fixes its site still more precisely, by saying it was in the vicinity of the Temple of Marcellus. The triumphal gate and that of Janus must also have stood within the limits of this small portion of the wall, extending from the Tarpeian rock to the river. Within the same limits, therefore, we are obliged to place three gates, the Flumentana or Flaminia near to the river, the Carmentalis at the foot of the rock, and the Triumphal in the middle between the two others. In an extent of only an hundred fathoms § of a wall crowded with towers, is it natural to suppose a fourth gate; or is it not more probable that this supposed fourth gate was merely a different name for one of the others? The placing of Janus in the Argiletum, which is done expressly by Livy and Servius, and which is quite consistent with the terms of Varro, is opposed by no other authority than that of Procopius ‡,

* Tit. Liv. L. i. Serv. ad Æneid VII. Nardini Roma Antiqua, L. vii. C. 4. p. 439.

† Donati Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. 26. p. 212.

§ I measured the distance on Nolli's great map of Rome.

|| Procop. de Bell. Gothic. L. i.

Capitole, et au milieu du Forum. Mais ce même Procope ne détermine point que ce temple fût le *Janus Geminus* ; et en tout cas, j'aimerois mieux rejeter l'autorité d'un soldat du sixième siècle, qui décrit un monument qui n'existoit déjà plus, que de supposer avec Nardini *, qu'il y avoit deux *Janus*, indices de la paix et de la guerre ; l'un l'ancienne *Porta Janualis* que Numa convertit en temple ; l'autre un temple qu'il construisit dans l'*Argiletum*. Ces deux Janus sont inconnus à toute l'antiquité, et Varron pose en fait, ce que Tite Live insinue assez clairement, que Numa institua un nouvel usage, sans construire un nouvel édifice. 3. Les portes de la guerre et celle du triomphe étoient donc si près l'une de l'autre, qu'il est difficile de les distinguer ; mais un autre caractère singulier qu'elles possédoient en commun, me dispose encore à les confondre. C'est celui d'être consacrées par l'opinion publique, et les cérémonies de la religion. Dans la discipline Etrusque †, les murailles étoient sacrées, mais les portes étoient profanes ; et lorsqu'on traçoit le sillon sacré du *Pomœrium*, on interrompoit de tems en tems l'action de la charrue, pour ménager à la commodité de la ville ces sorties nécessaires pour les usages vils et impurs, auxquels on les employoit si souvent. La porte des triomphes, destinée uniquement à introduire dans la ville la procession la plus

who says, that the Temple of Janus stood opposite to the Capitol, and in the middle of the Forum. But Procopius does not say that this temple was the Janus Geminus : and whatever he might say, I should be inclined rather to reject the authority of a soldier of the sixth century, who spoke of a monument no longer in existence, than to suppose with Nardini *, that there were two Januses, employed as tokens of war and peace ; one of which was the ancient *Porta Janualis*, which Numa converted into a temple ; and the other a temple which he afterwards built in the *Argiletum*. These two Januses are totally unknown to ancient authors ; and Varro directly says what Livy plainly insinuates, that Numa instituted a new ceremony without building a new edifice. 3. The gates of war and triumph were therefore so near to each other, that it is difficult to distinguish them ; and a peculiarity which they possessed in common makes me inclined to consider them as the same. Both these gates were consecrated by public opinion and the ceremonies of religion. According to the institutions of the Tuscans †, walls were sacred, but gates were profane ; and when they traced the sacred site of the *Pomœrium*, it was customary at times to interrupt the action of the plough, that spaces might be left free for these necessary outlets, which, for the convenience of the city, must often be desecrated by impurities. But the triumphal gate, which was destined solely

* Nardini *Roma Antica*, L. i. C. iii. p. 13. et L. v. C. vii. p. 256—257.

† Plutarch in *Romul*.

plus respectable de la religion, ne méritoit point d'être comprise dans cette loi. Les honneurs qu'on proposa pour la mémoire d'Auguste, me persuadent qu'elle ne l'étoit pas *. On voit que Tibère fit réjeter ces propositions qui bleffoient la loi de la religion, et que la proposition de faire passer un corps mort par la porte triomphale, y parut aussi contraire que de faire recueillir ses os par les prêtres, et d'empiéter sur les droits des dieux, en déterminant par la vie d'Auguste la durée d'un siècle. C'étoit aux dieux à distribuer et à annoncer par des prodiges la durée de chaque période. 4. L'identité supposée des deux portes (dont la ressemblance est aussi marquée) explique parfaitement l'institution de Numa, et la raison pourquoi la porte s'ouvroit avec la guerre, et se fermoit avec la paix. Les symboles contraires paroistroient beaucoup plus naturels. Un abord libre et ouvert annonce la tranquillité de la ville. Ce n'est que lorsque la crainte et la défiance, précédées de la guerre contre les ennemis voisins, se présentent aux portes, qu'on songe à les fermer, et à employer chaque moyen de défense. Mais dans l'institution de Numa, le consul ouvroit les portes de la gloire avec celles de la guerre. Elles demeuroient ouvertes pour ce petit nombre de grands hommes qui s'étoient acquis le droit d'y entrer. Elles se fermoient, lorsque le retour de la paix avoit interrompu le chemin des triomphes.

for admitting into the city a most venerable religious procession, needed not to be included under this law ; and that it certainly was not, appeared from what happened respecting the honours which it was proposed to bestow on the memory of Augustus *. Tiberius rejected these, however, as offensive to religion ; to which the proposition of making a dead body pass through the triumphal gate was reckoned as contrary as that of collecting the bones of Augustus by the hands of priests, and of determining the age or century by the length of his life. It belonged to the gods alone to mark by prodigies the duration of each period. 4. The supposed identity of the two gates, whose resemblance is very striking, perfectly explains the institution of Numa, and the reason why Janus was open in war and shut in peace. The contrary symbols might appear more natural. A free and open access to a city bespeaks the security of peace. Amidst the fear and distrust occasioned by war against neighbouring enemies, the shutting of the gates is employed as the most natural means of defence. But by the institution of Numa, the gates of war were opened, because they were gates of glory ; and they continued open, to admit the small number of great men, who were entitled to pass through them. They were, on the other hand, shut when the return of peace shut up the triumphal road. Among the

* Sueton. in Aug. C. 100. Tacit. Annal. l. 8.

omphes. Les Romains ne l'ont que rarement interrompu. L'exercice de cette fonction ne dépendoit pas seulement de la paix actuelle, dont la république a très souvent joui, mais encore de la disposition du sénat à l'entretenir, disposition qu'il n'a éprouvée que sous les regnes tranquilles de Numa et d'Auguste, et dans cet état d'épuisement qui suivit la première guerre Punique.

Sur le SPECTACLE.

IL faut s'arrêter. Ce chapitre menace de devenir un volume. Renvoyons aux antiquaires le soin de détailler le spectacle du triomphe, les victimes, les sacrificateurs, les vases d'or et d'argent, et les couronnes. Je ne veux m'attacher qu'à une seule réflexion plus digne d'un philosophe, et qui distinguoit si avantageusement cette cérémonie, de ces pompes si vaines et si fatigantes qui n'inspirent que le mépris et l'ennui. Cette cérémonie rendoit les spectateurs eux-mêmes acteurs, en leur présentant des objets grands, réels, et qui ne pouvoient que les intéresser.

Les spectacles les plus brillans des cours, les carousels de Louis XIV. ou les fêtes du Duc de Wirtemberg, prouvent toujours la magnificence, et souvent le goût
du

Romans, indeed, this road was rarely interrupted. For the ceremony of shutting Janus required not merely an actual peace, which the Romans often enjoyed, but an inclination also in the senate to render that peace lasting; an inclination which that body testified only during the tranquil reigns of Numa and Augustus, and during that period of national weakness which was occasioned by the first Punic war.

On the TRIUMPHAL ROADS and CEREMONIES.

IT is here necessary to pause. This chapter might become a volume. We may commit to antiquaries the care of describing the triumphal show; the victims, sacrifices, vases of gold and silver, and crowns. I shall dwell on one circumstance alone, more deserving the attention of a philosopher, because by it this institution is honourably distinguished from those vain and fatiguing solemnities which create nothing but weariness or contempt. The triumph converted the spectators into actors, by shewing to them objects great, real, and which could not fail to move their affections.

The most brilliant shows in courts, the carousals of Lewis XIV. or the festivities of the Duke of Wurtemberg, attested the wealth, and sometimes the taste, of princes. We may throw a glance on them, to
remark

du monarque. On peut quelquefois y jeter un coup d'œil, pour remarquer l'état des mœurs et les progrès des arts dans un siècle ou dans un pays ; mais ce coup d'œil devient bientôt triste et languissant ; je vois que ces frais immenses se terminent à rassasier la vanité, et à charmer les ennuis d'un seul homme ; je vois des troupeaux de courtisans indifférens ou ennuyés, qui s'occupent tristement à masquer le dégoût sous les traits du plaisir. J'entends les cris plaintifs d'un peuple qui éprouva dans une chasse brillante, la désolation d'une province, et qui voit dans ces lambris dorés, les traces de cent chaumières écrasées sous le poids des impôts, et je détourne les yeux avec horreur. Les cérémonies de la religion, lorsqu'elles se présentent au peuple avec un appareil imposant, doivent intéresser les spectateurs par les endroits les plus sensibles ; mais pour éprouver leur influence complètement, il faut recevoir avec foi le système théologique sur lequel elles sont fondées, et se trouver même dans cette disposition d'esprit, qui ouvre l'âme aux craintes de la superstition. Si ces cérémonies n'excitent pas le respect, on les envisage avec le mépris de la plus ridicule pantomime.

Dans les triomphes tout étoit grand et intéressant. Pour éprouver les sensations qu'ils excitoient, il suffisoit d'être homme et Romain. Le citoyen spectateur voyoit l'image, dirai-je, ou la réalité de la gloire de sa république.

remark the state of arts and manners in a certain age or country ; but our eyes are soon tired or disgusted by perceiving that these immense expences are consumed in relieving the languor or gratifying the vanity of one man. I perceive crowds of courtiers indifferent, or yawning, or wretchedly occupied in concealing, under the mask of pleasure, their inward uneasiness. I hear the loud complaints of a whole people ; who have felt, in an expensive hunting-match, the desolation of a province ; and can trace, in a gilded dome, the marks of an hundred cottages, overwhelmed by the weight of taxes. From such objects I remove my attention with horror. The ceremonies of religion, when presented to mankind in a venerable garb, ought powerfully to interest their affections ; but their influence cannot be completely felt, unless the spectators have a firm faith in the theological system on which they are founded ; and unless they also feel in themselves that particular disposition of mind which lays it open to religious terrors. Such ceremonies, when they are not viewed with respect, are beheld with the contempt excited by the most ridiculous pantomime

In the triumph, every circumstance was great and interesting. To receive its full impression, it was enough to be a man and a Roman. With the eyes of citizens, the spectators saw the image, or rather the reality, of the public glory. The treasures which were carried in procession,

que. Les trésors qui passaient devant ses yeux, les monumens les plus précieux des arts, les dépouilles sanglantes des ennemis, lui retraçaient le tableau fidèle de la guerre, et l'instruisaient de l'importance de la conquête. Un langage muet, mais facile, lui racontait les dangers et la valeur de ses compatriotes; des symboles choisis avec goût, lui exposaient sans peine les villes, les rivières, les montagnes, théâtre des exploits des Romains, et jusqu'aux dieux des nations qu'ils avaient soumis au Jupiter du Capitole. L'orgueil, la curiosité, la dévotion, que des faveurs si récentes et si sensibles portoient jusqu'au fanatisme, se confondoient en un sentiment fort et dominant. Quelquefois une passion plus tendre s'insinuoit dans son âme, lorsqu'il voyoit son fils, son frère, ou son ami, qui suivait le char de triomphe, échappé aux périls de la guerre, et couronné des récompenses de sa valeur. La gloire du Général lui même ne se bornoit point à sa famille, ni à ses amis. Elle s'étendoit à chaque citoyen, qui se réjouissoit de la nouvelle dignité qu'elle répandoit sur le nom Romain, et qui se souvenoit peut-être qu'il avoit lui même donné son suffrage, pour élever au consulat ce grand homme, dont sa pénétration avoit démêlé le mérite, et que son désintéressement avoit préféré à tous ses émules.

VOL. III.

M

Lorsque

cession, the most precious monuments of art, the bloody spoils of the enemy, exhibited a faithful picture of the war, and illustrated the importance of the conquest. A silent but forcible language instructed the Romans in the exploits and valour of their countrymen: symbols chosen with taste shewed to them the cities, rivers, mountains, the scenes of their national enterprise, and even the gods of their prostrate enemies, subdued under the majesty of Capitoline Jupiter. Under the impression of recent and manifest favours, pride, curiosity, and devotion warmed into one strong and prevailing passion of enthusiasm. Sometimes sentiments more tender penetrated the citizen's heart, when he beheld a son, a brother, or a friend, escaped from the dangers of war, following the triumphal chariot, and crowned with the rewards of his valour. The general's glory was not confined within the narrow sphere of his own family and friends. It redounded to the honour of every citizen, who rejoiced at the new dignity thereby acquired to the Roman name; and who remembered, perhaps, that his own vote had helped to raise to the consulship the great man, whose merit he had the discernment to perceive, and whom he had the disinterestedness to prefer to all his rivals.

When

Lorsque le citoyen jettoit un regard sur les rois vaincus, qu'on traînoit devant le char du vainqueur, son orgueil triomphoit en même tems de ces rois et de l'humanité outragée. Si un sentiment de pitié perçoit à travers ses fiers préjugés, s'il s'attendrissoit sur la chute du monarque, ou sur l'innocence de ses enfans qui sentoient à peine ce qu'ils avoient perdu, il étoit payé de ses larmes par cette sensation délicieuse que la nature a su y attacher.

On ne connoît que trop le sort infortuné de ces princes; victimes de la raison d'état, et de l'orgueil Romain, ils ne terminoient une captivité honteuse, que par une mort infame, qu'on n'avoit retardée que pour les avilir encore mieux par le spectacle du triomphe. Je trouve cependant dans la conduite des Romains à cet égard, une bizarrerie assez difficile à expliquer. En voici un exemple singulier. Après la conquête de la Macédoine et le triomphe de Paul Emile, le sénat relégua Persée à Alba Facetia, dans le pays des Marfes; il lui procura toutes les douceurs qui peuvent se séparer de la liberté, et après sa mort il lui fit des funérailles publiques et honorables: traitement bien différent de celui qu'éprouva le malheureux Jugurtha, qui expira dans un cachot, après avoir ressenti tous les tourmens de la faim et du désespoir;

tourmens

When the citizen cast his eye on the vanquished kings dragged in triumph, his own pride triumphed at once over them and insulted humanity. But if a sentiment of compassion overcame his stern prejudices, and he melted at the sight of a fallen monarch, and his innocent children still unconscious of their misfortune, his tenderness must have been rewarded with that delightful pleasure with which nature repays such tears.

The lot of those unfortunate princes is but too well known. Victims of state policy and Roman pride, they ended a shameful captivity by an ignominious death, which had been delayed only by their disgrace of being led in triumph. In the conduct of the Romans toward them, there was however a singular capriciousness, which it is not easy to explain. Of this, the following is a memorable example. After the triumph of Paulus Emilius for the conquest of Macedon, the senate banished Perseus to Alba Facetia, in the territory of the Marfi, supplied him with every comfort that can be enjoyed without liberty, and honoured his remains with the pomp of a public funeral. This treatment was totally the reverse of that experienced by the unhappy Jugurtha, who expired in a dungeon, after enduring the torments of hunger and despair; torments the more horrible in his forlorn and solitary state, unrelieved by the hope of glory,

the

tourmens d'autant plus horribles que l'ame abandonnée à elle-même, n'est point soutenue par l'espérance de la gloire, la présence des spectateurs, et l'appareil même de ces supplices, qui la fortifie en l'effrayant. Pourquoi cette différence dans le sort de ces deux princes ? L'un et l'autre, ennemis jurés du nom Romain, étoient teints du sang d'un frère ami de la république. A ces crimes Persée avoit ajouté l'assassinat d'un roi allié du sénat, et l'entreprise d'empoisonner les ambassadeurs de Rome. Mais Persée étoit un monument de la vertu des Romains, qui revoyoient avec plaisir tous les vestiges d'une guerre aussi glorieuse, pendant qu'ils auroient voulu en févelir avec Jugurtha la mémoire de leur honte. Les légions Romaines envoyées sous le joug, les consuls, les ambassadeurs, le sénat entier, corrompus par ce prince, toute la turpitude de la république dévoilée à l'univers : voilà les forfaits de Jugurtha, et ceux que Rome ne pouvoit jamais lui pardonner.

à ROME, le 13 Décembre 1764.

the presence of spectators, or the show of a public execution, which, while it frightens, fortifies the mind. What was the reason for making this difference ? Both princes were sworn enemies of the Roman name, and each was stained with the blood of a brother who had been a friend to the Romans. To these crimes Perseus had added the assassination of a king allied to the senate, and an attempt to poison the Roman ambassadors. But Perseus was a monument of the virtue of the republic. With him was associated the idea of a glorious war ; but, with Jugurtha, the Romans must have wished to bury for ever the memory of their own disgrace ; their legions made to pass under the yoke ; consuls, ambassadors, the whole senate, corrupted by the bribes of that prince ; the concealed baseness of the republic unveiled to the whole world. Such were the crimes of Jugurtha, crimes for which the Romans could never possibly forgive him.

ROME, 13th December 1764.

N^o VIII.

à Rome, le 29 Décembre 1764.

J'AI eu entre les mains un *MS. de l'Abbé Gio. Vincenzo Gravina*, qui appartient à M. Lumsden, gentilhomme Anglois, et ami de M. Byers qui me l'a procuré. Il est intitulé *Del Governo Civile di Roma*; in 4to. pp. 76; et traite principalement des révolutions qu'a éprouvée cette ville depuis la chute de l'empire Romain; sujet qui m'intéresse beaucoup. Cet ouvrage est un abrégé très bien fait; mais, à dire vrai, ce n'est qu'un abrégé. L'auteur n'a point approfondi son sujet, il n'a point fouillé dans les archives. Il cite rarement, et ne cite que les auteurs très connus, tels que Baronius, Blondus, ou Sigonius. Détachons cependant, sans suite et sans méthode, quelques circonstances dont je dois la connoissance à cet ouvrage.

P. 7.

Après la fondation de Constantinople, la Nouvelle Rome cédoit par tout le pas à sa sœur aînée. Le consul pour l'Occident passoit devant celui de l'Orient.—*Procopé Histoire Secrette.*

M. Gra-

N^o VIII.

ROME, 29th December 1764.

I Have been reading a MS. of the Abbé *Gio. Vincenzo Gravina*, which belongs to Mr. Lumsden, a Scotch gentleman, and a friend of Mr. Byers, through whose means I procured it. The title of it is, *Del Governo Civile di Roma*; in 4to pp. 76: and its principal subject, the revolutions of the city after the fall of the empire; a subject which interests me much. This performance is an excellent abridgment, but merely an abridgment; the author not having founded the depths of his subject, nor ransacked archives. His citations are few; and those only of well-known authors, such as Baronius, Blondus, or Sigonius. It may, however, be worth while to extract, without order or method, the particulars which I have learned from this work.

P. 7.

After the foundation of Constantinople, New Rome yielded in all matters of ceremony to her elder sister. The consul of the West preceded the consul of the East.—*Procopius's Secret History.*

Mr.

M. Gravina adopte les donations de Pepin et de Charlemagne ; mais dans son système ces princes donnèrent le duché de Rome et l'exarchat de Ravenne aux Papes, comme aux chefs du sénat et de la république Romaine, souverains légitimes de l'Italie pendant la vacance de l'empire.

p. 8.

Dans le soulèvement des Romains contre le Roi Hugues et Marozia, ils établirent leur gouvernement ancien des deux consuls annuels et des tribuns. Le jeune Alberic fut un des premiers consuls. Gravina cite Blondus ; mais Muratori, qui place cet événement en 932 au lieu de 928, ne parle point de consuls. Je suis cependant très porté à y ajouter foi. Ils ont été certainement rétablis vers ce tems là.

p. 13, 14.

M. Gravina pense qu'Othon III. abolit le consulat en 995, après la mort de Crescence. La chose paroîtroit vraisemblable ; mais il ne cite personne ; et l'on a des preuves que les consuls subsistoient immédiatement après, aussi bien que dans le siècle suivant.

p. 21.

Innocent III. reçut l'hommage du préfet de Rome, et lui donna l'investiture de son emploi. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.*—A la prière du peuple il créa cinquante sénateurs pour gouverner la ville ; mais comme ils abusèrent extrêmement

p. 43, 44.

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. But, according to him, these princes gave the duchy of Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna to the popes, as chiefs of the senate and Roman republic during the vacancy of the empire.

p. 8.

In the insurrection of the Romans against King Hugh and Marozia, they established their ancient government by two annual consuls and tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the first consuls. Gravina cites Blondus ; but Muratori, who places this event in the year 932 instead of 928, does not speak of consuls. I am inclined however to believe Gravina. The consuls were certainly re-established about that time.

p. 13, 14.

Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. abolished the consulship in 995, after the death of Crescentius. The observation seems probable ; yet he does not give his authority ; and it is proved that the office of consul subsisted immediately afterwards, as well as in the following age.

p. 21.

Innocent III. received the homage of the prefect of Rome, and granted to him the investiture of his office. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.*—At the request of the people, he created fifty senators to govern the city ; but as they

p. 43, 44.

trémement de leur pouvoir, il les réduisit à un seul, établi pour rendre la justice: *Cantilius de Romana Historia à Carolo Magno.*

- p. 55, 56. Sous le pontificat de Martin IV. les Orfini, pour se venger de l'affront qu'ils avoient reçu des Annibaldefi (qui les avoient chassés de Viterbe, après la mort de leur oncle Nicolas III.), entrèrent à main armée dans Rome qu'ils remplirent de massacres et d'incendies. Ils brulèrent alors ces anciens édifices sur la descente du Mont Capitolin, dont nous voyons encore les ruines.

they exceedingly abused their power, he reduced them to one only, appointed to distribute justice. *Cantilius de Romana Historia à Carolo Magno.*

- p. 55, 56. Under the pontificate of Martin IV. the Orfini, to avenge the affront which they had received from the Annibaldefi (who had driven them from Viterbo after the death of their uncle Nicholas III.), entered with an armed force into Rome, which they ravaged with fire and sword. At that time were burnt the ancient edifices whose ruins are still visible on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

O U T L I N E S

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The NINTH CENTURY.

800—900.

THE more civilized part of the globe was divided between the Christians and the Mahometans; the former under two emperors, the latter under two caliphs. 1. The newly-erected empire of the Franks extended over France, Germany, and Italy, and even the Christian princes of Britain and the mountains of Spain respected the power and dignity of Charlemagne. 2. The empire of the Greeks, or as they vainly styled it, of the Romans, had preserved only Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. 3. The caliphs of the house of Ommiyah reigned in Spain. 4. Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, were subject to the Abassides. Whatever lay beyond the limits of these four empires was still pagan, and, excepting China, still barbarous.

The overgrown monarchy of the Abassides soon declined. The powerful viceroys of great and distant provinces gradually usurped the prerogatives, though they still respected the dignity of the caliph. The reigns of Al Rashid, Al Mamûn, and Al Motasssem were, however, wise and prosperous: but their feeble successors, immersed in the luxury of the seraglio, resigned the guard of their throne and person to a body of Turkish mercenaries, who, as their interest or passions might dictate, deposed, massacred, and created the lieutenants of the prophet. At length they began to experience the dire effects of the enthusiasm to which they owed their grandeur. A sect of desperate fanatics

776—809.

813—833.

833—841.

866—869.

870.

892.

tics

tics, called Karmathians, disturbed Irack and Arabia. The Assassins of Syria, so much dreaded during the crusades, were the last remains of them.

814—840. The ruin of the French empire was more precipitate and attended with greater calamities. It is chiefly to be ascribed to the fierce spirit of the Franks, unable to support either an arbitrary or a legal government; to the incapacity of Lewis the Debonnaire, and to the ambition of his four sons, who, in one battle, destroyed a hundred thousand of their subjects. The dignity of the throne and blood of Charlemagne was eclipsed, as every prince divided his dominions among his children; and the spirit of union was irrecoverably lost. Charles the Bald disgraced the imperial purple by acknowledging that he held it from the favour of his subject the bishop of Rome. Another Charles, as unworthy as the former, was deposed by his subjects, and the vacant empire usurped by the kings of France, of Burgundy, of Arles, of Germany, and of Italy, all strangers to the family of Charlemagne. The dukes and the counts who had served their ambition, converted their governments into hereditary possessions, which they shared among their barons, and these again among their followers; the superior still reserving the faith, homage, and military service of his vassal. The people, both of the cities and country, was reduced to a state of slavery. The clergy sometimes imitated, and sometimes moderated the tyranny of the military order.

849. In the mean while the Normans from the North, the Hungarians from the East, and the Arabs, or Saracens, from the South, assaulted this defenceless empire on every side. Rome and Paris were besieged, and these invaders often met each other in the centre of the ruined provinces. The Normans especially, animated by the Saxons, great numbers of whom had retired into Scandinavia to escape the bloody baptism of Charlemagne, inflicted a dreadful revenge on the persons and property of the Christian priests.

885. The union of the Saxon heptarchy was effected by Egbert, king of the West Saxons, who had been trained to arms and policy in the school of Charlemagne; but it was scarcely yet cemented, when England experienced the same calamities as the Continent from the Danes or Normans. They were with much difficulty expelled, or subdued, by the victories of Alfred. Amidst the deepest gloom of barbarism, the virtue of Antoninus, the learn-
ing

ing and valour of Cæsar, and the legislative genius of Lycurgus, shone forth united in that patriot king. Several of his institutions have survived the Norman conquest, and contributed to form the English constitution.

The Arabs, whether subject to the house of Abas or to that of Ommyyah, formed but one people. The Christians of the western and eastern empires had scarcely any common resemblance, except of religious superstition. The Franks had almost forgotten to read or write, in the most literal sense of these words. The Greeks preserved their ancient authors without attempting to imitate them. But the Arabs were poets and philosophers; bewildered themselves very ingeniously in the maze of metaphysics, and improved the more useful sciences of physic, astronomy, and the mathematics. The arts, which minister to the convenience and luxury of life, were known only in the East, and at Constantinople.

From these arts the Arabs derived their splendor, and the Greeks their existence. A people without valour or discipline, and a throne perpetually stained with blood and occupied by weak princes, could not long have withstood the numerous enemies which on every side surrounded them. Constantinople alone, attracting by its situation and industry the commerce of Europe and Asia, supplied the absolute monarch with an inexhaustible source of wealth and power.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

900-1000.

OUT of respect to Charlemagne's memory, Charles the Simple and his descendants to the third generation, were permitted to hold the crown of France: but it was a crown without either power or splendor. Italy, with the imperial dignity; Germany, with the neighbouring provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, Dauphiné, and Provence, were separated from the French monarchy. The last Carlovingian princes, reduced to the city of Laon, beheld the misery of their country, and the wars among their great vassals. Of these the most powerful were the dukes of France, of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Aquitain; the counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Thoulouse. Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, acquired that fertile province by conquest and by treaty: his barbarian followers readily adopted the French manners, religion, and language. Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris and Orleans, 987-996.

898-987.

912.

leans,

987. leans, wrested from the last of the Carlovingsians the sceptre, which still remains in the hands of his posterity : but his new regal title scarcely gave him any authority over his *peers*, and his ample fiefs composed a very inconsiderable kingdom.

918-936. The Germans, freed from the French yoke, elected for their king Conrad duke of Franconia, and after him a line of Saxon princes. Henry the Fowler chastised the Hungarians, civilized his rude subjects, and was the first founder of cities in the interior parts of Germany. His son, Otho the Great, passed the Alps, gave laws to Italy and to the popes, and for ever fixed the imperial dignity in the German nation. He imposed a tribute on the vanquished Danes and Bohemians, and since that time the King of Bohemia has acknowledged himself the first vassal of the German empire, which was treated with contempt by the Greeks, reluctantly submitted to by the
973-983. Italians, but respected by the rest of Europe. The se-
983-1002. cond and third Otho, son and grandson to the first, supported, though with less vigour and capacity, the claims which he transmitted to them.

Spain flourished under the happy government of the Omniades more than in any former or later period. Their capital, Cordova, is said to have contained two hundred thousand houses, and the adjacent country twelve thousand villages. The active genius of the Arabs was at once employed in war, science, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The annual revenue of
912-961. the caliph Abdoubrahman III. exceeded six millions ster-
976-1006. ling, and probably surpassed that of all the Christian kings united. Under the reign of his grandson, the viziers became masters of the palace, and the governors of their provinces.

The Christian princes of Gothic or Gascon extraction, who had maintained their independence in the Pyrenean and Asturian mountains, and of whom the king of Leon was the most considerable, prepared to take advantage of the intestine divisions of the Mahometans.

A new empire arose in Africa. Obeidollah, who styled himself the descendant and avenger of Ali, reduced under his obedience the whole country from the Atlantic ocean to the frontiers of Egypt, together with the island of Sicily ; and founded the dynasty of the Fatimite caliph.
969. Moez Ledinilla, the fourth in descent and succession from him, conquered Egypt and Syria, and built Grand Cairo on the banks of the Nile, which soon became one of the first cities of the world. But in proportion as the Fati-
mite

mite caliphs extended their conquests towards the East, their western dominions of Africa escaped from their yoke. In the mean while the Arabs of Mauritania, who still retained their pastoral life, spread the terror of their arms and the law of Mahomet among the negro nations in the interior parts of Africa.

The empire of the Abassides was dismembered by twenty dynasties, Arabs, Turks, and Persians. The caliph of Bagdad, a prisoner in his palace, enjoyed the vain honour of being named first in the public prayers, and of granting the investiture of his provinces to every fortunate usurper. The Greeks seized the favourable opportunity, recovered Antioch, and once more extended their power as far as the banks of the Euphrates. 936.

As England formed a separate world, which maintained very little intercourse with other nations, it may be reserved for the last place. Edward the Elder and Athelstan inherited the military virtues of Alfred. The great grandson of that prince, Edgar, is celebrated by the monks for his profuse devotion to their order; and by rational men, for the attention he gave to the natural strength of his kingdom, a maritime power. The Danes, who since the time of Alfred had respected the coasts of England, renewed their attacks as soon as they discovered the weakness of young Ethelred, the son of Edgar. 900-924.
924-940.
959-957.

While the Musulmans, notwithstanding their intestine troubles, preserved the light of science, Europe sunk still deeper into ignorance, barbarism, and superstition. The Benedictine abbeys, though they nursed the last of these monsters, opposed some faint resistance against the two former. They transcribed ancient books, improved their lands, and opened an asylum for the slaves of feudal tyranny, which had every where erected fortified castles on the ruins of cities and villages. The inhabitants of the rocks of Genoa, and of the marshes of Venice, began to seek, first a subsistence, and soon afterwards wealth and power, in the useful employments of trade and navigation. 978-1016.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THE general history of this age may be comprehended under four great events. 1. The empire of the Turks in Asia. 2. The disputes between the emperors and the popes. 3. The conquest of England and Naples by the Normans; and, 4. The crusades against the Mahometans. 1000-1100.

1. Mahmud of Gafna was the first prince, who, under the

- the empire of the caliphs, assumed the title of Sultan. He reigned over the eastern parts of Persia, and invaded the rich and peaceful nations of Hindostan, several of which bowed to his yoke, and to that of the Alcoran. As he had occasion for great armies, he invited into his service the tribe of Seljuk, one of the bravest and most numerous among the Turks. They served the father, but rebelled against the son. The several dynasties of Persia fell successively before the sword of Togrul Beg, their first sovereign. The feeble caliph of Bagdad was obliged to grant him the investiture of his conquests, and to receive a Turk for his protector and his son-in-law. Alp Arslan, the successor of Togrul, took the Emperor Romanus Diogenes prisoner in a great battle, and treated him with a generous courtesy that would have done honour to the most civilized nations. Asia Minor, a part of the Greek empire, and Syria and Palestine, then subject to the caliphs of Egypt, were subdued by the victorious Turks. The empire of Malek Shah extended from India to the Hellespont: his court was the seat of learning, justice, and magnificence. The Turks, who had adopted the religion and manners of the Arabs, studied to conceal from the nations of Asia that they had changed their masters.
2. The emperor Otho III. was succeeded by his cousin Henry II. surnamed the Saint, because he chose to be the last of his family. The Franconian princes, Conrad the Salic, Henry III. and Henry IV. succeeded to the house of Saxony. These emperors possessed as much power as was compatible with the feudal system. Their great vassals were more accustomed to order and obedience than those of France. They enjoyed a large domain and revenue in Germany. Italy, once the mistress, and since the slave of the nations, was treated as a conquered country. The right of granting the investiture of benefices, and even of the see of Rome, became in their hands an inexhaustible source either of power or of profit. Gregory VII. a monk of a daring and obstinate spirit, embraced the pretence of abolishing simony, and the opportunity of delivering himself and his successors from an odious yoke. The emperor was excommunicated and deposed, and these spiritual arms were seconded, either from interested or pious motives, by the Normans, by the Countess Matilda, by the princes of Germany, and even by the sons of Henry. Though he defended himself with vigour, and was victorious in sixty-six battles, the church still maintained the war

war with new resources, and inflexible resolution; and the Roman pontiff exalted his mitre above all the crowns in Europe.

3. In this century, England was twice subdued by foreign invaders. Sweyn the Dane ravaged the country; 1016-1036. but his son Canute, who had embraced Christianity, was acknowledged king by the nation, and shewed himself as mild in peace as he had been terrible in war. The dominion of the Danes expired with the sons of Canute, and Edward the Confessor ascended without opposition the vacant throne. 1042-1066. The more than doubtful testament of this weak prince, the last of the Saxon line, was however the best pretence with which William, the bastard Duke of Normandy, could colour his invasion of England. In the decisive battle of Hastings, the valour of the English was unable to withstand the flower of Europe's chivalry, led on by an experienced general, and supported by the thunder of a papal excommunication. 1066. William secured his conquest, at first by the most gentle, afterwards by the most violent measures. 1066-1087. He attempted to abolish the laws and language of the Anglo-Saxons, and divided their country among the companions of his victory. Fourteen hundred manors, which he reserved for the crown, formed an ample and independent revenue. Sixty thousand knights were bound by duty and interest to support the throne of their benefactor. The government was military; and a military government always verges towards despotism. The only compensation which England received for so many calamities, was a system of manners somewhat more polished, and a more extensive influence on the Continent. The power of William the Conqueror and of his son, William Rufus, eclipsed their sovereigns the kings of France. Robert, Henry I. and Philip I. the successors of Hugh Capet in lineal descent, wanted both talents and opportunity to wrest the prerogatives and provinces of their crown from the great vassals on whose usurpations time had almost bestowed a legal sanction. 1087-1100. 996-1031. 1031-1060. 1060-1102.

The Normans were at that time renowned in arms beyond all the European nations. A few private gentlemen of Normandy, who visited the southern parts of Italy as pilgrims, and served there as mercenaries, soon formed themselves into a little army of conquerors, and erected a formidable power on the ruins of the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Lombards. Robert Guiscard, the greatest of their chiefs, who passed the Alps with only six horsemen and thirty foot, attained the honour of protecting Gregory 1016. 1057-1085.

Gregory VII. and of seeing both the emperors of the West and of the East successively fly before him. His vast projects against the latter of these empires were interrupted only by an untimely death. The devotion, or the policy of the Normans, engaged them to put their conquests under the protection of St. Peter; and, since that time, the kingdom of Naples has been a fief of the church of Rome.

1038. 4. As soon as the caliphate of Spain was destroyed, the Christians emerged from obscurity, and in their turn attacked the Moors or Arabs, now divided into twenty petty sovereignties. While each Mahometan prince defended himself separately, all were vanquished, but the victory was long doubtful and bloody. Every district cost a battle: every city a siege. The siege of Toledo lasted a year, and the reputation of the Spanish general, celebrated in history and romance under the name of the Cid, attracted the bravest knights of Italy and France to his standard. The dominions of his master, Alfonso VI. comprehended both the Castiles, Léon, Biscay, Asturias, and Galicia. The Spanish princes of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia were still confined between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. About 1072. the same time Count Roger, the Norman, brother of Robert Guiscard, expelled the Arabs from the island of Sicily, and pursued them to the coast of Africa.

These advantages were preludes to the great enterprize of the crusades. When we recollect that arms and devotion were the ruling passions of the independent barons and their numerous followers, and that fame, riches, and Paradise were held forth as the sure rewards of this holy warfare, we shall be the less surprized that more than a million of men enlisted under the banner of the Cross. Of this undisciplined multitude, the far greater part perished in Hungary and Asia Minor. Godfrey of Bouillon, and the other Christian leaders, arrived on the banks of the Jordan with only twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but even this handful of warriors was sufficient to recover the holy sepulchre, and to establish a feeble and transitory dominion over Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli, and Edeffa. The French and Normans had the greatest share in the folly and glory of the first crusade, which roused Europe from its long and profound lethargy, and was productive of so much unforeseen benefit to the popes, the kings of France, and the commercial states of Italy.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary adopted the Christian, or rather Popish faith, a
more

more civilized life, and the first rudiments of feudal policy. The conversion of Russia was the work of the Greek church. The Sclavonian tribes on the coasts of the Baltic, from the Elbe to the gulph of Finland, still preserved their ancient religion and savage independence.

The TWELFTH CENTURY.

1100-1200.

THE popes prevailed against their ancient sovereigns the emperors of Germany, and deprived the unfortunate Henry IV. of his dominions, his reputation, his life, and the last honours of a grave. To escape a similar fate, Henry V. resigned the long-contested right of investitures, which was gradually usurped by the Roman pontiff. The clergy, instead of regaining their liberty, soon experienced a yoke, still heavier when imposed by one of their own order. The fictitious donation of Constantine, and the will of Matilda, were likewise asserted by the popes, but with less success; and they found it easier to shake the thrones of other princes than to establish their own temporal dominion. A jealous truce subsisted between the church and empire during the reigns of Lothaire II. and Conrad III. the latter of whom was the first of the house of Swabia. The war was renewed between the emperor Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, and Pope Alexander III. each of whom pretended that the other was his creature and vassal. The cities of Lombardy, enriched by commerce and aspiring to liberty, ranged themselves under the papal banner. Though Frederic maintained his lofty claims with the greatest resolution and ability; though he set up an anti-pope, marched six times into Italy, besieged Rome, and levelled Milan with the ground, yet he was at last obliged to bend before the throne of Alexander, and confirm all the immunities of the Italian confederacy.

1106.

1106-1125.

1121.

1125-1137.

1137-1152.

1152-1190.

1117.

This emperor and his successor Henry VI. were, however, dreaded and obeyed in Germany, now enlarged by the forced conversion of the Vandals of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. In the north of Italy the Imperial authority was almost lost: but in the south, Henry VI. acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by marrying Constantia, the daughter of Roger I. who had united the Norman conquests, and assumed the regal title. A powerful party was unable to resist the right and the arms of Henry, but he sullied his victory with cruelty and avarice.

1190-1193.

1130.

1194.

The kings of France still remained the feeble heads of a great body. In private quarrels, the most inconsiderable

1108-1137. ble baron was able to wage war against his sovereign :
 1124. but when Lewis VI. assembled the national force against
 1137-1180. a foreign enemy, two hundred thousand men appeared
 under the banner of the Oriflamme. Lewis VII. was
 a prince of slender abilities, who lost the great duchy of
 1180-1223. Aquitain by divorcing his wife Eleanor on a jealous sus-
 picion. His minister Suger, and his son Philip Augustus,
 deserve to be considered as the founders of the French
 monarchy. The former was an honest statesman and a
 monk, without the prejudices of a convent. The for-
 tune of the latter was equal to his genius.

1100-1135. In England the weak title of Henry I. youngest son of
 the conqueror, his marriage with a Saxon princess, and
 above all the hand of time, gradually uniting the Normans
 and the English into one people, contributed to abolish
 the memory of the conquest, and to relax the chains of
 1135-1154. despotism. After the death of Henry, England was af-
 flicted with a civil war between his daughter Matilda
 and his nephew Stephen, till at length the contending
 1154-1189. parties acknowledged Henry II. the son of Matilda, an
 active, powerful, and fortunate monarch. From his mo-
 ther he inherited England and Normandy ; from his fa-
 ther, Fulk Plantagenet, the counties of Anjou, Maine,
 and Touraine. By the marriage, which he most eagerly
 contracted with the repudiated Eleanor, he obtained the
 provinces of Aquitain and Poitou. He disposed of the
 duchy of Brittany in favour of his third son Jeffrey.
 The king of Scotland did him homage, the Welch
 1171. dreaded his power, and to the adventurous valour of
 some subjects he was indebted for the sovereignty of Ire-
 land ; a conquest at that time of little value, but which
 now contains more wealth and industry than the exten-
 sive empire of Henry II. His reign was however dis-
 1170. turbed by the ambition, and still more by the murder
 of Becket ; by the intrigues of the French king, and
 by the ingratitude of his sons. Richard the First, the
 1189-1199. second of them, possessed only the personal courage of
 1199-1216. a soldier. John, the youngest, (who usurped the crown
 in prejudice to his nephew Arthur, the son of Jeffrey,)
 was then devoid of that vulgar merit. The crusade and
 captivity of Richard exhausted England, and impoverished
 the crown.

The Christians of Spain acquired a manifest superio-
 rity over the Infidels. The kingdom of Castile was al-
 ready a considerable power, and Alfonso VIII. vainly
 1135. styled himself Emperor of Spain. The little kingdom

of Navarre, still remained among the Pyrenees ; but the kings of Arragon (one of whom married the heiress of Catalonia) descended from the mountains into the plain, took Saragossa, and carried their arms to the frontiers of Castile and Valentia. The progress of the kingdom of Portugal was still more rapid. A prince of the house of France had received from Alfonso VI. the city of *Porto Calle*, with the title of Count ; his successor assumed that of king, took Lisbon, with the assistance of some English and Flemish crusaders, and subdued the western coast of Spain, from Galicia to the Algarves. All these victories were attended with the greater difficulty and glory, as the Moors, both of Spain and Africa, were united under the empire of the Miramolins ; in whom were revived the zeal, the valour, the learning, and the magnificence of the caliphs. Their capitals, Fez and Morocco, were superior to any cities in Christendom.

1162.

1118.

1139.

Each state, unconnected with its neighbours, had its own revolutions ; but the expeditions to Palestine were the common business of Europe. Though the sermons of St. Bernard excited a second crusade more formidable than the first, the far greater part of the numerous armies which followed the emperor Conrad and Lewis VII. of France, perished by the artifices of the Greeks, and the arms of the Turks ; and those monarchs appeared in the Holy Land rather as pilgrims than as conquerors. The most dangerous enemy of the Christians was Saladin, who abolished the Fatimite caliphs, and raised himself from a private station to the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria. Zeal and policy forbade him to suffer a Christian kingdom in the heart of his dominions. Jerusalem yielded to his arms, and the Christians experienced a generous treatment, as unexpected as it was undeserved. The news of this loss filled Europe with shame, grief, and indignation. Suspending their domestic quarrels, the military force of Germany, France, and England marched into the East, under their respective monarchs. Frederic Barbarossa died in Asia Minor, in a career of useless victories. Philip Augustus, and Richard I. who preferred the safer but more expensive method of transporting their troops by sea, took the inconsiderable town of St. John D'Acre after a siege of two years. This third crusade was followed by the death of Saladin, who left a name admired in Asia, dreaded and esteemed in Europe.

1171.

1187.

1189.

1191.

1193.

The provinces beyond the Tigris no longer obeyed the house of Seljuk. New princes (to use the Eastern expression) had arisen from the dust before their throne. A race

1192.
1136-1160. of slaves, the governors, afterwards sultans of Carizme, enriched by their favour, and spared by their clemency, deprived the last of these monarchs of his sceptre and life. The caliphs of Bagdad, with a juster title, had recovered their independence and the adjacent provinces of Irak. Two younger branches of the house of Seljuk still reigned in Kerman and Asia Minor.

Under the feudal system, the rights, natural as well as civil, of mankind, were enjoyed only by the nobles and ecclesiastics, who scarcely formed the thousandth part of the community. In this century they were gradually diffused among the body of the people. The cities of Italy acquired full liberty : the greater towns of Germany, England, France and Spain became legal corporations, and purchased immunities more or less considerable ; even the peasant began to be distinguished from the rest of the cattle on his lord's estate.

With the liberty of Europe its genius awoke ; but the first efforts of its growing strength were consumed in vain and fruitless pursuits. Ignorance was succeeded by error. The civil and canon jurisprudence were blindly adopted, and laboriously perverted. Romances of chivalry, and monkish legends still more fabulous, supplied the place of history. The dreams of astrology were dignified with the name of astronomy. To discover the philosopher's stone was the only end of chymistry. Superstition, instead of flying before the light of true philosophy, was involved in thicker darkness by the scholastic phantom which usurped its honours. The two great sources of knowledge, nature and antiquity, were neglected and forgotten.

1200-1300.

The THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

WE may now contemplate two of the greatest powers that have ever given laws to mankind ; the one founded on force, the other on opinion : I mean the Tartar conquerors, and the Roman pontiffs.

The Moguls.
1203.

Birth-right, election, personal merit, force of arms, and some claims to a divine mission, invested Zingis Khan with the absolute command of all the Tartar Mogul tribes. As soon as he had introduced a degree of order and discipline among his barbarous host, he invaded the empire of China, took Pekin, and subdued the northern provinces. From thence he marched into Persia against Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, who, by putting to death the Mogul ambassadors,

1211.

1218.

fadors, drew ruin on himself, his family, and his dominions. From the Jaxartes to the Tigris, nothing could withstand the numbers and fury of the Moguls. Carizme, Bochara, Samarcand, &c. were levelled with the ground, and the rich provinces to the east and to the south of the Caspian Sea were changed from a garden to a desert. Zingis died loaded with the spoils and curses of Asia. His successors trod in the same paths of rapine and conquest. About the same time, one army of Moguls completed the reduction of the northern empire of China, and penetrated to the farthest point of Corea, almost within sight of the shores of Japan; a second over-ran Russia, Poland, and Hungary, threatened Constantinople, and won the battle of Lignitz in Silesia; a third army took Bagdad, destroyed the empire of the caliphs, and laid waste Asia Minor and Syria. The Mogul princes of Persia and the Western Tartary long hesitated between the Gospel and the Alcoran. Their conversion would have been of greater benefit to the church than all the crusades; but at length they preferred the faith of Mahomet, and renounced all intercourse with the great Khan, who still adhered to the worship of the Dalai Lama. Cublai Khan, the grandson and fourth successor of Zingis, united, by the extinction of the dynasty of the South, the whole Chinese monarchy with Eastern Tartary, adopted the laws and manners of the conquered people, encouraged the arts and artists of every nation, and is reckoned by the Chinese themselves among their best emperors.

1227.

1234.

1258.

1292.

1273.

The Roman pontiffs claimed an universal monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual; and maintained that all inferior powers, emperors, kings, and bishops, derived from the chair of St. Peter their delegated authority. Of all the popes, none asserted these lofty pretensions with more spirit and success than Innocent III. By establishing the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the tribunal of the Inquisition, he obtained the two most memorable victories over the common sense and common rights of mankind. He reduced the schismatic Greeks, exterminated the Albigeois heretics, despoiled Raymond count of Thoulouse of his dominions, excommunicated two emperors, a king of France, and a king of England; the last of whom confessed himself the vassal and tributary of the see of Rome. Innocent reigned in Rome as the successor of Constantine, and in Naples as the natural guardian of young Frederic the son of Henry the Sixth; who, after Philip of Suabia and Otho IV., was acknowledged Emperor of Germany.

The popes

1198-1216.

The empire.
1215-1250. The superior abilities of Frederic II., his Italian education, the Imperial sceptre, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the vast possessions of the House of Suabia, rendered him formidable to the popes, who, unmindful of their accustomed policy, had rather assisted than checked his elevation. This fatal error could be retrieved only by the destruction of the House of Suabia, and the design was prosecuted during more than forty years with a constancy worthy of the ancient senate. The Roman pontiffs seized the first ground of dispute, rejected all terms of peace, and convinced both their friends and their enemies that they were resolved either to perish or to conquer. The parties of the church and of the empire, under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellins, divided and desolated Italy. Amidst this confusion, Innocent IV. solemnly deposed Frederic in the council of Lyons, and pursued that unfortunate monarch to the grave. After his decease, the name of emperor was assumed for a short time by his son Conrad IV., and the kingdom of Naples was defended by his bastard Mainfroy, till the papal arms were entrusted to Charles count of Anjou, the brother of Lewis IX. Followed by the bravest and most pious warriors of Christendom, that active prince passed the Alps, and in a single battle deprived Mainfroy of his sceptre and his life. Conradin, the grandson of Frederic, and the last of that unhappy line, lost his head on a scaffold at Naples, after a brave, but unsuccessful attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. His blood was soon revenged by the blood of eight thousand French in the Sicilian vespers, who fell the just victims of their licentious insolence. A long and bloody quarrel commenced between the House of Arragon, which was called by the oppressed people to the throne of Sicily, and the House of Anjou, which still remained in possession of Naples.

Italy. The free cities of Italy, now delivered from the German yoke, began to enjoy and to abuse the blessings of wealth and liberty. Of a hundred independent republics, every one, except Venice, was destitute of a regular government, and torn by civil dissensions. The Guelphs and the Ghibellins, the nobles and the commons, contended for the sovereignty of their country. The most trifling incident was sufficient to produce a conspiracy, a tumult, and a revolution. Among these troubles, the dark, insidious, vindictive spirit of the Italians was gradually formed.

Germany. In Germany, the death of Frederic II. was succeeded by a long anarchy. The prerogatives and domains of the emperors were usurped by the great vassals. Every gentleman

gentleman exercised round his castle a licentious independence ; the cities were obliged to seek protection from their walls and confederacies ; and from the Rhine and Danube to the Baltic the names of Peace and Justice were unknown. It was at length discovered, that without an appearance of union the Germanic body could not subsist. The great princes, who began to assume the title of *electors*, agreed to invest a first magistrate with the dignity, but not with the power, of their ancient emperors. Their jealous caution successively fixed on Rodolph count of Hapsburgh, and Adolph count of Nassau ; whose fortune was far inferior to their birth and personal merit. The former, however, who was father of the House of Austria, transmitted to his son Albert such ample hereditary dominions, as enabled him to form a party against the emperor Adolph, to wrest from him the sceptre, and to display that ambitious pride which has ever since been the characteristic of that family. 1272-1291.
1292-1298.

The aggrandisement of the French monarchy bore the appearance of an act of justice. Philip Augustus summoned John, king of England and peer of France, before the parliament of Paris, to justify himself of the murder of his nephew Arthur. The parliament punished the contumacious vassal by the confiscation of his fiefs, and the king executed the sentence before the indignation of the other peers could subside into a sense of their common interest. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou were united to the crown. Aquitain, or Guyenne, still remained in the hands of the English. The victory of Philip over the empire was more splendid, but less useful. In the decisive and well-fought battle of Bovines, he defeated Otho IV. at the head of two thousand Germans. His navy threatened England ; and his son Lewis, afterwards Lewis VIII., was for a time acknowledged king by the English nation. The reign of that prince was short and inglorious : but France owes as much to the laws of Lewis IX. as to the arms of Philip Augustus his grandfather. Lewis IX., notwithstanding he has been disgraced by the title of Saint, possessed uncommon virtues and abilities. To abolish private hostilities, and judicial combats ; to introduce an uniform and equitable jurisprudence ; to receive appeals from the barons' courts ; to protect and extend the liberties of the people ; to acquire the esteem and confidence of his neighbours, were the honest arts of his wise policy. Notwithstanding his mad passion for the crusades (the only blemish of this accomplished character), he left his son, Philip III. surnamed the Bold, the most 1298-1308.

France.
1180-1223.
1203.
1204.
1214.
1213.
1216.
1223-1226.
1226-1270.
1270-1285.

1271. most flourishing kingdom of Europe, which was soon augmented by the re-union of the rich county of Thoulouse.
- 1285-1315. Philip III. was succeeded by his son Philip IV. surnamed the Fair.
- England. To break the fetters which had been forged at the Norman conquest was the great business of the English barons. John, whose misfortunes deserve no pity, lost his reputation and foreign power by his contests with Rome and France; and his domestic authority, by signing Magna Charta, which contains the rude outlines of British freedom.
1215. The fifty-six years of his son Henry III. were a long minority; during which, the reins of government were successively resigned to foreign favourites, and usurped by the turbulent barons, under their leader Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester. Edward I. then only the heir apparent, rescued his father, vanquished Montfort and his adherents in the field, and restored the royal authority; but his good sense soon taught him to respect the new barriers raised against it, to confirm Magna Charta, and to desist from a rash attempt to resume the alienated crown-lands. Amidst these troubles, the House of Peers became less numerous and more powerful; the Commons were admitted to a share of the legislature, the common law and courts of justice received their present form, and the first statutes were enacted against the avarice of Rome. Edward the First, to whose wisdom we owe many of those advantages, conceived, and almost executed, the great design of uniting the whole island under one dominion. The Welch lost their ancient independence, but for several ages preserved their savage manners. The throne of Scotland was disputed, almost with equal claims, by several candidates. Edward, who was acknowledged as umpire, awarded the crown to Baliol, the most obsequious of the competitors, treated him first as a vassal, and soon afterwards as a rebel; endeavoured by every expedient to break the spirit of a haughty nation, and fulfilled his glorious end, by the injustice and cruelty of the means which he used to attain it.
- 1283.
- 1291.
- 1292.
- 1296.
- 1298.
- Spain. The empire of the Miramolins was destroyed by the greatest battle ever fought between the Moors and the Christians. The latter pursued their advantage; Seville and Cordova were taken, and the provinces of Estramadura, Andalusia, and Murcia were, in about forty years, annexed to the crown of Castile. The kings of Arragon were not less successful. They wrested from the Moors the fertile kingdom of Valencia, and established a naval power by the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca. The bravest
- 1212.
- 1236-1248.
- 1238.
- 1229.

bravest of the Moors took refuge in the kingdom of Grenada, and displayed as much industry in the improvement, as they exerted valour in the defence of this last remnant of their extensive conquests. The kings of Castile who acquired the greatest reputation were Ferdinand III., and Alphonso the astronomer; the former for his political wisdom, the latter for his speculative knowledge.

Four great crusades, besides many smaller expeditions, were undertaken in this century; but though Palestine was still the object of the war, it was no longer the scene of action. The French and Venetians of the fourth crusade turned their arms against the schismatic Greeks, took Constantinople, and divided the empire. Constantinople was indeed recovered by the Greeks, but the trade and dominions which had once belonged to that capital were irretrievably lost. John de Brienne, a soldier of fortune, and titular king of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt, took Damietta (the old Pelusium) after a siege of two years; but soon thought himself happy to purchase a safe retreat, by surrendering that important place. The crusade of Lewis IX. was more splendid at first; but, in the end, more unfortunate. It seemed impossible that Egypt, subdued as often as it had been attacked, should withstand a young hero, at the head of sixty thousand valiant enthusiasts. The army was, however, destroyed, and the French monarch remained a prisoner among the infidels. Rather from a vague passion of combating the Mahometans, than from any rational prospect of recovering the Holy Land, Lewis IX. led another crusade to Africa, and died of the plague under the walls of Tunis. The few places yet held by the Christians on the coast of Syria were swept away by the sultans, the successors, but no longer the descendants of Saladin. The Mamalukes, a body of Circassian and Tartar slaves, had dethroned their masters, usurped the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria, and established a military government, oppressive at home, but formidable abroad.

Of these seven great armaments, which shook Asia, and depopulated Europe, nothing remained except the kingdom of Cyprus in the House of Lusignan, and the three military orders. The Templars, by their luxury and pride, hastened their dissolution. The Hospitaliers and Teutonic Knights preserved themselves by their valour. The former conquered Rhodes, and are still settled at Malta: the latter formed a great dominion in Prussia and Courland, at the expence of the idolaters, whom they compelled to become Christians

1217-1252.
1252-1284.

The crusades.

1204.

1261.

1218.

1248.

1250.

1270.

1291.

1250.

1307.

1310.

1227-1309.

tians and subjects. A great part of the old nobility of Europe perished in the crusades, their fiefs reverted to their lords, and their place was supplied by new men, raised by wealth, merit, or favour; and who soon imbibed the vanity, though not the independence, of their predecessors.

Learning.

The numerous vermin of mendicant friars, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustins, Carmelites, who swarmed in this century, with habits and institutions variously ridiculous, disgraced religion, learning, and common sense. They seized on scholastic philosophy as a science peculiarly suited to their minds; and, excepting only Friar Bacon, they all preferred words to things. The subtle, the profound, the irrefragable, the angelic, and the seraphic Doctor acquired those pompous titles by filling ponderous volumes with a small number of technical terms, and a much smaller number of ideas. Universities arose in every part of Europe, and thousands of students employed their lives upon these grave follies. The love-songs of the Troubadours, or Provençal bards, were follies of a more pleasing nature, which amused the leisure of the greatest princes, polished the southern provinces of France, and gave birth to the Italian poetry.

The FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1300-1400.
The popes.

1305.

1316-1334.

1377.

1378.

BOTH the popes and the emperors, the conquerors and the vanquished, withdrew from Italy, their field of battle. The former, invited by the kings of France, and disgusted with the rebellious spirit of the Romans, established the papal residence at Avignon during more than seventy years. These French pontiffs were more strongly possessed by the love of money than the love of power. John XXII., by the sale of benefices, indulgencies, and absolutions, accumulated a treasure of twenty-five millions of gold florins. At the repeated solicitations of the Romans, who felt their error when it was too late, Gregory XI. returned to his capital; but his eyes were scarcely closed, when the enraged people surrounded the conclave, threatening the cardinals with instant death unless they chose an Italian pontiff. The affrighted Frenchmen yielded to their fury, but were no sooner at liberty, than they protested against their first election, and nominated one of their own countrymen. Europe was divided between the two rivals. Italy, Germany, and England acknowledged the pope of Rome: France and Spain sided with the pope of Avignon. Each had his adherents, his doctors, his saints, and his miracles; but their mutual excommunications, which at another

another time might have produced a battle of swords, only occasioned a war of pens.

Emperors, whose authority in Germany was so much circumscribed, could not invade with any success the confirmed liberty of the Italians. Henry VII. of Luxembourg, and Lewis V. of Bavaria, entered Rome in triumph; but their triumph was not attended with any solid or permanent advantages. The grandson of Henry of Luxembourg, Charles IV., emperor and king of Bohemia, was invited by the eloquent Petrarch to assume the station and character of the ancient Cæsars. The Bohemian Cæsar marched into Italy; but it was only to see himself excluded from every fortified city as an enemy, or cautiously received as a prisoner. He was crowned at Rome, but quitted it the very day of his coronation; meanly, or perhaps wisely, resigning to the popes all the ancient rights which he derived from Charlemagne and Otho. His son Wenceslaus would gladly (to use his own expression) have relinquished the empire, with its remaining prerogatives, for a few hogshheads of Rhenish or Florence wine.

Although neither leisure, independence, nor ingenuity were wanting to the Italians, they were never able to connect themselves into a system of union and liberty. Naples flourished under the administration of Robert, the grandson of Charles of Anjou, but was almost ruined by his granddaughter Joan. By the murder of her first husband Andrew, she drew down the vengeance of his brother, the stern king of Hungary; by adopting Lewis duke of Anjou, the brother of Charles V., entailed on her dominions a civil war, of which she was herself the first victim. Rome saw, for a moment, her tribunes, her freedom, and her dignity restored by Nicholas Rienzi, whose extraordinary character was a compound of the hero and the buffoon. Florence, like Athens, experienced all the evils incident, or rather inherent, to a wild democracy. The *Venetians* and the *Genoese* wasted each other's strength in naval wars, which allowed not the latter a moment's respite from their intestine dissensions. The free cities of Lombardy and Romagna were oppressed by domestic tyrants, under the specious titles of vicars of the church or of the empire; but these petty usurpers were gradually swallowed up in the power of the Visconti, first lords, and afterwards dukes of *Milan*.

The more phlegmatic Germans, though poor and barbarous, maintained, and even improved, the form of their constitution. Whatever concerned the election and coronation of the emperors, the most fruitful source of civil discord,

The emperors.

1308-1313.

1314-1347.

1347-1378.

1378-1400.

Italy.

1309-1343.

1343-1382.

1347.

1350-1355.

1377-1381.

1317.

1395.

Germany.

1356. cord, was finally regulated by the golden bull published by Charles IV. in a general diet. The title and power of electors were confined to seven great princes, the Archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatin. These electors soon asserted over the emperor Wenceslaus their right of deposing an unworthy sovereign.

Switzerland.

1308. The Swiss owe their reputation to their freedom, and their freedom to their valour. The peasants of three vallies among the Alps, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, oppressed by the officers of the emperor Albert, entered into a strict alliance, at first for seven years, and afterwards for ever. Leopold duke of Austria, and son of Albert, marched against them at the head of twenty thousand men; but was overthrown in the battle of Morgarten by 1300 Swiss. The little communities of Zug and Glaris, and the cities of Lucerne, Zurich, and Berne, gradually acceded to the confederacy which was cemented with the blood of another Duke Leopold, who fell, with the flower of the Austrian nobility, in the battle of Sempach. Zurich and Berne were allowed the first rank among the eight cantons; the former for its wealth, the latter for its military power. In the five rustic communities the government was a pure democracy; in the three cities, it was tempered with a small mixture of aristocracy, which time and circumstances have very much strengthened. The whole commonwealth, disclaiming the tyranny of the House of Austria, retained their ancient allegiance to the German empire.

France.

1303. The constitution of the French monarchy received new strength and harmony from the following events: 1. In the memorable quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, the greater part of the French clergy remembered that they were subjects as well as priests. *The liberties of the Gallican church* were asserted with spirit and success; and the crown was in some degree delivered from a servile dependance on a foreign prelate. 2. *The States General*, composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, were assembled by Philip the Fair, for the first time since the decline of the Carlovingian race. As their meetings were short and irregular, they never acquired the authority of legislators, and their tumultuous opposition commonly subsided into an obsequious compliance with the demands of the court. 3. The parliament of Paris was styled the Court of Peers, and should have been composed of the great vassals of the crown; but as they disdained the humble

ble office of judicature, their place was supplied by the bishops, the barons, and the principal officers, whose noble ignorance was directed by some plebeian assessors. The servants gradually supplanted their masters, combated the violence of the nobility with the subtilties of law, and laboured to erect a pure monarchy on the ruins of the feudal system. For a long time these magistrates held their places only during the king's pleasure. 4. *The Salic law*, though of the most lasting benefit to the monarchy, occasioned the long and destructive wars between France and England. After a series of eleven kings, in lineal and male descent from Hugh Capet, Lewis X. Hutin, was succeeded by his brothers Philip V. and Charles IV., and afterwards by his first cousin, Philip VI. of Valois, on the acknowledged principle that females were incapable of inheriting the crown of France. Whether that principle be admitted or rejected, the claim of Edward III. of England is equally indefensible. The question was not, however, decided by arguments, but by arms. Both nations signalized their valour in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers; but the discipline of the English triumphed over the numbers of the French. The captivity of John, who had succeeded to the crown and misfortunes of his father Philip, exposed France to a total dissolution of government, with all its attendant calamities. However, though Edward was able to ruin, he was unable to conquer that great kingdom. By the treaty of Bretigny, he accepted of three millions of gold crowns, the city of Calais, and seven provinces adjacent to Guyenne; but the last were soon wrested from him by the arms and policy of Charles V., whose wise administration healed the wounds of his country. They bled afresh under his unhappy son Charles VI.: first a minor, and afterwards deprived of his senses, he was ever a victim of the ambition and avarice of his uncles. In this century, Champagne and Dauphiné, the first by inheritance and treaty, the second by donation, were re-united to the crown.

The iron fetters, in which Edward I. seemed for ever to have bound Scotland, were broken by the valour and fortune of Robert Bruce, a descendant of the ancient kings. To resist the heroic leader of a brave nation, combating for freedom and a throne, required all the powerful genius of Edward I., and was a task by far too arduous for his feeble son. The victory of Bannocks Boarn secured to Robert a sceptre, which, by the marriage of his daughter, was transmitted to the House of Stuart. Edward II., vanquished by his enemies, despised by his subjects, governed by his favourites,

1314-1317.

1317-1322.

1322-1328.

1328-1350.

1346-1356.

1350-1364.

1360.

1369.

1364-1380.

1380-1422.

England:

1306.

1307-1327.

1315.

1371.

vourites, betrayed by his brother, his wife, and his son, descended from a throne to a prison, and from a prison to an untimely grave. The English dwell with rapture on the trophies of Edward III. and his gallant son the Black Prince; on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers; and on the kings of France and Scotland, at the same time prisoners in London. To a thinking mind, Edward's encouragement of the woollen manufacture is of greater value than all these barren laurels. Richard II., son of the Black Prince, affords the second instance in this century of an English king deposed and murdered by his subjects. The House of Commons acquired its present form, and a dignity unknown to the third estate in any other country, by the junction of the knights of shires, or representatives of the lesser nobility, who, about this time, separated themselves from the peers. After the deposition of Richard, Henry IV. son of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III., usurped the crown. The posterity of the second son, Lionel of Clarence, was disregarded, but still existed latent in the House of York.

1327-1377.

1377-1399.

1399.

Spain.

1366-1368.

The Mahometan kingdom of Grenada, and the four Christian monarchies of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, preserved their respective laws and limits. The constitution of the Christian states was suited to the haughty and generous temper of the people. The judiciary of Arragon, a name dreadful to royal ears, possessed the noble but dangerous privilege of declaring *when* the subjects were justified in taking arms against their sovereign. The Castilians, without waiting for the sentence of a magistrate, knew how to resist a tyrant, either in the *Cortez* or in the field. The civil war between Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, and his brother Henry occasioned a great revolution, in which France and England took the opposite sides, rather from a wild love of enterprize, than from any rational motives of policy. After several turns of fortune the bastard was victorious, transmitted the crown to his posterity, and ratified a strict union with his French allies; binding France and Castile to each other, king to king, people to people, and man to man.

Africa, relapsing into its native barbarism, no longer merits our attention. Egypt and Syria continued to groan under the tyranny of the Mamalukes; although some of those sultans corrected, by their personal virtues, the defects of their institution. In the East, two formidable powers arose. The greatness of the Othman Turks was gradual and permanent; the conquests of Timur were rapid and transitory.

During

During the anarchy which overspread Asia Minor on the fall of the Seljukian dynasty, the Greeks recovered many of the maritime places, and every Turkish emir made himself independent within his jurisdiction. Othman first erected his standard near Mount Olympus in Bithynia; and as he commanded only a small tribe of shepherds and soldiers, he was branded with the name of robber. A more numerous army, and the reduction of Nice, Nicomedia, and Prusa, bestowed on his son Orcan the appellation of Conqueror. The imprudent Greeks, in the madness of civil discord, invited the Turks, opened the Hellespont, and betrayed Christendom. Adrianople became the capital of the Othman power in Europe; and the Eastern empire, reduced to the suburbs of Constantinople, was pressed on either side by the arms of Amurath I. That sultan instituted the janizaries, a body of infantry, from their arms, discipline, and enthusiasm, almost invincible. The flower of the Christian youth, torn in infancy from their parents, were gradually aggregated to the Turkish nation, after they had lost, in the severe education of the seraglio, all memory of their former country and religion. Bajazet I. deserved his surname of Ilderim, or Lightning, by the rapid impetuosity with which he flew from the Euphrates to the Danube. He triumphed by turns over the Mahometans of Asia Minor, and the Christians of Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, and Greece; and the total defeat of an army of French in the battle of Nicopolis, spread the terror of his name to the most remote parts of Europe.

The Turks.

1300-1326.

1326-1360.

1360-1389.

1389-1402.

1396.

Timur, or Tamerlane, raised himself from a private, though not a mean condition, to the throne of Samarcand. His first dominions lay between the Jaxartes and the Oxus in the country called Sogdiana by the ancients, Maurenahar by modern Persians, and by the Tartars Zagatay, from one of the sons of Zingis. The lawful successor of Zagatay, rather mindful of his situation than of his descent, served with humble fidelity in the army of the usurper. After reducing the adjacent provinces of Carizme and Khorasan, Timur invaded Persia, and extinguished all the petty tyrants who had started up since the decline of the House of Zingis. The khan of the Western Tartary (who ruled the kingdoms of Cazan and Astracan, and exacted a tribute from the grand duke of Muscovy) was unable to elude the pursuit, or to resist the arms of Timur. From the deserts of Siberia he marched to the banks of the Ganges, and returned from Dehli to Samarcand laden with the treasures of Hindostan. He knew how to reign as well as how to conquer.

Timur,

1369-1405.

1335.

conquer. Although very profuse of the blood of his enemies, he was careful of the lives and property of his subjects. He loved magnificence and society : encouraged the arts, and was versed in the Persian and Arabian literature. His zeal for the Mussulman faith inflamed his natural cruelty against the Gentoos of India and the Christians of Georgia.

1370.

The empire of the Moguls in China, founded on violence, and maintained by policy, was at length dissolved by its own weakness. The Chinese placed a dynasty of their countrymen on the throne, whilst the Tartars, returning to the pastoral life of the desert, gradually recovered the martial spirit which they had lost amidst the arts and luxury of the conquered provinces.

Commerce.

A more diffusive commerce began to connect the European nations by their mutual wants and conveniencies ; the discovery of the compass inspired navigators with greater boldness and security. The Hanseatic cities of Prussia and Saxony formed a powerful association, engrossed the fishery, iron, corn, timber, hides, and furs of the North ; and contended for the sovereignty of the Baltic with the kings of Denmark and Sweden. The exchange of money, the finer manufactures, and the trade of the East, were in the hands of the Italians. The merchants of Venice and of Dantzic met at the common mart of Bruges, which soon became the warehouse of Europe. The Flemings, animated by the spectacle of wealth and industry, applied themselves with great ardour to the useful arts, and particularly to the making broad cloth, linen, and tapestry.

Literature.

The advantages of trade were common to several nations ; but the pleasures and glory of literature were confined to the Italians, or rather to a few men of genius, who emerged from an ignorant and superstitious multitude. The writings of Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch, for ever fixed the Italian language. The first displayed the powers of a wild but original genius : the Decameron of the second contains a just and agreeable picture of human life. A few stanzas on Laura and Rome have immortalized the name of Petrarch, who was a patriot, a philosopher, and the first restorer of the Latin tongue, and of the study of the ancients. If any barbarian on this side the Alps deserves to be remembered, it is our countryman Chaucer, whose Gothic dialect often conceals natural humour and poetical imagery.

The

The FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1400-1500.

AFTER breaking the power of the Mamalukes, and ruining the cities of Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, Timur advanced towards the frontiers of Bajazet. The situation and character of the two monarchs rendered a war inevitable. The armies met in the plains of Angora, and the contest was decided in the Tartar's favour, by the total defeat and captivity of his rival. After this victory, the empire of Timur extended from Moscow to the Gulph of Persia, and from the Hellespont to the Ganges; but his ambition was yet unsatisfied: death surprised him as he was preparing to invade China, to assert the cause of his nation and of his religion. His feeble successors, far from meditating new conquests, saw province after province gradually escape from their dominion, till a few cities near the Oxus were the only patrimony that remained to the House of Timur.

Timur.

1402.

1405.

1470.

The Turks had been defeated, but not subdued. As soon as Timur was no more, they collected their scattered forces, replaced their monarchy on its former basis, and under the conduct of Mahomet I. were again victorious both in Europe and Asia. Amurath II. swayed the Othman sceptre with the abilities of a great monarch, and twice resigned it with the moderation of a philosopher. He was forced from his retreat to chastise the perfidy of Ladislaus king of Hungary, who, at the instigation of the court of Rome, had violated a solemn truce. That act of justice was most completely executed in the decisive battle of Warna, which was fatal to the king, to the papal legate, and to the whole Christian army. The little empire of Trebizond, and the other independent provinces of Greece and Asia Minor, soon experienced the same fate. Though Mahomet was obliged to raise the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, though he was for a long time stopped by Scanderbeg in the mountains of Albania, yet his arms were generally successful from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, on the banks of which he vanquished Uzun Hassan, a Turcoman prince, who had usurped Persia from the posterity of Timur. The conquest of Rome and Italy was the great object of Mahomet's ambition; and a Turkish army had already invaded the kingdom of Naples, when the Christians were delivered from this imminent danger by the seasonable death of Mahomet, and the inactive disposition of his son Bajazet II. But the valour and discipline of the Turks were still formidable

The Turks.

1413-1421.

1421-1451.

1444.

1453.

1451-1481.

1462.

1481-1512.

dable to Christendom, and the passion for crusades had ceased at the very time when it might have been approved by reason and justice.

Popes and
councils.

1409.

1414-1418.

The council of Pisa, by the election of a third pontiff, multiplied, instead of extinguishing, the evils of the great schism. The council of Constance, in which the five great nations of Europe were represented by their prelates and ambassadors, acted with greater vigour and effect. They rejected the defective title of two pretenders, and judicially deposed the third, by whose authority they were assembled. The election of Martin V. restored peace to the church; but the spirit of independence, which had animated the fathers of Constance, revived in the council of Basil. The assembled bishops of Christendom attempted to limit the despotic power which the bishop of Rome had usurped over his brethren; but the treasures of the church, distributed with a skilful hand, silenced the opposition; and nothing remains of those famous councils but a few decrees, revered at Paris, detested and dreaded at Rome. Amongst these disorders, the laity of some countries discovered as much discontent at the riches of the clergy, as the clergy expressed at the power of the popes. John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, two Bohemian doctors, who taught principles not very different from those of the Protestants, were committed to the flames by the council of Constance, before which they appeared under the sanction of the public faith. From their ashes arose a civil war, in which the Bohemians, inflamed by revenge and enthusiasm, for a long time inflicted and suffered the severest calamities.

1432-1443.

1415.

Italy.

Italy, undisturbed by foreign invasions, maintained an internal balance, through a series of artful negotiations and harmless wars, attended with scarcely any effusion of blood. The sword, which had fallen from the hands of the Italian sovereigns, was taken up by troops of independent mercenaries, who acknowledged no tie but their interest, nor any allegiance except the leaders of their own choice. The five principal powers were, the popes, the kings of Naples, the dukes of Milan, and the republics of Florence and Venice. 1. The popes, after the council of Constance and Basil, applied themselves to reconcile the Roman people to their government, and to extirpate the petty usurpers of the ecclesiastical state.— 2. Their great sief the *kingdom of Naples* was the theatre of a long civil war between the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. It flourished under the administration of Alphonso the

1442-1458.

Wife,

Wife, who preferred Italy to his Spanish dominions. 1458-1494
 Ferdinand his natural son succeeded him in Naples only,
 oppressed the barons, protected the people, and was de-
 livered by a seasonable death from the arms of Charles
 VIII. king of France. 3. After the death of the last of 1448.

the Visconti, the duchy of Milan, superior in value to
 several kingdoms, was claimed by the duke of Orleans in 1450-1466.

right of his mother ; but was usurped by Francis Sforza,
 the bastard of a peasant, and one of the most renowned
 leaders of the mercenary bands ; who, with a policy equal
 to his valour, left Milan the peaceable inheritance of his
 family. 4. The elevation of the Medici was the more
 gradual effect of prudence and industry : Cosmo the fa- 1433-1464
 ther of his country, and Lorenzo the father of the muses, 1472-1492.

in the humble station of citizens and merchants, revived
 learning, governed Florence, and influenced the rest of
 Italy. The old forms of the commonwealth were pre-

served, and it was only by an unusual tranquillity that the
 Florentines could be sensible of the loss of their freedom.

5. The wisdom of the Venetian senate, the arts and opu-
 lence of Venice, an extensive commerce, a formidable
 navy, the possession of a long tract of sea-coast in Dalma-
 tia, with the islands of Candia, Cyprus, &c. formed the
 natural strength of a republic respected in Europe as the
 firmest bulwark against the Turkish arms. The impru-
 dent conquests in Lombardy, from which the Venetians
 were not able to refrain ; the Friul, Padua, Vicenza,
 Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo, drained the treasury of
 St. Mark, and excited the jealousy of the Italian powers.

The reign of the emperor Robert Count Palatin was
 obscure and inglorious. Though Sigismund of Luxem-
 bourg presided with some dignity at the council of Con-
 stance, his administration was rather busy than active.
 After his death, the Imperial crown returned for ever to
 the House of Austria, first in the person of Albert II. and
 then of Frederic III. ; the latter possessed the title of em-
 peror above half a century without either authority or
 reputation. Germany was without influence in Europe ;
 but judicious foreigners began to discover the latent
 powers of that great body, when once roused into action
 by the necessity of its own defence. - The levity of Maxi- 1493-1519.
 milian I. engaged him in perpetual wars and treaties,
 which commonly ended in his disappointment and confu-
 sion. However, he may be considered as the founder of the
 Austrian greatness, by his marriage with Mary of Burgun-
 dy ; and as the founder of the *public law*, by his useful
 institutions of the circles and of the Imperial chamber.

England.

The usurpation of the House of Lancaster was supported by the fortune and abilities of Henry IV. His warlike son Henry V. asserted, by the victory of Azincourt the claim of the Plantagenets to the French monarchy. The conquest of it was a task much too difficult for a prince whose revenue did not exceed an hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money, and whose subjects were neither able nor willing to make any extraordinary efforts to render England in the end a province of France. The vindictive spirit of Queen Isabella, and of Philip duke of Burgundy, betrayed their country and posterity. The English monarch was *solicited* to sign the treaty of Troyes, and to accept, with the hand of the princess Catharine, the quality of regent and heir of France. His infant son Henry VI. was proclaimed at Paris as well as at London. His reign was a series of weakness and misfortunes. The French conquests were gradually lost, and the English barons returned into their island exasperated against each other, habituated to the power and licence of war, and as much discontented with the monkish virtues of Henry, as with the masculine spirit and foreign connections of his queen Margaret of Anjou. The pretensions of Richard duke of York, and of his son Edward IV., inflamed the discontent into civil war. Hereditary right was pleaded against long possession; the banners of the white and red roses met in many a bloody field, and the votes of parliament varied with the chance of arms. Edward of York assumed the title of king, revenged the death of his father, and triumphed over the Lancastrian party: but no sooner was the imprudent youth seated on the throne, than he cast away the friendship of the great earl of Warwick, and with it the English sceptre. That warlike and popular nobleman, impatient of indignities, drove Edward into exile, and brought back Henry (scarcely conscious of the change) from the tower to the palace. Edward's activity soon retrieved his indiscretion. He landed in England with a few followers, called an army to his standard, obtained the decisive victories of Barnet and Tewksbury, and suffered no enemy to live who might interrupt the security and pleasure of his future reign. The crimes of Richard III., who ascended the throne by the murder of his two nephews (Edward V. and his brother), reconciled the parties of York and Lancaster. Henry Tudor earl of Richmond was invited over from Brittany as the common avenger, vanquished and slew the tyrant in the field of Bosworth, and uniting the two roses by his marriage with the eldest daughter of Edward IV., gave England a prospect

of fiercer days. The kingdom had however suffered less than might be expected from the calamities of civil war. The frequent revolutions were decided by one or two battles; and so short a time was consumed in actual hostilities as allowed not any foreign power to interpose his dangerous assistance: no cities were destroyed, as none were enough fortified to sustain a siege. The churches, and even the privilege of sanctuaries were respected, and the revenge of the conquerors was commonly confined to the princes and barons of the adverse party, who all died in the field or on the scaffold. The power and estates of this old nobility were gradually shared by a multitude of new families enriched by commerce, and favoured by the wise policy of Henry VII.; but between the depression of the aristocracy and the rise of the commons, there was an interval of unresisted despotism.

The factions of Burgundy and Orleans, who disputed the government of Charles VI., filled France with blood and confusion. The duke of Orleans was treacherously murdered in the streets of Paris, and John duke of Burgundy, who avowed and justified the deed, was some years afterwards assassinated in the presence, and probably with the consent of the young Dauphin. That prince, persecuted by his mother, disinherited by the treaty of Troyes, and on every side pressed and surrounded by the victorious English, assumed the title of Charles VII. on his father's death, and appealed, though with little hopes of success, to God and his sword. The French monarchy was on the brink of ruin, but like the Ottoman empire in the same century, rose more powerful from its fall. A generous enthusiasm first revived the national spirit, and awakened the young monarch from his indolent despair. A shepherdess declared a divine commission to raise the siege of Orleans, and to crown him in Rheims. She performed her promises; and the consternation of the English was still greater than their loss. The genius of Charles, seconded by his brave and loyal nobility, seemed to expand with his fortune. The duke of Burgundy was reconciled to his kinsman and sovereign, Paris opened its gates with willing submission, and at length, after some years of languid operations or imperfect truces, the French recovered Normandy and Guyenne, and left the English no footing in their country beyond the walls of Calais. The last years of Charles VIII's reign were employed in reforming and regulat-

France.

ing the state of the kingdom. He is the first modern prince who has possessed a military force in time of peace, or imposed taxes by his sole authority. The former composed of 1500 lances, who with their followers made a body of 9000 horse. The latter did not exceed 360,000 pounds sterling. This great alteration was introduced without opposition, and felt only by its consequences, which gradually affected all Europe.

The feudal system, weakened, in France, by these innovations, was annihilated by the severe despotism of Lewis XI., into whom the soul of Tiberius might seem to have passed. As it was his constant policy to level all distinctions among his subjects, except such as were derived from *his* favour, the princes and great nobility took up arms, and besieged him in Paris: but their confederacy, furnished of the *public good*, was soon dissolved by the jealousy and private views of the leaders, few of whom afterwards escaped the revenge of a tyrant, alike insensible to the sanctity of oaths, the laws of justice, or the dictates of humanity. The Gendarmerie of the kingdom was increased to 4000 lances, besides a disciplined militia, a large body of Swiss infantry, and a considerable train of artillery, the use of which had already altered the art of war. The revenue of France was raised to nearly a million sterling, as well by extraordinary impositions, as by the union of Anjou, Maine, Provence, Roussillon, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Artois to the body of the French monarchy; which, under this wise tyrant, began to improve in domestic policy, and to assume the first station in the great republic of Christendom.

The revolution which restored Burgundy to the French monarchy merits more than common attention. Charles the Bold, of the house of France, duke of Burgundy, and sovereign of the Netherlands, was the natural and implacable enemy of Lewis XI. His subjects of Burgundy were brave and loyal; those of Flanders, rich and industrious; his revenue was considerable; his court magnificent; his troops numerous and well disciplined; and his dominions enlarged by the acquisition of Guelders, Alsace, and Lorraine. But his vain projects of ambition were far superior either to his power or his abilities. At one and the same time he aspired to obtain the regal title, to be elected king of the Romans, to divide France with the English, to invade Italy, and to lead

lead a crusade against the Turks. The Swiss Cantons, a name till then unknown in Europe, humbled his pride. Many writers, more attentive to the moral precept than to historic truth, have represented the Swiss as a harmless people, attacked without justice or provocation. Those rude mountaineers were, on the contrary, the aggressors : and it appears by authentic documents, that French intrigues, and even French money, had found a way into the senate of Berne. Lewis XI., who in his youth had experienced the valour of the Swiss, inflamed the quarrel till it became irreconcilable, and then sat down the quiet spectator of the event. The Gendarmerie of Burgundy was discomfited in three great battles, by the firm battalions of Swiss infantry, composed of pikemen and musqueteers. At Granson, Charles lost his honour and treasures ; at Morat, the flower of his troops ; and at Nancy, his life. He left only an orphan daughter, whose rich patrimony Lewis might perhaps have secured by a treaty of marriage. Actuated by passion, rather than sound policy, he chose to ravish it by conquest. Burgundy and Artois submitted without much difficulty ; but the Flemings, exasperated by the memory of ancient injuries, disdained the French yoke, and married their young princess Mary to Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederic III. The Low Countries became the inheritance of the house of Austria, and the subject, as well as theatre, of a long series of wars, the most celebrated that have ever disturbed Europe.

Such was the growing prosperity of France, that even the disturbances of a minority proved favourable to its greatness. Brittany, the last of the great fiefs, escaped a total conquest only by the marriage of Anne, heiress of that great duchy, with Charles VIII., son and successor of Lewis XI. The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy displayed his character, and that of the nation which he commanded. In five months he traversed affrighted Italy as a conqueror, gave laws to the Florentines and the Pope, was acknowledged King of Naples, and assumed the title of Emperor of the East. Every thing yielded to the first fury of the French ; every thing was lost by the imprudence of their councils. The Italian powers, recovered from their astonishment, formed a league with Maximilian and Ferdinand, to intercept the return of Charles VIII. The kingdom of Naples escaped from his hands, and the victory of Fernova only served

Spain.

served to secure his retreat. He died soon afterwards, leaving his kingdom exhausted by this rash enterprize, and weakened by the imprudent cession of Roussillon to the Spaniards, and of Franche-Comté and Artois to the house of Austria.

Spain was hastening to assume the form of a powerful monarchy. Castile and Arragon were first under the same family, and not long afterwards under the same sovereigns. Henry IV., King of Castile, a prince odious for his vices, and contemptible for his weakness, was solemnly deposed in a great assembly of his subjects; who, despising the suspicious birth of his daughter Juanna, placed the crown on the head of Isabella, his sister. The marriage of that princess with Ferdinand of Arragon completed the salutary revolution. The Spaniards celebrate, with reason, the united administration of those monarchs; the manly virtues of Isabella, and the profound policy of Ferdinand the catholic, always covered with the veil of religion, though often repugnant to the principles of justice. After a ten years' war, they executed the great object of delivering Spain from the infidels. The Moors of Granada defended that last possession with obstinate valour, and stipulated, by their capitulation, the free exercise of the Mahometan religion. Public faith, gratitude, and policy ought to have maintained this treaty; and it is a reproach to the memory of the great Ximenes that he urged his masters to violate it. The severe persecutions of the Mahometans, and the expulsion of many thousands of Jewish families, inflicted a deep but secret wound on Spain, in the midst of its glory. The prosperity of Ferdinand and Isabella was embittered by the death of their only son. Their daughter Juanna married the Archduke Philip, (son of the emperor Maximilian, and of Mary of Burgundy), and the great successions of the houses of Austria, of Arragon, and of Castile, were gradually accumulated on the head of Charles V., the fortunate offspring of that marriage.

Columbus.

The dominion of Spain was extended into a new hemisphere, which had never yet been visited by the nations placed on our side of the planet. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, obtained from the ministers of Isabella, after long solicitations and frequent repulses, three small barks and ninety men, with which he trusted himself to the unknown Atlantic. His timid and ignorant sailors

sailors repeatedly exclaimed, that he was carrying them beyond the appointed limits of Nature, whence they could never return. Columbus resisted their clamours, and at the end of thirty-three days from the Canaries, shewed them the Island of Hispaniola, abounding in gold, and inhabited by a gentle race of men. In his subsequent voyages, undertaken with a more considerable force, he discovered many other islands; and saw the great continent of America, of whose existence he was already convinced from speculation.

The discoveries of Columbus were the effort of genius Italy. and courage; those of the Portuguese, the slow-effect of time and industry. They sailed round the continent of Africa; found, by the Cape of Good Hope, a new and more independent route to the East Indies, and soon diverted the commerce of the east from Alexandria and Venice to Lisbon.

A new world was opened to the studious as well as to the active part of mankind. It was scarcely possible for the Italians to read Virgil and Cicero, without a desire of being acquainted with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes. Their wishes were gratified by the assistance of many learned Greeks, who fled from the Turkish arms. The manuscripts which they had saved, or which were discovered in old libraries, were quickly diffused and multiplied by the useful invention of printing, which so much facilitated the acquisition of knowledge. For some time, however, the genius of the Italians seemed overpowered by this sudden accession of learning. Instead of exercising their own reason, they acquiesced in that of the ancients; instead of transfusing into their native tongue the taste and spirit of the classics, they copied, with the most awkward servility, the language and ideas suited to an age so different from their own.

If we turn from letters to religion, the Christian must grieve, and the philosopher will smile. By a propensity natural to man, the multitude had easily relapsed into the grossest polytheism. The existence of a Supreme Being was indeed acknowledged; his mysterious attributes were minutely, and even indecently, canvassed in the schools; but he was allowed a very small share in the public worship, or the administration of the universe. The devotion of the people was directed to the Saints and the Virgin Mary, the delegates, and almost the partners, of his authority. From the extremities of Christendom

tendom thousands of pilgrims, laden with rich offerings, crowded to the temples and statues the most celebrated for their miraculous powers. New legends and new practices of superstition were daily invented by the interested diligence of the mendicant friars ; and as this religion had scarcely any connection with morality, every sin was expiated by penance, and every penance *indulgently* commuted into a fine. The popes, bishops, and rich abbots, careless of the public esteem, were soldiers, statesmen, and men of pleasure ; yet even *such* dignified ecclesiastics blushed at the grosser vices of their inferior clergy.

E S S A I

SUR

L'ÉTUDE

DE LA

LITTÉRATURE

☞ *The following is in Mr. GIBBON's hand-writing, on the back of the title-page of the interleaved copy already mentioned.*

MES amis me firent publier cet ouvrage, pour ainsi dire, malgré moi. Cette excuse banale des auteurs ne l'est point cependant pour moi. Mon père voulut me le faire publier l'hiver passé. Ma jeunesse, et un fonds d'orgueil qui me rend beaucoup plus sensible aux critiques qu'aux éloges, m'empêchèrent de goûter son projet. Mais me trouvant à la campagne avec lui au mois de Mars, il renouvela ses instances d'une manière si vive que je ne pus m'en défendre. M. Mallet me fit connaître un libraire nommé Becket, à qui je cédai mon manuscrit, moyennant quarante exemplaires pour moi. — M. Maty corrigea les feuilles. L'impression de l'ouvrage, entreprise au commencement de Mai, ne fut achevée qu'à la fin de Juin, et mon livre ne se débitoit que vers le milieu du mois suivant. M. Mallet se chargea de la distribution d'une bonne partie des présens que j'avois envie d'en faire. Voici l'extrait d'une lettre qu'il m'écrivit le 9 Juillet 1761.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I HAVE excuted the orders you gave me, and all
“ the books have been delivered some days. Lord Ches-
“ terfield returns you his thanks; I expect in writing,
“ and have had Lady Harvey's in that manner. Lord
“ Hardwicke, with his compliments for the book to
“ himself, assured me he would send the other to his
“ son, and recommend you to his acquaintance. Lord
“ Egremont will be glad to know you, if ever you should
“ think of a journey to Augsbourg. I found Lord Gran-
“ ville reading you, after ten at night; his single appro-
“ bation, which he assures you of, will go for more
“ than that of a hundred other readers. I have gone
“ further, in sending one copy to the Count de Caylus,
“ another to the Ducheſs d'Aiguillon, and in giving a
“ third to M. de Buffy.”

TO EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire.*

DEAR SIR,

NO performance is, in my opinion, more contemptible than a Dedication of the common sort ; when some great man is presented with a book, which, if Science be the subject, he is incapable of understanding ; if Polite Literature, incapable of tasting : and this honour is done him as a reward for virtues, which he neither does, nor desires to possess. I know but two kinds of dedications, which can do honour either to the patron or author. The first is, when an unexperienced writer addresses himself to a master of the art, in which he endeavours to excel ; whose example he is ambitious of imitating ; by whose advice he has been directed ; or whose approbation he is anxious to deserve.

The other sort is yet more honourable. It is dictated by the heart, and offered to some person who is dear to us, because he ought to be so. It is an opportunity we embrace with pleasure of making public those sentiments of esteem, of friendship, of gratitude, or of all together, which we really feel, and which therefore we desire should be known.

I hope, dear Sir, my past conduct will easily lead you to discover to what principle you should attribute this epistle ; which, if it surprises, will, I hope, not displease you. If I am capable of producing any thing worthy the attention of the public, it is to you that I owe it ; to that truly paternal care which, from the first dawns of my reason, has always watched over my education, and afforded me every opportunity of improvement. Permit me here to express my grateful sense of your tenderness to me, and to assure you, that the study of my whole life shall be to acquit myself, in some measure, of obligations I can never fully repay.

I am, dear Sir, with the sincerest affection and regard,

Your most dutiful son, and faithful servant,

E. GIBBON, junior.

May the 28th, 1761.

A V I S A U L E C T E U R.

C'EST un véritable essai que je produis au grand jour. Je souhaiterois me connoître. Ma prévention et celle de quelques amis, m'en inspireroient des idées trop avantageuses, si mon Apollon *, cette voix secrète que je ne puis faire taire, ne m'avertissoit souvent de me défier de leurs éloges. Dois-je me borner à recueillir avec reconnaissance les bienfaits de mes prédécesseurs ? Puis-je espérer d'ajouter quelque chose au trésor commun des vérités ou du moins des idées ? Je tâcherai d'entendre l'arrêt du public et même son silence, et je ne l'entendrai que pour m'y soumettre. Point de Philippiques contre mon siècle, point d'appel à la postérité.

L'envie de justifier une étude favorite, c'est-à-dire, l'amour propre un peu déguisé, fit naître les réflexions suivantes. Je voulois affranchir une science estimable, du mépris où elle languit aujourd'hui. Il est vrai qu'on lit encore les anciens, mais on ne les étudie plus. On n'y apporte plus cette attention, et cet appareil de connoissances que Cicéron et Bossuet exigent de leurs lecteurs. Il est encore des gens de goût, mais il est peu de littérateurs ; et ceux qui savent que les gens de lettres peuvent se passer des récompenses plus aisément que de l'estime du public, ne s'en étonneront point.

C'est un essai, je le répète encore ; ce n'est point un traité complet qu'on va lire. J'ai envisagé la littérature sous quelques points de vûe qui m'avoient frappé. Plusieurs, sans doute, me sont échappés. J'en ai négligé quelques autres. Je ne suis point entré dans la carrière immense des beaux-arts, des beautés qu'ils empruntent de la littérature, et de celles qu'ils lui rendent. Que ne suis-je un Caylus ou un Spence † ! J'éleverois un monument éternel à leur alliance. L'on y verroit l'image de Jupiter éclore dans le cerveau d'Homère, et venir se placer sous le ciseau de Phidias. Mais je ne me suis point dit avec le Corrège ; “ et moi aussi je suis peintre.”

Le 3 Fevrier, 1759.

* ——— Cynthus aurem
Vellit et admonuit.

† Auteur d'un ouvrage nommé Polymetis. La mythologie des poëtes y est combinée avec celle des sculpteurs. Cet ouvrage plein de goût et de savoir mériteroit d'être plus connu en France.

Après

Après avoir gardé, pendant deux ans, ce petit ouvrage, l'amusement de mon loisir à la campagne, je me hazarde enfin à le donner au public. J'ai besoin de son indulgence pour le fond des choses, et pour le langage. Ma jeunesse m'y donne un juste titre pour l'un, et ma qualité d'étranger m'en rend bien nécessaire pour l'autre.

Le 16 Avril, 1761.

A L' A U T E U R.

JE reçois, mon cher MONSIEUR, les feuilles de votre ouvrage, toutes mouillées au sortir de la presse. Le sentiment qui vous engagea à me les communiquer, est passé dans mon cœur. Ne me demandez plus mon jugement, il ne peut être que partial.

Mais le public aura-t-il les yeux d'un ami ? Cet essai de vos forces, ce germe heureux d'ouvrages plus considérables, sera-t-il accueilli, sera-t-il épargné ? inquiétude naturelle à un jeune auteur ! Elle l'honore, elle n'est permise qu'à lui. A Dieu ne plaise que vous perdiez de long tems cette précieuse défiance de l'approbation du public, qui vous mit en état de la mériter ! Si jamais vieux écrivain vous prenez moins de peine, c'est que vous vous connoîtrez mieux et craindrez moins vos juges.

Voudrois-je ôter à la jeune beauté la modeste rougeur qui lui fait méconnoître ses charmes, et qui ne cessera que quand ils ne seront plus ? Non, Monsieur, je ne vous rassure point ; je veux jouir de vos allarmes ; vos censeurs vont paroître ; armez-vous d'intrépidité.

Avez-vous pu croire qu'on pardonneroit à un homme né pour assister aux assemblées tumultueuses du sénat, et à la destruction des renards de sa province, des discussions sur ce qu'on pensa, il y a deux mille ans, sur les divinités de la Grece, et sur les premiers siècles de Rome ? Quoi ! pas la moindre allusion à ce qui se passe de nos jours ! Une brochure, où il n'est question ni de la guerre ni du commerce, où l'on ne prescrit point de limites ni ne propose aucune réduction, où l'on ne fait aucun compliment au prince, ni de leçon à ses ministres ! En vérité je vous admire, et qu'en dira-t-on, je vous le demande, en Hampshire ?

Le

Le Grec doit être laissé au collège et à la roture ; ainsi l'a-t-on peut-être décidé chez nos voisins, et cette mode menace de devenir contagieuse. Je fais que Paris ne se croit pas encore déshonoré d'un Caylus et d'un Nivernois, et que votre île compte avec plaisir ses Lyttelton, ses Marchmont, ses Orrery, ses Bath, ses Granville. Mais vous êtes jeune, et l'on soupçonne ceux que je viens de vous nommer d'être un peu du siècle passé. Vos notes sont savantes, mais qui à Newmarket ou dans le café d'Arthur peut les lire ?

Point d'ordre ni de liaison, dira le géomètre piqué. N'en soyez point surpris, il voit en vous un transfugé. Vous n'avez point donné la pomme à sa Vénus, et il juge un écrit de goût sur le pied des élémens d'Euclide.

Parmi vos critiques je vois le littérateur lui-même. Je ne dirai pas que vous pensez, et lui laissez le soin de recueillir. Je vous respecte trop pour voler ce bon mot à Voltaire. Mais vos notes ne consistent point en corrections de passages. Quel vers d'Aristophane avez-vous restitué ? De quel manuscrit vous appuyez-vous ? D'ailleurs vous envisagez quelques objets sous un point de vue ou nouveau ou singulier. Votre chronologie est celle de Newton ; vous justifiez l'anachronisme de Virgile ; vos Dieux ne sont pas ceux de . . . Craignez sa nouvelle édition ; vous aurez place dans ses notes.

Je ne vous reproche point l'obscurité, dirai-je, ou la profondeur de quelques unes de vos pensées, vos phrases coupées, la hardiesse de vos figures. La nation Académique sera moins facile, et frondera quiconque voudroit vous appliquer une de vos notes *, et l'aveu modeste de l'orateur Romain, en relisant dans l'âge de la maturité, un morceau applaudi de sa jeunesse. *Quantis illa clamoribus, adolescentuli, il avoit 26 ans, diximus de supplicio parricidarum ? quæ nequaquam satis deferbuisse post aliquanto sentire cœpimus . . . Sunt enim omnia, sicut adolescentis, non tam re et maturitate, quam spe et expectatione, laudati †.*

J'ai gardé pour le dernier le plus grand de vos crimes. Vous êtes Anglois, et vous choisissez la langue de vos ennemis. Le vieux Caton frémit, et dans son *Cluio* Antigallican, vous dénonce, le *punch* à la main, un ennemi de la patrie. " Mes chers amis, dit-il, la liberté est

* P. 493.

† Cicero Orator. 29.

prête d'expirer. Ce "peuple, dont nous avons toujours
 " triomphé, regagne par ses artifices plus que ne lui en-
 " lèvent nos armes. N'est-ce pas assez que nous ayons
 " des baladins, des friseurs, des cuisiniers de Paris, qu'on
 " boive dans notre île, qu'on boive des vins, qu'on lise
 " des livres François ; faut-il encore, grands Dieux !
 " est-ce dans le plus haut période de notre gloire qu'un
 " Anglois devoit donner ce premier exemple ? faut-il
 " encore qu'on en écrive ?"

Contre une attaque aussi grave quel rempart vous fe-
 rez-vous ? Trouverez-vous des défenseurs où vous n'a-
 vez point de complices ? Oserai-je élever ma voix, moi,
 qui, Anglois simplement par choix sans l'être de nais-
 sance, n'ai pu, après vingt ans de séjour dans votre île,
 naturaliser ma langue aussi bien que mon cœur ?

Dirai-je ce que Plutarque, à peu près dans le même
 cas que moi, auroit dit, que rien ne fut plus vain que la
 prophétie de l'acre censeur, que le Grec perdrait sa pa-
 trie, puisqu'au contraire elle s'éleva au comble de la
 gloire et du pouvoir dans le tems que les lettres Grec-
 ques et l'érudition étrangère y fleurirent le plus *, que
 ce peuple qui, tant qu'il fut libre, plaça sa grandeur dans
 ce qui seul fait la grandeur d'un peuple, fit venir ses
 grammairiens, mais non ses Généraux de la Grèce, au
 lieu que Carthage y prit ses soldats et ses Généraux, et
 en défendit la langue † ; que Flaminius, Scipion, Caton
 même, . . . mais comme eux je parle Grec à votre hom-
 me. Il ignore également que Cicéron fut initié à Athè-
 nes, et que le nom de Chesterfield se trouve dans les re-
 gistres d'une célèbre Académie de Paris ; il jureroit que
 les Edouards et les Henris ne parlèrent ou du moins ne
 lûrent jamais de François, et si je le pressois, il me sou-
 tiendrait peut-être que le roi de Prusse seroit déjà maître
 de Vienne, s'il n'eût pas écrit, en style de Voltaire, les
 Mémoires du Brandebourg.

Mépriser sa propre langue, rien sans doute de plus hon-
 teux ? Mais la méprise-t-on à moins qu'on ne donne l'ex-
 clusion à toute autre ? Cicéron, qui écrivit l'histoire de
 son consulat en Grec, préféra donc cette langue, lui qui
 n'eut jamais de rival dans la sienne, qui la croyoit, peut-
 être par préjugé, beaucoup plus riche que la Grécque ‡,
 et qui, s'il ne la rendit pas telle, étendit les bornes de sa
 juridiction plus que César celles de l'empire.

S'il étoit vrai que le génie insociable des diverses lan-

* Plutarch. in Cat. Major. † Justin xx. 5. ‡ De Finib. l. iii.

gues empêche celui qui veut les concilier, d'exceller dans aucune, on auroit tort sans doute de s'exposer au risque de corrompre la pureté de celle qui nous est naturelle, sans pouvoir se flatter de réussir dans celle qui ne l'est pas. Mais tant s'en faut que l'expérience ait confirmé cette prétendue crainte des mélanges ; jamais les Romains n'écrivent mieux en Latin qu'au sortir des écoles Grécques. Le morceau de Cicéron, dont j'ai parlé, nous a probablement valu les chef-d'œuvres Latins de Salluste, et sans l'histoire de Polybe, revue par le héros qui avoit été son disciple, nous n'aurions peut-être jamais eu ni Tite Live ni Tacite.

Toute langue, qui se suffit, est bornée. La vôtre, plus que toute autre, s'est enrichie par ses emprunts. Seroit-il impossible que l'Italien ne pût encore la rendre plus douce, l'Allemand plus compréhensive, le François plus précise et plus régulière. Semblables à ces lacs dont les eaux s'épurent et s'éclaircissent par le mélange et l'agitation de celles qu'ils reçoivent des fleuves voisins, les langues modernes ne demeurent vivantes que par leur communication, et si je l'osois dire par leur choc réciproque.

Non, ce n'est point de l'écrivain qui s'exerce à écrire avec pureté dans une langue étrangère, que la sienne a lieu de craindre qu'il ne l'altère mal à propos. Le degré de perfection, auquel elle peut atteindre, est son objet, et l'analogie sa règle. Il connoît trop les richesses de sa langue, pour la charger de mots inutilement transplantés. Il a étudié son caractère, et ne se permet point de constructions forcées, sous prétexte de se faire lire. Respectant même ses bizarreries, il fait qu'un long usage exige de grands ménagemens, et que l'homme sensé ne se distingue jamais beaucoup, et très rarement le premier.

Qui sont donc les véritables corrupteurs des langues ? Ces petits beaux esprits qui, faute de nouvelles idées, n'ont pour se distinguer que leur néologique jargon ; ces jeunes voyageurs qui, de Paris, qu'ils ont mal vû, rapportent et font circuler l'expression du jour qu'ils n'ont pas comprise ; et plus futiles que les uns et les autres, ces demi-savans, qui croient donner du relief à leurs paradoxes, et de la variété à leur style, par l'introduction de synonymes barbares, dont leur dictionnaire leur a, peut-être à grand'peine, indiqué le sens.

Rarement un étranger parvient-il à écrire dans une langue, qui n'est pas la sienne, de manière à n'être pas reconnu.

reconnu. Mais faut-il qu'il ne le soit pas ? Lucullus auroit pu se passer d'affecter des Latinismes, de peur d'être pris pour un Grec, et je ne crois pas que vous vous piquiez d'être moins facile à reconnoître pour un Anglois que Lucullus pour un Romain. Mais c'est cela même qui, aux yeux d'un François, vous donnera un nouveau mérite. Il remarquera un mot, un tour étranger à sa langue, et peut-être souhaitera qu'il ne le fût pas. Ces traits saillans, ces figures hardies, ce sacrifice de la règle au sentiment, et de la cadence à la force, lui caractériseront une nation originale, qui mérite d'être étudiée, et qui gagne toujours à l'être. L'individu ne lui échappera pas, et il saura discerner ce que vous devez à votre îlle, et ce que votre îlle vous doit.

Quand on ne fait qu'une langue, c'est par les traductions seules qu'on connoît les auteurs étrangers. Suffisent-elles pour en juger ? Feraï-je la satire des personnes qui se consacrent à la pénible tâche de traduire, en affirmant que leur moindre défaut est de nous faire perdre le caractère national et personnel de leurs auteurs ? Ah ! que ces auteurs n'ont-ils écrit eux-mêmes, quoique mal, dans une autre langue ! Mon expression est celle qui accompagne ma pensée. Vous qui me traduisez, sentez-vous ce que j'ai senti ? Montaigne seroit toujours Montaigne, s'il eût lui-même été le cuisinier Anglois de ses essais, et j'estimerois vingt fois plus un des livres de Milton écrit en François ou en Italien par Milton, que les traductions élégantes de Du Boccage et de Rolli.

Que si, dans vos climats si heureusement isolés, quelques personnes jalouses de l'universalité que le François s'est acquise sur le Continent, se plaignoient que vous rompez la dernière digue qui s'oppose à l'inondation, qu'elles me permettent de ne pas regarder comme un grand malheur, qu'une langue commune lie de plus en plus les états de l'Europe, facilite les conférences des ministres, prévienne les longueurs des négociations et les équivoques des traités, fasse souhaiter la paix, et la rende plus durable et plus chère. Le premier pas qu'on doive faire pour s'accorder, c'est de travailler à s'entendre.

Vous venez, Monsieur, de donner un grand exemple. Au milieu des succès de vos armes vous avez honoré les lettres de vos ennemis. Ce dernier triomphe est le plus noble. Puisse-t-il devenir général et réciproque, et le tems venir, où les divers peuples, membres épars de la

même famille, s'élevant au dessus des distinctions partielles d'Anglois, de François, d'Allemand, et de Russe, mériteront le titre d'homme !

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des sentimens qui ne dépendent d'aucun climat ni d'aucun siècle,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

M. M A T Y.

Du Musée Britannique,
le 16 Juin, 1761.

E S S A I

SUR

L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE.

I. **L'**Histoire des empires est celle de la misère des hommes. L'histoire des sciences est celle de leur grandeur et de leur bonheur. Si mille considérations doivent rendre ce dernier genre d'étude précieux aux yeux du philosophe, cette réflexion doit le rendre bien cher à tout amateur de l'humanité.

*Idee de
l'histoire
littéraire.*

II. Que je voudrois qu'une vérité aussi consolante ne reçût aucune exception ! Mais hélas ! l'homme ne perce que trop souvent dans le cabinet du savant. Dans cet azile de la sagesse, il est encore égaré par les préjugés, déchiré par les passions, avili par les faiblesses.

L'empire de la mode est fondé sur l'inconstance des hommes ; empire dont l'origine est si frivole et dont les effets sont si funestes. L'homme de lettres n'ose secouer son joug, et si ses réflexions retardent sa défaite, elles la rendent plus honteuse.

Tous les pays, tous les siècles ont vu quelque science l'objet d'une préférence souvent injuste, pendant que les autres études languissoient dans un mépris tout aussi peu raisonnable. La métaphysique et la dialectique sous les successeurs d'Alexandre *, la politique et l'éloquence sous la république Romaine, l'histoire, la poésie

P 2

dans

* Ce siècle fut celui des sectes philosophiques, qui combattoient pour les systèmes de leurs maîtres respectifs, avec tout l'acharnement des théologiens.

L'amour des systèmes produit nécessairement celui des principes généraux ; et celui-ci conduit d'ordinaire au mépris des connoissances de détail.

“ L'amour des systèmes, (dit Mr. Freret), qui s'empara des esprits après Aristote, fit abandonner aux Grecs l'étude de la nature, et arrêta le progrès de leurs découvertes philosophiques : les raisonnemens subtils prirent la place des expériences : les sciences exactes, la géométrie, l'astronomie, la vraie philosophie disparurent presque entièrement. On ne s'occupa plus du soin d'acquérir des connoissances nouvelles, mais de celui de ranger, et de lier les unes aux autres, celles que l'on croyoit avoir, pour en former des systèmes. C'est là ce qui forma toutes les différentes sectes : les meilleurs esprits s'évaporèrent dans les abstractions d'une métaphysique obscure, où les mots tenoient le plus souvent la place des choses, et la dialectique, nommée par Aristote l'instrument de notre esprit, devint chez ses disciples l'objet principal et presque unique de leur application. La vie entière se passoit

“ soit

dans le siècle d'Auguste, la grammaire et la jurisprudence sous le bas-Empire, la philosophie scholastique dans le treizième siècle, les Belles-Lettres jusqu'aux jours de nos pères, ont fait, tour-à-tour, l'admiration et le mépris des hommes. La physique et les mathématiques sont à présent sur le trône. Elles voyent toutes leurs sœurs prosternées devant elles, enchaînées à leur char, ou tout-au-plus occupées à orner leur triomphe. Peut-être leur chute n'est pas éloignée.

Il seroit digne d'un habile homme de suivre cette révolution dans les religions, les gouvernements, les mœurs, qui ont successivement égaré, désolé et corrompu les hommes. Qu'il se gardât bien de chercher un système ; mais qu'il se gardât bien davantage de l'éviter.

Renaissance
des Belles-
Lettres.
Goût qu'on
eut pour
elles.

III. Si les Grecs n'avoient été esclaves, les Latins seroient encore barbares. Constantinople tomba sous le fer de Mahomet. Les Médicis accueillirent les Muses désolées : ils encouragèrent les lettres. Erasme fit plus, il les cultiva. Homère et Cicéron pénétrèrent dans des contrées inconnues à Alexandre, et invincibles pour les Romains. Ces siècles trouvoient qu'il étoit beau d'étudier les anciens et de les admirer* : le nôtre pense qu'il est plus aisé de les ignorer et de les mépriser. Je crois qu'ils ont tous les deux raison. Le guerrier les lisoit sous sa tente. L'homme d'état les étudioit dans son cabinet. Ce siècle même, qui, content des graces, nous laisse les lumières, embellissoit l'exemple d'une Délie, et souhaitoit de trouver un Tibulle dans son amant. Elizabeth (ce nom dit tout pour le Sage) apprenoit dans Hérodote à défendre les droits de l'humanité contre un nouveau Xerxés, et au sortir des combats se voyoit célébrée par Eschyle sous le nom des vainqueurs de Salamine † §.

Si

“ soit à étudier l'art du raisonnement, et à ne raisonner jamais, ou du moins à ne raisonner que sur des objets fantastiques.”

Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 159.

* Feuillotez la Bibliothèque Latine de Fabricius, le meilleur de tous ceux qui n'ont été que compilateurs : vous y verrez que dans l'espace de quarante ans, après la découverte de l'imprimerie, presque tous les auteurs Latins étoient imprimés, quelques uns même plus d'une fois. Le goût des éditeurs n'égalait pas, il est vrai, leur zèle. Les écrivains de l'histoire Auguste parurent avant Tite Live ; et l'on donna Aulu-Gelle avant de songer à Virgile.

† Eschyle a fait une tragédie (les Perses), où il a peint avec les couleurs les plus vives, la gloire des Grecs et la consternation des Perses après la journée de Salamine.

V. le Théât. des Grecs du P. Brumoy. tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

§ Ecoutons le Président Hénault. “ Cette princesse étoit savante. “ Un jour qu'elle entretenoit Calignon, qui fut depuis Chancelier de “ Navarre,

Si Christine préféra la science au gouvernement d'un état, le politique peut la mépriser, le philosophe doit la blâmer, mais l'homme de lettres chérira sa mémoire. Cette reine étudioit les anciens : elle en considéroit les interprètes. Elle distingua ce Saumaïse, qui ne mérita ni l'admiration de ses contemporains, ni le mépris dont nous nous efforçons de le combler.

IV. Sans doute elle poussa trop loin l'admiration pour ces savans. Souvent leur défenseur, jamais leur zéléteur, j'avouerai sans peine que leurs mœurs étoient grossières, leurs travaux quelquefois minutieux ; que leur esprit noyé dans une érudition pédantesque commentoit ce qu'il falloit sentir, et compiloit au lieu de raisonner. On étoit assez éclairé pour sentir l'utilité de leurs recherches ; mais l'on n'étoit ni assez raisonnable ni assez poli, pour connoître qu'elles auroient pu être guidées par le flambeau de la philosophie.

On le poussa trop loin.

V. La lumière alloit paroître. Descartes ne fut pas Littérateur, mais les Belles-Lettres lui sont bien redevables. Un philosophe éclairé *, héritier de la méthode, approfondit les vrais principes de la critique. Le Bossu, Boileau, Rapin, Brumoy apprirent aux hommes à connoître mieux le prix des trésors, qu'ils possédoient. Une de ces sociétés qui ont mieux immortalisé Louis XIV. qu'une ambition souvent pernicieuse aux hommes, commençoit déjà ces recherches qui réunissent la justesse de l'esprit, l'aménité et l'érudition, où l'on voit tant de découvertes, et quelquefois, ce qui ne cède qu'à peine aux découvertes, une ignorance modeste et savante.

Quand il devenoit plus raisonnable.

Si les hommes raisonnoient autant lorsqu'ils agissent que lorsqu'ils discourent, les Belles-Lettres seroient devenues l'objet de l'admiration du vulgaire et de l'estime des sages.

VI. C'est de cette époque qu'elles datent le commencement de leur décadence. Le Clerc, à qui les sciences et la liberté doivent des éloges, s'en plaignoit déjà, il y a plus de soixante ans. Mais c'est dans la fameuse dispute des anciens et des modernes qu'elles reçurent le coup mortel. Il n'y a jamais eu un combat aussi inégal. La logique exacte de Terrasson, la philosophie déliée de

Décadence des Belles-Lettres.

“ Navarre, elle lui fit voir une traduction en Latin, qu'elle avoit faite, de quelques tragédies de Sophocle et de deux harangues de Démosthène. Elle lui permit de prendre une copie d'une épigramme Grecque de sa façon ; et elle lui demanda son avis sur des passages de Lycophron, qu'elle avoit alors entre les mains, et dont elle vouloit traduire quelques endroits.”

Abrég Chronolog. in Quart. Paris 1752. p. 397.

* M. Le Clerc, dans son excellent *Ars critica*, et dans plusieurs autres de ses ouvrages.

Fontenelle,

Fontenelle, le style élégant et heureux de la Motte, le badinage léger de St. Hyacinthe, travailloient de concert à réduire Homère au niveau de Chapelain. Leurs adversaires ne leur oppoient qu'un attachement au minuties, je ne fais quelles prétentions à une supériorité naturelle des anciens, des préjugés, des injures et des citations. Tout le ridicule leur demeura. Il en rejaillit une partie sur ces anciens, dont ils foutenoient la querelle : et chez cette nation aimable, qui a adopté, sans y penser, le principe de Milord Shaftsbury, on ne distingue point les torts et les ridicules.

Depuis ce tems, nos philosophes se sont étonnés que des hommes pussent passer une vie entière à rassembler des faits et des mots ; et à se charger la mémoire au lieu de s'éclairer l'esprit. Nos beaux esprits ont senti, quels avantages leur reviendroient de l'ignorance de leurs lecteurs. Ils ont comblé de mépris les anciens, et ceux qui les étudient encore *†.

VII. Je voudrois faire succéder à ce tableau quelques réflexions, qui pourront fixer la juste valeur des Belles-Lettres.

Grands
hommes lit-
térateurs.

Les exemples des grands hommes ne prouvent rien ; Cassini, avant de régler le cours des planètes, crut y lire le destin des hommes ‡. Cependant, lorsqu'ils sont en grand nombre, ils préviennent avant l'examen, après l'examen ils confirment. On sent d'abord qu'un génie capable de raisonner, une imagination vive et brillante ne goûteroient jamais une science, qui ne seroit que de mémoire. De tous ces hommes qui ont éclairé la terre, plusieurs se sont livrés à l'étude des Belles-Lettres ; beaucoup l'ont cultivée ; aucun, ou presque aucun, ne l'a méprisée. Toute l'antiquité se montroit sans voile aux yeux de Grotius : éclairé par sa

* On a ôté à cette étude le nom de Belles-Lettres, qu'une longue prescription sembloit lui avoir consacré, pour y substituer celui d'érudition. (1) Nos littérateurs sont devenus des érudits.

L'Abbé Maffieu traitoit cette dernière expression de Néologisme en 1721. (2) Changeroit-il de ton à présent ? Il sieroit mal à un étranger de vouloir décider. Je connois tous les droits des grands écrivains sur la langue ; mais je voudrois, qu'après avoir reconnu qu'un érudit peut avoir du goût, des vues, de la finesse dans l'esprit, (3) ils ne se servissent pas de ce terme pour désigner un fervile admirateur des anciens, d'autant plus aveugle qu'il y a tout vu, hors leurs graces et leurs beautés. (4)

† Fontenelle dans sa digression sur les anciens et les modernes, et ailleurs.

Oeuv. de Gresset. tom. ii. p. 45.

‡ Fontenelle dans son Eloge.

VOLTAIRE, tom. xvii. p. 79.

(1) V. La Motte & d'Alembert.

(2) Maffieu dans sa préface aux œuvres de Toureil.

(3) M. Dalem. dans l'art. Erudition de l'Encycl. Française.

(4) M. Dalem. dans le discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, et ailleurs.

lumière,

lumière, il développoit les oracles sacrés, il combattoit l'ignorance et la superstition, il adouciſſoit les horreurs de la guerre. Si Descartes, livré tout entier à sa philosophie, méprisoit toute étude qui ne s'y rapportoit pas, Newton * ne dédaigna pas de construire un système de chronologie, qui a eu des partisans et beaucoup d'admirateurs : Gassendi, le meilleur philosophe des littérateurs, et le meilleur littérateur des philosophes, expliquoit Epicure en critique, et le défendoit en Physicien : Leibnitz passoit, de ses recherches immenses sur l'histoire, aux infiniment petits. Si son édition de *Martianus Capella* avoit paru, son exemple auroit justifié les Littérateurs, ses lumières les auroient éclairés †. Le Dictionnaire de Bayle fera un monument éternel de la force, et de la fécondité de l'érudition combinée avec le génie.

VIII. Si nous ne faisons attention qu'à ceux qui ont consacré presque tous leurs travaux à la littérature, les vrais connoisseurs sauront toujours distinguer et apprécier l'esprit délicat et étendu d'Erasme, l'exactitude de Casaubon et de Gerard Vossius, la vivacité de Juste-Lipse, le goût, la finesse de Taneguy-le-Febvre, les ressources, la fécondité d'Isaac Vossius, la pénétration hardie de Bentley, l'aménité de Maffieu et de Fraguier, la critique solide et éclairée de Sallier, l'esprit profond et philosophique de le Clerc et de Fréret. Ils ne confondront point ces grands hommes avec de simples compilateurs, un Gruter, un Saumaïse, un Masson, et tant d'autres, hommes à la vérité utiles par leurs travaux, mais qui ne méritent jamais notre admiration, qui excitent rarement notre gout, et qui quelquefois seulement exigent notre estime.

Littérateurs
grands
hommes.

IX. Les anciens auteurs ont laissé des modèles pour ceux qui oseront marcher sur leurs traces ; des lecteurs aux autres, où ils pourront puiser les principes du bon goût, et remplir leur loisir par l'étude de ces précieuses productions, où la vérité ne se montre qu'embellie de tous les trésors de l'imagination. Les poètes, et les orateurs doivent peindre la nature. Tout l'univers peut leur fournir des couleurs ; mais parmi cette variété immense on peut ranger sous trois classes les images dont ils se servent : l'homme, la nature, et l'art. Les images de la première espèce, le tableau de l'homme, de ses grandeurs, de ses petitesse, de ses passions, de ses changemens, sont celles qui conduisent le plus sûrement un écrivain à l'immortalité. Chaque fois qu'on lit Euripide, ou Térence, on y découvre de nouvelles beautés. Ce-

LE GOÛT.
Trois sources
de beautés.

* Newton réformoit la chronologie ordinaire, et y trouvoit des erreurs de cinq à six cens ans. Voyez mes remarques critiques sur cette Chronologie.

† La vie de Leibnitz par de Neufville, à la tête de sa Théodicée.

pendant ce n'est ni à la conduite souvent défectueuse de leurs pièces, ni aux finesse cachées de leur heureuse simplicité, que ces poètes doivent leur renommée. Le cœur se reconnoît dans leurs tableaux vrais et naïfs, et s'y reconnoît avec plaisir.

La nature, toute vaste qu'elle est, a fourni peu d'images aux poètes. Bornés par leur objet ou par le préjugé des hommes, à son écorce, ils n'ont pû peindre que la successive variété des saisons, une mer irritée par les tempêtes, les zéphirs du printemps respirant l'amour et les plaisirs. Un petit nombre de génies ont bientôt épuisé ces tableaux.

Images artificielles.

X. L'art leur restoit. J'entens par l'art tout ce dont les hommes ont orné ou défiguré la nature, les religions, les gouvernemens, les usages. Ils s'en sont tous servis : et il faut convenir qu'ils ont tous eu raison. Leurs concitoyens, et leurs contemporains les entendoient sans peine, et les lisoient avec plaisir. Ils aimoient à retrouver dans les ouvrages des grands hommes de leur nation, tout ce qui avoit rendu leurs ancêtres respectables, tout ce qu'ils regardoient comme sacré, tout ce qu'ils pratiquoient comme utile.

Les mœurs des anciens favorables à la poésie dans l'art militaire.

XI. Les mœurs des anciens étoient plus favorables à la poésie que les nôtres : c'est une forte présomption qu'ils nous y ont surpassés.

A-mesure que les arts se sont perfectionnés, les efforts se sont simplifiés. Dans la guerre, dans la politique, dans la religion, de plus grands effets ont été produits par des causes plus simples. Sans doute les Maurice et les Cumberland * entendoient mieux l'art militaire que les Achille et les Ajax ;

“ Tels ne parurent point aux rives du Scamandre,

“ Sous ces murs tant vantés que Pyrrhus mit en cendre,

“ Ces antiques héros qui montés sur un char

“ Combattoient en désordre et marchaient au hazard †.”

Cependant les batailles du poète François sont-elles diversifiées comme celles du poète Grec ? Ses héros sont-ils aussi intéressans ? Tous ces combats singuliers des chefs, tous ces longs discours aux mourans, toutes ces rencontres inattendues, prouvent l'enfance de l'art, mais don-

* Je n'ai point cherché à faire un compliment à son A. R. Mgr. le Duc de Cumberland, dont je respecte infiniment la naissance et le rang, sans oser apprécier ses talens militaires. Si l'on se rappelle que les vers suivans sont tirés du poème sur la bataille de Fontenoy, on sentira que c'est plutôt M. de Voltaire qui parle que moi. Je ne crois pas cette remarque inutile. Des gens d'esprit s'y sont trompés.

† Oeuvres de Volt. tom. ii. p. 300.

nent au poëte le moyen de nous faire connoître ses héros, et de nous intéresser à leur destin. Aujourd'hui les armées sont de vastes machines animées par le souffle du Général. La Muse se refuse à la description de ses manœuvres : elle n'ose percer ce tourbillon de poudre et de poussière, qui cache à ses yeux le brave et le lâche, le chef et le soldat.

XII. Les anciennes républiques de la Grece ignoroient les premiers principes d'un bon gouvernement. Le peuple s'assembloit en tumulte pour décider plutôt que pour délibérer. Leurs factions étoient furieuses et immortelles, leurs séditions fréquentes et terribles, leurs plus beaux jours remplis de méfiance, d'envie et de confusion * : leurs citoyens étoient malheureux, mais leurs écrivains, l'imagination échauffée par ces affreux objets, les peignoient comme ils les sentoient. La tranquille administration des loix, ces arrêts salutaires qui, sortis du cabinet d'un seul ou du conseil d'un petit nombre, vont répandre la félicité chez un peuple entier, n'excitent chez le poëte que l'admiration, la plus froide de toutes les passions.

Dans la politique.

XIII. La mythologie ancienne qui animoit toute la nature, étendoit son influence sur la plume du poëte. Inspiré par la muse, il chantoit les attributs, les aventures, et les malheurs des dieux. L'Etre infini que la religion et la philosophie nous ont fait connoître, est au-dessus de ses chants : le sublime à son égard devient puerile. Le *Fiat* de Moïse nous frappe † ; mais la raison ne sauroit suivre les travaux de la Divinité qui ébranle sans efforts et sans instruments des millions de mondes, et l'imagination ne peut voir avec plaisir les diables de Milton, combattre pendant deux jours les armées du Tout Puissant ‡.

Dans la religion.

Les anciens connoissoient leurs avantages, et les employoient avec succès. Ces chef-d'œuvres que nous admirons encore en font la meilleure preuve.

* Voy le iii. L. de Thucydide.

Diodore de Sicile, depuis le L. xi. jusqu'au L. xx presque par tout.

La Préface de l'Abbé Terrasson au iii. tom. de sa Traduction de Diodore de Sicile, et Hume's Political Essays, p. 191.

† V. les pièces de Huet et de Despréaux, dans le iii. tom. des Oeuvres de celui-ci.

‡ Le compas d'or dont le Créateur mesure l'univers étonne chez Milton. Peut-être chez lui est-il puerile : chez Homère il eût été sublime. Nos idées philosophiques de la Divinité nuisent au poëte. Les mêmes ornemens qui auroient relevé le Jupiter des Grecs, la défigurent. Le beau génie de Milton lutte contre le système de sa religion, et ne paroît jamais si grand que lorsqu'il en est un peu affranchi : pendant qu'un Properce déclamateur froid et foible, ne doit sa renommée qu'au spectacle riant de sa mythologie.

XIV. Mais

Moyens de
sentir les
beautés.

XIV. Mais nous, placés sous un autre Ciel, nés dans un autre siècle, nous perdrons nécessairement toutes ces beautés, faute de pouvoir nous placer au même point de vue, où se trouvoient les Grecs et les Romains. Une connoissance détaillée de leur siècle, est le seul moyen qui puisse nous y conduire. Quelques idées superficielles, quelques lumières puisées au besoin dans un commentaire, ne nous laisseront saisir que les beautés les plus sensibles et les plus apparentes : toutes les graces, toutes les fineses de leurs ouvrages nous échapperont ; et nous traiterons de gens sans goût leurs contemporains, pour leur avoir prodigué des éloges, dont notre ignorance nous empêchera de sentir la justesse. La connoissance de l'antiquité, voilà notre vrai commentaire : mais ce qui est plus nécessaire encore, c'est un certain esprit qui en est le résultat ; esprit qui non seulement nous fait connoître les choses, mais qui nous familiarise avec elles, et nous donne à leur égard les yeux des anciens. Le fameux exemple de Perrault peut faire sentir ce que je veux dire : la grossièreté des siècles héroïques choquoit le Parisien. En vain Boileau lui remontreroit-il qu'Homère vouloit et devoit peindre les Grecs, et non point les François ; son esprit demeureroit convaincu, sans être persuadé *. Un goût antique (j'entens pour les idées de convention) l'eût éclairé plus que toutes les leçons de son adversaire.

Images arti-
ficielles ti-
ennent à
l'amour de
la gloire.

XV. J'ai dit, il y un moment, que la raison autorisoit ces images artificielles ; mais au tribunal de l'amour de la gloire, je ne sais si la décision seroit le même. Nous aimons tous la gloire : mais rien n'est plus différent que la nature et le degré de cet amour. Chaque homme varie dans sa manière de l'aimer. Cet écrivain n'aime que les éloges de ses contemporains. La mort met fin à toutes ses espérances et à toutes ses craintes. Le tombeau qui couvre son corps peut ensevelir son nom. Un tel homme peut sans scrupule employer des images familières aux seuls juges dont il recherche les applaudissemens. Cet autre légue son nom à la postérité la plus reculée †. Il se plaît à penser que, mille ans après sa mort, l'Indien des bords du Gange, et le Laponois au milieu de ses glaces, liront ses ouvrages, et porteront envie au pays et au siècle qu'il l'ont vu naître.

Celui qui écrit pour tous les hommes ne doit puiser que dans des sources communes à tous les hommes, dans leur cœur et dans le spectacle de la nature. Le seul orgueil peut l'engager à passer ces limites. Il peut présumer

* V. les Remarques de M. Despréaux sur Longin.

† Vie de Bacon par Mallet, p. 27.

que la beauté de ses écrits lui assurera toujours des Burmans, qui travailleront à l'expliquer, et qui l'admireront encore plus, parcequ'ils l'auront expliqué.

XVI. Non-seulement le caractère de l'auteur, mais encore celui de son ouvrage, influe à cet égard sur sa conduite. La haute poésie, l'épopée, la tragédie, et l'ode emprunteront plus rarement ces images que la comédie et la satire, parcequ'elles peignent les passions, et que celles-ci crayonnent les mœurs. Horace et Plaute sont presqu'inintelligibles à quiconque n'a pas appris à vivre, et à penser comme le peuple Romain. Le rival de Plaute, l'élégant Térence est mieux entendu, parcequ'il a sacrifié la plaisanterie au bon goût, au lieu que Plaute a immolé les bienséances à la plaisanterie. Térence songeoit qu'il peignoit des Athéniens ; tout dans ses pièces est Grec, hormis le langage * : Plaute savoit qu'il parloit à des Romains : on retrouve chez lui à Thebes, à Athènes, à Calydon, les mœurs, les loix et jusqu'aux bâtimens de Rome †.

Et à la nature du sujet.

XVII. Dans les poètes héroïques les mœurs, bien qu'elles ne fassent pas le fond de leurs tableaux, en ornent souvent le lointain. Il est impossible de sentir le plan, l'art, et les détails de Virgile, sans être instruit à fond de l'histoire, des loix, et de la religion des Romains, de la géographie de l'Italie, du caractère d'Auguste, de la relation singulière et unique que ce Prince soutenoit avec le sénat et le peuple ‡. Rien de plus frappant, et de plus intéressant pour ce peuple, que le contraste de Rome couverte de paille, renfermant trois mille citoyens dans ses murs ||, avec cette même Rome capitale de l'univers, dont les maisons étoient des palais, les citoyens des princes, et les provinces des empires. Puisque Florus a su saisir ce contraste §, on peut croire que Virgile ne l'a pas manqué.

Contraste de l'enfance et de la grandeur de Rome.

II

* V. Terent. Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii. Heauton. Act. i. Sc. i.

Les *Cupedinarii* dont parle Térence ne détruisent point cette réflexion. Ce mot (quand même on n'adopteroit pas la conjecture de Saumaïse) étoit devenu d'un nom propre, un nom appellatif. V. Térence Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii.

† Amphlytr. Act. i. Sc. i. Quid faciam nunc, si Tresviri me in carcerem compegerint, &c.

‡ V. les Dissertations de M. de la Bleterie sur le pouvoir des Empereurs. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. xix. p. 357—457. tom. xxi. p. 299, &c. tom. xxiv. p. 261. &c. p. 279. &c.

|| Varron de Ling. Latina, L. iv. Dionys. Halycarn. L. xi. p. 76. Plutarch. in Romul.

§ Voyez ses paroles : “ Sora (quis credat ?) et Algidum terrori fuerunt. “ Satricum et Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis et Bovillis pudet ; sed triumphavimus. Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstive, Præneste deliciæ, nunc cupatis in capitolio uti petebantur. Idem tunc Fæsulæ, quod Carræ nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius saltus : Fregellæ quod

“ Gessloriacum ;

Il l'a peint des traits d'un grand maître. Evandre conduit son hôte par ce village, où tout jusqu'au monarque, respire la rusticité. Il lui en explique les antiquités, et le poète laisse habilement entrevoir à quoi ce village, ce capitol futur, caché par les ronces, étoit réservé*. Que ce tableau est vif ! Que ce contraste est parlant pour un homme instruit dans l'antiquité ! Qu'il est fade aux yeux de celui qui n'apporte à la lecture de Virgile, d'autre préparation qu'un goût naturel, et quelque connoissance de la langue Latine !

Art de Virgile.

XVIII. Mieux on possède l'antiquité, plus on admire l'art de ce poète. Son sujet étoit assez mince. La fuite d'une bande d'exilés, le combat de quelques villageois, l'établissement d'une bicoque, voilà les travaux tant vantés du pieux Enée. Mais le poète les a annoblis, et il a su en les annoblissant, les rendre encore plus intéressans. Par une illusion trop fine pour ne pas se dérober au commun des lecteurs, et trop heureuse pour déplaire aux juges, il embellit les mœurs des siècles héroïques, mais il les embellit sans les déguiser†. Le pâtre Latinus et le séditieux Turnus sont transformés en monarques puissans.

“ Gessoriacum : Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos, quoque, proh pudor !
 “ victos, adeo gloriæ fuisse ut captum oppidum C. Marcius Coriolanus,
 “ quasi Numantiam aut Africam, nomini induerit extant, et parta de
 “ Antio spolia, quos Mœnius in suggestu fori, captâ hostium classi, sus-
 “ fixit ; si tamen illa, classis : nam sex fuere rostratæ. Sed hic numerus
 “ illis initiis navale bellum fuit (1).” Properce a entrevu cette idée, mais confusément.

“ Cossus, at insequitur Veientes cæde Tolumni

“ Vincere dum Veiōs posse, laboris erat.

“ Nec dum ultra Tiberim, belli sonus, ultima præda

“ Nomentum, et captæ jugera terna Coræ (2).”

Mais dans toute la tirade il mêle deux idées, qui par elles mêmes et par leurs effets, sont très différentes. La comparaison de Rome florissante avec Rome naissante, pénètre l'âme d'un sentiment de grandeur et de plaisir. Au lieu que ces campagnes incultes où paroissent à peine les débris de l'ancienne Veies, inspirent la mélancolie et l'attendrissement.

* Virg. *Æneid.* L. viii. V. 185—370.

- Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,

Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.

———— armenta videbant

Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

† Rien de plus difficile pour un écrivain élevé dans le luxe, que de peindre sans bassesse des mœurs simples. Lisez l'Épître de Pénélope dans Ovide, vous vous y sentirez révolté de cette même rusticité qui vous enchante chez Homère. Lisez Mademoiselle de Scudéry, vous ferez désagréablement surpris de retrouver à la cour de Tomyris la pompe de celle de Louis XIV. Il faut être fait à ces mœurs pour en saisir le ton. La réflexion a tenu lieu d'expérience à Virgile, et peut-être à Fenelon. Ils ont connu qu'il les falloit orner un peu, pour ménager la délicatesse de leurs concitoyens ; mais qu'on choqueroit cette même délicatesse, si on les fardoit beaucoup.

(1) L. Annæi Flori, L. i. C. xi. (2) Propertii Eleg. L. iv. Eleg. xi. V. 23.

Toute

Toute l'Italie craint pour sa liberté. Enée triomphe des hommes et des dieux. Virgile fait encore faire rejaillir sur les Troyens toute la gloire des Romains. Le fondateur de Rome fait disparaître celui de Lavinium. C'est un feu qui s'allume. Bientôt il embrasera toute la terre. Enée (si j'ose hasarder l'expression) contient le germe de tous les descendants. Assiégé dans son camp, il nous rappelle César et Alexia *. Nous ne partageons point notre admiration.

Jamais Virgile n'emploie mieux cet art, que lorsque, descendu aux enfers avec son héros, son imagination en paroît affranchie. Il n'y crée point d'êtres nouveaux et fantasques. Romulus et Brutus, Scipion et César s'y montrent, tels que Rome les admira ou les craignit.

XIX. On lit les Georgiques avec ce goût vif qu'on Les Georgiques. doit au beau, et avec ce plaisir délicieux que l'aménité de leur objet inspire à toute ame honnête et sensible. On pourroit cependant sentir croître son admiration, si l'on découvroit chez leur auteur un but aussi relevé que l'exécution en est achevée. Je puise toujours mes exemples chez Virgile. Ses beaux vers et les préceptes de son ami Horace, fixèrent le goût des Romains, et peuvent instruire la postérité la plus reculée. Mais pour développer mes idées, il faut les prendre d'un peu loin.

XX. Les premiers Romains combattoient pour la Les vétérans. gloire et pour la patrie. Depuis le siège de Veïes † ils recevoient une paye assez modique, et quelquefois des récompenses après les triomphes ‡ ; mais ils les recevoient comme une grace, et non comme une dette. La guerre finie, chaque soldat devenu citoyen, se retiroit dans sa cabane et y suspendoit ses armes inutiles, prêt à les reprendre au premier signal.

Quand Sylla rendit la tranquillité à la république, les choses étoient bien changées. Plus de trois cens mille hommes, accoutumés au carnage et au luxe §, sans biens, sans patrie, sans principes, exigeoient des récompenses. Si le dictateur les leur avoit données en argent, suivant le taux établi ensuite par Auguste, elles lui auroient coûté plus de trente deux millions de notre mon-

* J'aurois dû dire Alexia. Alexia est une leçon fautive de quelques éditions des commentaires ; mais les plus anciens manuscrits, d'accord avec les autres écrivains, portent constamment Alexia (1).

† Liv. L. iv. c. 59, 60.

‡ Liv. L. xxx. c. 45, &c. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 181, &c.

§ Salust in Bell. Catilin. p. 22. Edit. Thyfii.

(1) Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, par M. d'Anville, p. 49.

noye *, somme immense dans les tems les plus prospères, mais alors au-dessus des facultés de la république. Sylla embrassa un parti, que la nécessité et son intérêt particulier, plutôt que le bien de l'état, lui dictèrent : il donna des terres aux soldats. Quarante sept légions furent dispersées dans l'Italie. On fonda vingt quatre colonies militaires †. Expédient ruineux : si on les mêloit, ils quittoient leurs habitations pour se retrouver ; si on les laissoit en corps, le premier séditieux y trouvoit une armée toute prête ‡. Ces vieux guerriers ennuyés du repos, et trouvant au-dessous d'eux d'acheter par la sueur ce qui pouvoit ne coûter que du sang §, dissipèrent leurs nouveaux biens par la débauche, et n'espérant de salut que dans une guerre civile, servirent puissamment les desseins de Catilina ||. Auguste, pressé par les mêmes embarras, suivit le même plan, et en craignit les mêmes suites. La triste Italie fumoit encore

“ Des feux qu'à rallumé sa liberté mourante ¶.”

* Ce taux étoit de trois mille drachmes, ou douze mille sesterces pour le simple légionnaire (1), du double pour le cavalier et le centenier, et du quadruple pour le tribun (2). La légion Romaine, depuis l'augmentation de Marius (3), étoit de six mille fantassins, et de trois cens chevaux. Ce grand corps n'avoit que soixante six officiers, savoir soixante centeniers et six tribuns. Voilà le calcul :

282,000 légionnaires à 3000 drachmes ou 12,000 sesterces,	<i>Liv. Sterling.</i>
ou 105 <i>l.</i> sterling chacun,	28,905,000
2,820 centeniers et 14,100 cavaliers à 6000 drachmes ou	
210 livres sterling chacun,	3,468,600
282 tribuns à 12,000 drachmes ou l. 410 chacun,	115,620

En tout l. 32,489,220

Suivant les calculs de M. Arbuthnot cette somme ne seroit que de l. 30,705,220, la drachme valant $7\frac{3}{4}$ sous d'Angleterre (4). Mais quelques recherches que j'aie faites, la drachme Attique des derniers tems, égale au denier Romain en poids comme en valeur, valoit $8\frac{1}{2}$ de cette monnoye (5).

† Liv. L. lxxxix. Epitom. Freinsheim. Suppl. L. lxxxix. c. 34.

Sur l'article des colonies militaires on peut consulter les Cenotaphia Pisana du Cardinal Norris. Le second chapitre de sa première dissertation contient des détails très instructifs sur cette matière.

‡ Tacit. Annal. xiv. p. 249. Edit. Lipsii.

§ Tacit. de Mor. Germani. p. 441.

|| Salust. in Bell. Catilin. p. 40. Cicero in Catilin. Orat. ii. c. 9.

¶ Racin. Mithrid. Act. iii. Sc. 1.

(1) Dion. Cass. L. liv. Lips. Ex. ad. L. i. Annal. Tacit. C.

(2) Wotton's History of Rome, p. 154. (3) Rosin. Antiq. p. 964.

(4) Arbuth. Tables, p. 15.

(5) V. mes Rem. MSS. sur les poids, &c. des anciens. Hooper, p. 108, et Eissenfeldt, p. 23, &c.

Les

Les hardis vétérans n'avoient acheté leurs possessions que par une guerre sanglante, et leurs fréquens actes de violence monstroient assez qu'ils se croioient toujours les armes à la main *.

XXI. Qu'y-avoit-il alors de plus afforti à la douce politique d'Auguste, que d'employer les chants harmonieux de son ami, pour les réconcilier à leur nouvel état ? But de Virgile
Aussi lui conseilla-t-il de composer cet ouvrage.

*Da facilem cursum, atque audacibus annue cœptis ;
Ignarosque viæ mecum miseratus agrestes,
Ingredere ; et votis jam nunc assuesce vocari †.*

L'agriculture avoit cependant plus de cinquante écrivains Grecs ‡ ; les livres de Caton et de Varron étoient des guides plus sûrs, plus minutieux, et plus exacts que ne pouvoit l'être un poète. Mais il falloit faire goûter à des soldats le repos de la campagne plutôt que de les instruire dans les principes de l'agriculture ? De là toutes ces descriptions touchantes des plaisirs innocens du campagnard, ses jeux, ses foyers, ses retraites délicieuses opposées aux amusemens frivoles des hommes, et à leurs affaires plus frivoles que leurs amusemens.

Il y a dans ce tableau de ces traits vifs et inattendus, de ces détours cachés et heureux, qui montrent dans Virgile, un génie pour la satyre, que des vues supérieures et la bonté de son cœur l'empêchoient seules de cultiver §. Quel vétérans ne se reconnoissoit pas dans le vieillard Corycien || ? Comme eux accoutumé aux armes dès sa jeunesse, il trouvoit enfin le bonheur dans une retraite sauvage, que ses travaux avoient transformée en un lieu de délices ¶.

L'Italien las de mener une vie remplie de craintes légitimes, déplorait avec Virgile les malheurs du tems, et plaignoit son prince de se voir emporté par la violence des vétérans,

*Ut cum carceribus sese effudère quadrigæ,
Addunt in spatium, et frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas **.*

et recommençoit ses travaux dans l'espoir d'un nouveau siècle d'or.

* V. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. Virgil, Eclog. ix. v. 2, &c.

† Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 40. ‡ Varro de Re Rustic. L. i. c. 1.

§ Hic petit excidiis urbem, miserisque penates,
Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano dormiat ostro. Virg. Georg. L. ii. 505, &c.

|| Virg. Georg. L. iv. 125. et seq.

¶ Il étoit du nombre des pirates auxquels Pompée avoit donné des terres. V. Serv. in Loc. et Veil. Pater. L. ii. p. 56.

** Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 512.

Son succès.

XXII. Si l'on adopte mes idées, Virgile n'est plus un simple écrivain, qui décrit les travaux rustiques. C'est un nouvel Orphée, qui ne manie sa lyre, que pour faire déposer aux sauvages leur férocité, et pour les réunir par les liens des mœurs et des loix *.

Ses chants produisirent cette merveille. Les vétérans s'accoutumèrent insensiblement au repos. Ils passèrent en paix les trente ans qui s'écoulèrent avant qu'Auguste eût établi, non sans beaucoup de difficulté, un trésor militaire pour les payer en argent †.

LA CRI-
TIQUE.
Idée de la
critique.

XXIII. Aristote, qui portoit la lumière dans les ténèbres de la nature et de l'art, est le père de la critique. Le tems, dont la justice lente, mais sure, met enfin la vérité à la place de l'erreur, a brisé les statues du philosophe, mais a confirmé les décisions du critique. Destitué d'observations, il a donné des chimères pour des faits. Formé dans l'école de Platon, et dans les écrits d'Homère, de Sophocle, d'Euripide et de Thucydide, il a puisé ses règles dans la nature des choses et dans la connoissance du cœur humain. Il les a éclaircies par les exemples des plus grands modèles.

Deux mille ans se sont écoulés depuis Aristote. Les critiques ont perfectionné leur art. Cependant ils ne sont pas encore d'accord sur l'objet de leurs travaux. Les le Clerc, les Cousin, les Des-maiseaux, les de Sainte-Marthe‡, nous en offrent des définitions différentes. Pour moi, je les crois toutes ou trop partiales, ou trop arbitraires. La critique est, selon moi, l'art de juger des écrits et des écrivains, ce qu'ils ont dit, s'ils l'ont bien dit, s'ils ont dit vrai§. De la première de ces branches découle la grammaire, la connoissance des langues et des manuscrits, le discernement des ouvrages supposés, le rétablissement des endroits corrompus. Toute la théorie de la poésie et de l'éloquence se tire de la seconde. La troisième ouvre un champ immense, l'examen et la critique des faits. On pourroit donc distinguer la nation des critiques, en critiques grammairiens, en critiques rhéteurs et en critiques historiens. Les pré-

* Sylvestres homines facer interpretæ Deorum
Cædibus et victu sædo deterruit Orpheus;
Diæus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

Horat. Ars Poet. v. 391.

† Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tacit. Annal. l. i. p. 39. Dionys. L. iv. p. 565. Sueton. in August. c. 49.

‡ Clerici Ars Crit. L. i. c. 1.

§ Il faut borner ce vrai au vrai historique, à la vérité de leurs témoignages et non de leurs opinions. Cette dernière espèce de vérité est plutôt du ressort de la logique que de celui de la critique.

tentions

tensions exclusives des premiers ont nui non seulement à leur travail, mais à celui de leurs confrères.

XXIV. Tout ce qu'ont été les hommes, tout ce que le génie a créé, tout ce que la raison a pesé, tout ce que le travail a recueilli, voilà le département de la critique. La justesse d'esprit, la finesse, la pénétration, sont toutes nécessaires pour l'exercer dignement. Je suis le littérateur dans son cabinet, je le vois entouré des productions de tous les siècles : sa bibliothèque en est remplie : son esprit en est éclairé, sans en être chargé. Il étend ses regards de tous côtés. L'auteur le plus éloigné du travail de l'instant, n'est pas oublié : un trait lumineux pourroit s'y rencontrer, qui confirmeroit les découvertes du critique ou qui ébranleroit ses hypothèses. Le travail de l'érudit est achevé. Le philosophe de nos jours s'y arrête et loue la mémoire du compilateur. Celui-ci en est quelquefois la dupe, et prend les matériaux pour l'édifice.

Matériaux
du critique.

XXV. Mais le vrai critique sent que sa tâche ne fait que commencer. Il pèse, il combine, il doute, il décide. Exact et impartial, il ne se rend qu'à la raison, ou à l'autorité qui est la raison des faits *. Le nom le plus respectable le cède quelquefois au témoignage d'écrivains auxquels les circonstances seules donnent un poids momentané. Prompt et fécond en ressources, mais sans fausse subtilité, il ose sacrifier l'hypothèse la plus brillante, la plus spécieuse, et ne fait point parler à ses maîtres le langage de ses conjectures. Ami de la vérité, il cherche le genre de preuves qui convient à son sujet, et il s'en contente. Il ne porte point la faux de l'analyse sur ces beautés délicates, qui se fanent sous la touche la moins rude ; mais aussi, peu content d'une admiration stérile, il fouille jusques dans les principes les plus cachés du cœur humain, pour se rendre raison de ses plaisirs et de ses dégoûts. Modeste et sensé il n'étale point ses conjectures comme des vérités, ses inductions comme des faits, ses vraisemblances comme des démonstrations.

Opérations
du critique.

XXVI. On a dit que la géométrie étoit une bonne logique, et l'on a cru lui donner un grand éloge : il est plus glorieux aux sciences de développer ou de perfectionner l'homme, que de reculer les bornes de l'univers. Mais la critique ne peut-elle pas partager ce titre ? Elle a même cet avantage : la géométrie s'occupe de démonstrations qui ne se trouvent que chez elle ; la critique balance les différens degrés de vraisemblance. C'est en les comparant que nous reglons tous les jours nos actions, que nous décidons souvent de notre sort †. Balançons des vraisemblances critiques.

La critique
une bonne
logique.

* C'est-à-dire, l'autorité avec l'expérience.

† Il s'agit principalement des élémens de la géométrie et de ceux de la critique.

Contro-
verse sur
l'histoire
Romaine.

XXVII. Notre siècle, qui se croit destiné à changer les loix en tout genre, a enfanté un Pirrhonisme historique, utile et dangereux. M. de Pouilly, esprit brillant et superficiel, qui citoit plus qu'il ne lisoit, douta de la certitude* des cinq premiers siècles de Rome; mais son imagination peu faite pour ces recherches, céda facilement à l'érudition et à la critique de M. Fréret et de l'Abbé Sallier †. M. de Beaufort fit revivre cette controverse; et l'histoire Romaine souffrit beaucoup des attaques d'un écrivain, qui savoit douter et qui savoit décider.

Traité en-
tre Rome et
Carthage.

XXVIII. Un traité des Romains et des Carthaginois devint entre ses mains une objection accablante ‡. Ce traité se rencontre chez Polybe, historien exact et éclairé ||. L'original se conservoit à Rome de son tems. Cependant ce monument authentique contredit tous les historiens. L. Brutus et M. Horatius y paroissent comme exerçant le consulat ensemble, quoiqu'Horatius n'y parvint qu'après la mort de Brutus. Les Romains y ont des sujets qui n'étoient encore que leurs alliés. On entend parler de la marine d'un peuple qui ne construisit ses premiers vaisseaux que dans la première guerre Punique, deux cens cinquante ans après le consulat de Brutus. Quelles conclusions fatales ne tire-t-on pas de cette contrariété? Elles sont toutes au désavantage des historiens.

Le traité
éclairci.

Les consuls.

XXIX. Cette objection a fort embarrassé les adversaires de M. de Beaufort. Ils ont douté de l'authenticité de ce monument original. Ils en ont avancé la datte. Tâchons par une explication vraisemblable de concilier le monument et les historiens. Séparons d'abord la datte d'avec le corps du traité. Celui-ci est du tems de Brutus. Celle-là est de la façon de Polybe ou de ses antiquaires Romains. Les noms des consuls ne se lisoient jamais dans les traités solennels, dans les *fœdera* consacrés par toutes les cérémonies de la religion. Les seuls ministres de cette religion, les *feciaux*, les signoient: et cette circonstance distinguoit les *fœdera* et les *sponsiones*. Nous devons ce détail à Tite Live §. Il fait disparaître la difficulté. Les antiquaires auront pris les fé-

* Une définition claire de cette certitude sur laquelle on se disputoit, auroit pu abrégier la controverse. "C'est la certitude historique." Mais cette certitude varie de siècle en siècle. Je crois en gros à l'existence et aux actions de Charlemagne: mais la certitude que j'en ai, n'est point égale à celle des exploits d'Henri quatre.

† V. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. vi. p. 14. 190.

‡ Dissert. sur l'Incertit. de l'Hist. Rom. p. 33—46.

|| Polyb. Hist. L. iii. c. 22.

§ Sponderunt consules, legati, quæstores, tribuni militum, nominaque eorum qui sponderunt adhuc extant, ubi si ex fœdere acta res esset præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent.

Tit. Liv. L. ix. c. 5.
ciaux

ciaux pour les consuls. Mais sans songer à cette méprise, ces antiquaires que rien n'obligeoit à la précision dans l'explication des monumens publics, ont marqué l'année du refuge, par les noms célèbres du fondateur de la liberté et de celui du capitolé. Il leur importoit peu de s'assurer s'ils exercèrent le consulat ensemble.

XXX. Les peuples d'Ardée, d'Antium, de Terracine, Les sujets
des Ro-
mains. n'étoient point sujets des Romains, ou s'ils l'étoient, les historiens nous ont donné une idée très fautive de l'étendue de la république. Transportons-nous dans le siècle de Brutus, et puisons dans la politique des Romains, une définition du terme d'allié assez éloignée de la nôtre. Rome, quoique la dernière colonie des Latins, songea de bonne heure à réunir toute cette nation sous ses loix. Sa discipline, ses héros et ses victoires lui acquirent bientôt une supériorité décidée. Fiers, mais politiques, les Romains en usèrent avec une sagesse digne de leur bonheur. Ils comprirent que des cités mal-affervies arrêteroient les armes, épuiseroient les trésors, et corromproient les mœurs de la république. Sous le nom plus spécieux d'alliés, ils furent faire aimer leur joug aux vaincus. Ceux-ci consentirent avec plaisir à reconnoître Rome pour la capitale de la nation Latine, et à lui fournir un corps de troupes dans toutes ses guerres. La république ne leur devoit qu'une protection, marque de sa souveraineté et qui leur coûtoit si cher. Ces peuples étoient alliés de Rome, mais ils virent bientôt eux-mêmes qu'ils en étoient esclaves *.

XXXI. Cette explication diminue la difficulté, me dira-t-on, mais ne la dissipe pas. *Υπνχοοι*, l'expression dont se sert Polybe, signifie sujet, dans le sens propre du mot. Je ne le contesterai pas. Mais nous n'avons que la traduction de ce traité ; et si l'on accorde à ses copies une confiance conditionnelle pour le fond des choses, il ne doit pas être permis de rien conclure de leurs expressions prises à la rigueur. Les assemblages d'idées sont si arbitraires, les nuances si légères, les langues si différentes, que le plus habile traducteur peut chercher des expressions équivalentes, mais n'en trouve guères que de semblables †. Le langage de ce traité étoit ancien. Polybe se fia aux antiquaires Romains. La vanité leur grossit les objets. *Fœderati* ne signifie pas des alliés égaux : rendons le, dirent-ils, par sujets.

XXXII. La marine des Romains embarasse encore nos critiques. Polybe nous assure que la flotte de Du- Leur ma-
rine.

* Tit. Liv. L. viii. c. 4.

Le préteur Annius appelle le gouvernement des Romains, *Regnum impotens*.

† V. Cleric. *Ars Critic.* L. ii. c. 2. § 1, 2, 3.

illius fut leur premier essai dans ce genre*. Eh bien, Polybe se trompe, puisqu'il se contredit; voilà toute ma conclusion. Mais en admettant même son récit, l'histoire Romaine ne s'écrouleroit cependant pas. Voici une hypothèse qui explique ce phénomène d'une manière raisonnable; et c'est tout ce qu'on est en droit d'exiger d'une hypothèse. Tarquin opprime le peuple et les soldats. Il s'approprie tout le butin. On se dégoûte de la milice. On équipe de petits bâtimens qui font des courses sur mer. La république naissante les protège, mais met un frein par ce traité à leurs déprédations. Des guerres continuelles, la paye qu'on accorde aux troupes de terre, font négliger la marine; et dans un siècle ou deux, on oublie qu'elle a jamais existé †. Polybe aura parlé d'une façon un peu trop générale.

XXXIII. D'ailleurs la première marine des Romains ne pouvoit être composée que de bâtimens à cinquante rames. Gelon et Hieron construisirent des vaisseaux plus grands ‡. Les Grecs et les Carthaginois les imitèrent; et dans la première guerre Punique, les Romains mirent en mer de ces vaisseaux à trois ou quatre rangs de rames, qui étonnent encore nos antiquaires et nos mécaniciens. Cet armement étoit bien propre à faire oublier leurs essais antiques et grossiers §.

Réflexions
sur cette
dispute.

XXXIV. J'ai défendu avec plaisir une histoire utile et intéressante. Mais j'ai voulu surtout montrer par ces réflexions, combien sont délicates les discussions de la critique, où il ne s'agit de saisir la démonstration, mais de comparer le poids des vraisemblances opposées; et combien il faut se défier des systèmes les plus éblouissans, puisqu'il y en a si peu qui soutiennent l'épreuve d'un examen libre et attentif.

La critique
une prati-
que sans
être une
routine.

XXXV. Une nouvelle considération embarrasse la critique d'une nouvelle difficulté. Il est des sciences qui ne sont que des connoissances : leurs principes sont des vérités de spéculation et non des maximes de conduite. Il est plus facile de comprendre stérilement une proposition, que de se la rendre familière, de l'appliquer avec justesse, de s'en servir comme d'un guide dans ses études, et d'un flambeau dans ses découvertes.

* Polyb. L. i. c. 20.

† Je ne dis rien de la flotte qui parut devant Tarente. Je crois que les vaisseaux appartenoient aux habitans de Thuricum. Voyez Freinsheim Supplém. Livian. L. xii. c. 8.

‡ Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 225. Hist. du commerce des anciens, par Huet. c. 221.

§ On peut voir une autre hypothèse du célèbre M. Fréret. Elle plaît par sa simplicité, mais elle ne paroît insoutenable. Voy. Mémoires de l'Académie, des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 102, &c.

La marche de la critique n'est point une routine. Ses principes généraux sont vrais, mais stériles. Celui qui ne connoît qu'eux, se méprend également, qu'il veuille les suivre ou qu'il ôse s'en écarter. Le génie plein de ressources, maître des règles, mais maître aussi des raisons des règles, paroît souvent les mépriser. Sa route nouvelle et hardie semble l'en éloigner : mais suivez-le jusqu'au bout, vous voyez en lui un admirateur, mais un admirateur éclairé des mêmes règles, qui sont toujours la base de ses raisonnemens et de ses découvertes. Que toutes les sciences fussent *legum non hominum respublica*, voilà le souhait du peuple des savans. Son accomplissement seroit son bonheur : mais on ne fait que trop que le bonheur des peuples et la gloire de ceux qui les éclairent ou qui les gouvernent, sont des objets souvent différens, et quelquefois opposés. Les savans du premier ordre ne veulent que des études semblables à la lance d'Achille : elle n'étoit faite que pour les mains du héros. Essayons de la manier.

XXXVI. Le législateur de la critique a prononcé, que le poète doit rendre les héros tels que l'histoire nous les fait connoître :

Le poète peut-il s'écarter de l'histoire?

*Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge,
Scriptor ; Homereum * si forte reponis Achillem.
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Fura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis, &c. †*

Réduirions-nous donc le poète au rôle d'un froid annaliste ? Lui ôterons-nous ce grand pouvoir de la fiction, ce contraste, ce choc des caractères, ces situations inattendues où l'on tremble pour l'homme, où l'on admire le héros ? Ou-bien, plus amis des beautés que des règles, lui pardonnerons-nous plus aisément les anachronismes que l'ennui ?

XXXVII. Charmer, attendrir, élever l'esprit, c'est-là l'objet de la poésie. Les loix partiales ne doivent jamais faire perdre de vue qu'elles ne sont que des moyens destinés à aider ses opérations, et non à les embarrasser. On a vu que la philosophie hérissée de démonstrations, ose à-peine entamer les idées reçues ; comment la poésie pourroit-elle espérer de plaire qu'en s'y prêtant ? Nous nous plaçons à revoir les héros et les évènements de l'antiquité : paroissent-ils travestis, ils produisent la surprise, mais une surprise qui révolte contre les nouveautés. Lorsqu'un auteur veut hasarder quelque changement, il doit réfléchir s'il en naît une

La loi et raison de la loi. Exemple de Virgile.

* V. Bentley et Sanadon au v. 120. de l'Art Poétique d'Horace.

† Horat. Ars Poet. v. 119. et seq.

beauté frappante ou légère, mais toujours proportionnée à la violation des loix. Ce n'est qu'à ce prix qu'il peut racheter son attentat.

Les anachronismes d'Ovide nous déplaisent *. La vérité y est corrompue sans être embellie. Que le Mézence de Virgile est d'un caractère différent ! Ce prince ne périt que par les armes d'Ascagne. † Mais quel lecteur assez glacé pour y songer un instant, lorsqu'il voit Enée, ministre des vengeances célestes, devenir le protecteur des nations opprimées, lancer la foudre sur la tête du coupable tyran, mais s'attendrir sur la victime infortunée de ses coups, le jeune et pieux Lausus digne d'un autre père, et d'un destin plus propice ? Que de beautés l'histoire faisoit perdre au poète ! Encouragé par ce succès, il l'abandonne quand il eût dû le suivre. Enée arrive dans l'Italie si désirée ; les Latins accourent pour défendre leurs foyers, tout menacé du plus sanglant combat.

“ Dejà de traits en l'air s'élevoit un nuage ;
 “ Dejà couloit le sang prémices du carnage ‡.”

Le nom d'Enée fait tomber les armes aux ennemis. Ils craignent de combattre ce guerrier, dont la gloire s'élève des cendres de sa patrie. Ils courent embrasser ce prince annoncé par tant d'oracles, qui leur apporte du fond de l'Asie, ses dieux, une race de héros, et la promesse de l'empire de l'univers. Latinus lui offre un azile et sa fille. || Quel coup de théâtre ! Qu'il étoit digne de la majesté de l'épopée, et de la plume de Virgile ! Qu'on lui compare, si on l'ôse, l'ambassade d'Illioneus, le palais de Latinus, et le discours du monarque §.

XXXVIII. Que le poète, je le répète encore, ôse hazarder, pourvu que le lecteur retrouve toujours dans ses fictions, ce même degré de plaisir que la vérité et les convenances lui eussent offert. Qu'il ne bouleverse pas les annales d'un siècle pour dire une antithèse. L'invention ne trouvera pas cette loi trop sévère, si elle réfléchit que le sentiment ap-

* En matière de géographie et de chronologie on doit peu compter sur l'autorité d'Ovide. Ce poète étoit d'une ignorance grossière dans ces deux sciences. Lisez la description des voyages de Médée ; *Metamorph. L. vii. v. 350. à 402.* et le *xiv. L. des mêmes Metamorph.* Celle-là est remplie d'erreurs géographiques, qui donnent la torture aux commentateurs-mêmes : et celui-ci fourmille de bévues chronologiques.

† *Serv. ad Virg. Æneid. L. iv. v. 620.* *Dion. Halycarn. Antiq. Rom. L. i.*

‡ *Racin. Iphig. Act v. Sc. dern.* || *Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 1.*

§ *Virg. Æneid. L. vii. v. 148. jusqu'à 285.*

partient à tous les hommes, que les connoissances ne font le partage que d'un petit nombre, et que le beau agit plus puissamment sur l'ame que le vrai sur l'esprit. Qu'elle se souvienne toutefois qu'il est des écarts que rien ne peut faire oublier. L'imagination forte de Milton, la versification harmonieuse de Voltaire, ne nous reconcilieroient jamais avec César lâche, Catilina vertueux, Henri IV. vainqueur des Romains. Disons en rassemblant nos idées, que les caractères des grands hommes doivent être sacrés ; mais que les poètes peuvent écrire leur histoire, moins comme elle a été, que comme elle eût dû être ; qu'une création nouvelle révolte moins que des changemens essentiels, parce que ceux-ci supposent l'erreur, et celle-là une simple ignorance ; et qu'enfin on rapproche plus aisément les tems que les lieux.

On doit sans doute de l'indulgence aux siècles reculés, où les systèmes des chronologistes sont les fictions des poètes, à l'agrément près. Quiconque ose condamner l'épisode de Didon est plus philosophe ou moins homme de goût que moi*.

XXXIX. Plus

* On peut douter cependant si cet épisode blesse la véritable chronologie. Dans le système plausible du Chevalier Newton, Enée et Didon se trouvent contemporains (1). Les Romains devoient mieux connaître l'histoire de Carthage que les Grecs. Les archives de Carthage étoient passées à Rome (2). La langue Punique y étoit assez connue (3). Les Romains consultoient volontiers les Africains sur leurs origines (4). D'ailleurs (et c'est assez pour disculper notre poète) Virgile adopte une chronologie plus conforme aux supputations de Newton qu'à celles d'Eratosthène. Peut-être on ne fera pas fâché de voir les preuves de ce sentiment.

Sept ans suffirent à peine au courroux de Junon et aux voyages d'Enée. C'est Didon qui me l'apprend ;

“ — Nam te jam septima portat

“ Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus ætas (5). ”

Quelques mois après il arriva au bord du Tibre. Ce fut-là que le Dieu du fleuve lui apparut, lui prédit de nouveaux combats, mais lui fit espérer une fin glorieuse à ses maux. Un prodige confirma l'oracle. Une truie couchée sur le rivage montrait, par ses trente petits pui l'environnoient, le nombre d'années qui devoient s'écouler avant que le jeune Ascagne jettât les fondemens d'Albe :

“ Jamque tibi, ne vana putes hæc fingere somnum,

“ Littoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus æus,

“ Triginta capitum fœtus enixa, jacebit ;

“ Albæ, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.

“ Hic locus nrbis erit, requies ea certa laborum :

“ Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis

“ Ascænius clari condet cognominis Albam (6). ”

(1) V. Newton's Chronology of ancient Kingdoms reformed, p. 32.

(2) Universal History, tom. xviii. p. 111, 112.

(3) Plant. Penul. Act v. Sc. 1.

(4) Salust. in Bell. Jugurth. c. 17. Ammian Marcel. L. xxii. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 464. (5) Virgile Enéid L. i. v. 755.

(6) Idem. L. viii. v. 42.

LES SCI-
ENCES NA-
TURELLES.

XXXIX. Plus on a approfondi les sciences, plus on a vu qu'elles étoient toutes liées. On a crû voir un bois immense. Au premier coup d'œil tous les arbres qui le formoient paroissent isolés, mais a-t-on percé la superficie, on a vu que toutes les racines étoient entremêlées.

Il n'y a point d'étude, pas même la plus chétive et la moins connue, qui n'offre quelquefois des faits, des ouvertures, des objections à la plus sublime et à la plus éloignée des connoissances. J'aime à peser sur cette considération,

Cette ville demeura pendant trois cens ans le siège de l'empire et le berceau des Romains ;

“ Hic jam ter centum totos regnabitur annos

“ Gente sub Hecorea (1).”

Ce sont-là les expressions que Virgile met à la bouche de Jupiter. Nos chronologistes s'embarassent peu de faire tenir sa parole au Maître du tonnerre. Ils font détruire la ville d'Albe par Tullus Hostilius près de cinq cens ans après sa fondation, et environ cent ans après celle de Rome (2). Mais tout s'applanit dans le système de Newton. La prise de Troie placée à l'an 904, et suivie d'un intervalle de 337 ans, nous conduit à 567, 60 ans après les Palilia, époque qui quadre au-mieux avec le règne du troisième successeur de Romulus (3). Une ancienne tradition conservée par Plutarque (4) y coïncide avec précision. On déterra les livres de Numa, An. ant. Chr. 181, quatre cens ans après la mort de ce roi et le commencement du regne d'Hostilius. Numa mourut donc 581 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne. Quel art dans le poète de saisir le moment où Enée arrive à Carthage, pour répondre à ses critiques, de la seule manière que la rapidité de sa marche et la grandeur de son sujet pouvoient le lui permettre ! Il leur fait sentir que dans ses hypothèses la rencontre de Didon et d'Enée n'est point une licence poétique. Virgile n'est point le seul qui ait revoué en doute la chronologie vulgaire des rois Latins. Je le soupçonne même d'avoir puisé ses idées dans les ouvrages de son contemporain Trogue-Pompée. Cet historien, le rival de Tite-Live et de Saluste (5), donnoit au royaume d'Albe la même durée de trois cens ans. Si son histoire universelle ne s'étoit pas perdue, nous y verrions apparemment le détail et les preuves de cette opinion. A présent il faut nous contenter d'en lire la simple exposition chez son abrégiateur. “ Albam “ longam condidit quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit (6).” Tite-live lui-même, ce père de l'histoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement à la chronologie reçue (7), mais qui glisse d'ordinaire sur les endroits scabreux, d'une façon qui montre sa bonne foi et son ignorance, semble se défier de ses guides dans ces siècles reculés. Rien de plus naturel que de marquer la durée du règne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom (8) ! Or il se tait sur cet article. Rien de plus nécessaire que de fixer au moins l'intervalle entre Enée et Romulus ; il ne le fait point. Ce n'est pas tout. “ La destruction d'Albe, dit-il, suivit de 400 ans sa fondation (9).” En retranchant cent ans pour les regnes de Romulus et de Numa, et pour la moitié de celui d'Hostilius, il nous en restera 300 au-lieu de 400 que nous donneroit la chronologie d'Eratostène. Tite-Live est donc d'accord avec Virgile à peu de chose près ; et cette petite différence affermit leur union plutôt qu'elle ne l'affaiblit. Je prévois une objection, mais des plus minces. Y répondre ce seroit créer des monstres pour les combattre ; ainsi, je finis cette digression déjà trop longue.

(1) Virgile Eneid. L. i. v. 272.

(2) V. les *Tal. Chronolog.* d'Helvicus. è l. ann. C. 656, &c.

(3) Newton's *Chronology*, p. 52, &c.

(4) V. Plutarch. in *Nunia*.

(5) Flav. Vopisc. in *Proem. Aurelian*.

(6) Justin. l. xliiii. c. 1.

(7) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 18. et alibi passim.

(8) Tit. Liv. L. 1. 2. 29.

(9) Idem, l. i. c. 29.

Il faut faire voir aux nations et aux professions différentes, leurs besoins réciproques. Montrez à l'Anglois les avantages du François ; faites connoître au physicien les secours que la littérature lui présente ; l'amour propre supplée à ce que la discrétion vous a fait supprimer. Ainsi la philosophie s'étend : l'humanité gagne. Les hommes étoient rivaux ; ils sont freres.

XL. Dans toutes les sciences nous nous appuyons sur les raisonnemens et sur les faits. Sans ceux-ci nos études seroient chimériques ; privées de ceux-là elles ne sauroient être qu'aveugles. C'est ainsi que les Belles-Lettres sont mêlées. Toutes les branches de l'étude de la nature, qui cache souvent sous une petitesse apparente une grandeur réelle, le font pareillement. Si la physique a ses Buffons, elle a aussi (pour parler le langage du tems) ses érudits. La connoissance de l'antiquité leur offre aux uns et aux autres, une riche moisson de faits propres à dévoiler la nature, on du moins à empêcher ceux qui l'étudient, de prendre un nuage pour une divinité. Quelles lumières le medecin ne puise-t-il pas dans la description de la peste qui désola Athènes ? J'admire avec lui la force majestueuse de Thucydide *, l'art et l'énergie de Lucrèce † ; mais il va plus loin : il étudie dans les maux des Athéniens ceux de ses concitoyens.

Liaison de la physique et de la littérature.

Je fais que les anciens s'appliquoient peu aux sciences naturelles ; que destitués d'instrumens, et isolés dans leurs travaux, ils n'ont pû rassembler qu'un petit nombre d'observations mêlées d'incertitudes, diminuées par les injures du tems, et jetées au hazard dans un grand nombre de volumes ‡ : mais la pauvreté doit-elle inspirer la négligence ? L'activité de l'esprit humain s'excite par les difficultés. La nécessité, mère du relâchement, seroit un assemblage étrange.

XLI. Les partisans mêmes les plus zélés des modernes, ne disconviennent pas, je pense, des secours que les anciens possédoient et dont nous manquons. Je rappelle en frémissant les spectacles sanglans des Romains. Le sage Cicéron les détestoit et les méprisoit ||. La solitude et le silence l'emportoient de beaucoup chez lui, sur ces chefs-d'œuvre

Avantages des anciens Spectacles de l'amphithéâtre.

* Thucyd. l. i. † Lucret. de Rer. L. Natur. viii. v. 1136, &c.

‡ M. Fréret croyoit les observations philosophiques des anciens plus exactes qu'on ne le pense. Quiconque connoît le génie et les lumières de M. Fréret, sent le poids de son autorité. V. Mem. de l'Academ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 97.

|| Cicéron envie le sort de son ami Marius qui passa à la campagne les jours des jeux magnifiques de Pompée. Il parle avec assez de mépris du reste des spectacles : mais il s'attache surtout aux combats des bêtes sauvages.

“ Reliquæ

d'œuvre de magnificence, d'horreur et de mauvais goût *. En effet, se plaire au carnage, n'est digne que d'une troupe de sauvages. On ne pouvoit élever des palais, pour y faire combattre des bêtes, que chez un peuple qui préféroit les décorations aux beaux vers, et les machines aux situations †. Mais tels étoient les Romains; leurs vertus, leurs vices, et jusqu'à leurs ridicules, étoient tous liés à leur principe dominant, l'amour de la patrie.

Cependant ces spectacles, si affreux aux yeux du philosophe, si frivoles à ceux de l'homme de goût, devoient être bien précieux pour le naturaliste. Qu'on se représente le monde épuisé pour fournir ces jeux, les trésors des riches et le pouvoir des grands mis en œuvre pour déterrer des créatures singulières par leur figure, par leur force, ou par leur rareté, pour les amener dans l'amphithéâtre de Rome, et pour mettre en jeu l'animal entier ‡. Ce devoit être une école admirable, surtout pour cette partie la plus noble de l'histoire naturelle, qui s'applique plutôt à étudier la nature et les propriétés des animaux, qu'à décrire leurs os et leurs cartilages. Souvenons-nous que Pline a fréquenté cette école, et que l'ignorance a deux filles, l'incrédulité et la foi aveugle. Ne défendons pas moins notre liberté contre l'une que contre l'autre.

Pais où les
physiciens
anciens étu-

XLII. Si l'on sort de ce théâtre, pour entrer dans un autre plus vaste, et pour examiner quelles étoient les con-

“ Reliquæ sunt venationes, (dit-il) binæ per dies quinque; magnifice, nemo
“ negat, sed quæ potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum aut homo im-
“ becillus à valentissimâ bestiâ laniatur aut præclara bestia venabulo transver-
“ beratur.”

* Cicero ad Famil. L. vii. Epist. I.

† Horat. L. iii. Ep. I. v. 187.

‡ V. Essais de Mont. vol. iii. p. 140.

Mon exemple étoit très bon, ma citation fort mauvaise. J'aurois dû recourir à l'original, (1) Vopiscus. Cet auteur rapporte à l'occasion du triomphe de Probus, qu'on amena dans l'amphithéâtre cent lions, autant de lions, cent léopards Libyens, le même nombre de Syriens, en trois cents ours. Je ne connois point de spectacle plus nombreux, mais les animaux que Gordien avoit rassemblés, et dont se servit Philippe dans ses jeux séculaires étoient plus curieux par leur variété et par leur rareté. Il y avoit trente-deux éléphants, dix élans, dix tigres, soixante lions apprivoisés, trente léopards apprivoisés, dix hyènes, un hippopotame, un rhinoceros, dix *agrioleontes* (2), dix *camelopardali*, vingt ânes sauvages, et quarante chevaux sauvages (3). C'est principalement dans la décadence de l'empire et du goût, qu'il faut chercher cette magnificence.

(1) V. Vopisc. in vit. Prob. p. 240. edit. Salmas. Paris 1620.

(2) On ignore ce qu'ils sont. Saumaïse lit *argoleontes*, des lions blancs (a); Casaubon et Scaliger (b) *agrioleontes* des lions sauvages.

(3) Jul. Capitolin. in Gordian. p. 164.

(a) Comment. Salmas, in Hist. Aug. 268.

(b) Comment. Casaub. in eand. Hist. p. 169.

trées soumises aux naturalistes et aux physiciens de l'antiquité, nous ne les plaindrons pas. dient la nature.

Je fais que la navigation nous a ouvert un nouvel hémisphère ; mais je fais aussi que la découverte d'un matelot et le voyage d'un marchand, n'éclairent pas toujours le monde, comme ils l'enrichissent. Les limites du monde connu sont plus étroites que celles du monde matériel ; et les bornes du monde éclairé sont encore plus resserrées. Du tems des Plin, des Ptolomée, et des Galien, l'Europe, à présent le siège des sciences, l'étoit également ; mais la Grèce, l'Asie, la Syrie, l'Egypte, l'Afrique, pays féconds en miracles, étoient remplis d'yeux dignes de les voir. Tout ce vaste corps étoit uni par la paix, par les loix et par la langue. L'Africain et le Breton, l'Espagnol et l'Arabe se rencontroient dans la capitale, et s'instruisoient tour-à-tour. — Trente des premiers de Rome, souvent éclairés eux mêmes, toujours accompagnés de ceux qui l'étoient*, partoient tous les ans de la capitale pour gouverner les provinces, et pour peu qu'ils eussent de curiosité, l'autorité applanissoit les routes de la science.

XLIII. C'étoit sans doute de son beau-père Agricola, La grande Bretagne inondée par l'océan. que Tacite apprit que l'océan inondoit la grande Bretagne, et rendoit ce pays un amas de marais†. Herodien nous confirme ce fait‡. Cependant aujourd'hui, à quelques endroits près, le terrain de notre île est assez élevé§. Pourroit-on ranger ce fait parmi ceux qui confirment le système de la diminution des eaux ? Trouvera-t-on dans les ouvrages des hommes, de quoi affranchir le pays du joug de l'océan ? Le fort du marais du Pomptine|| et de quelques autres, nous donneroit d'assez minces idées de leurs tra-

* V. Strab. L. xvii. p. 816. Edit. Casaub.

† Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 10.

‡ Herodian. Hist. l. iii. c. 47.

§ Voici les paroles d'Herodien, "Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς βρεταννῶν χώρας ἐπικλύζομενα ταῖς τῷ ὕδατι συνεχῶς ἀμπωτισιν ἐλώδη γίνονται."

Tacite s'exprime d'une manière encore plus forte. "Unum addiderim (dit-il) nusquam latius dominari mare; multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferri, nec littore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire; etiam jugis atque montibus influere velut in suo."

|| Le consul Cethegus dessécha ce marais. A. U. C. 592. Du tems de Jules-César il étoit derechef inondé. Ce dictateur avoit dessein d'y faire travailler. Il paroît qu'Auguste le fit ; mais je doute que ses travaux aient mieux réussi que les premiers. Du-moins Plin l'appelle encore marais. Horace l'avoit en quelque sorte prédit.

"Debemur morti nos nostraque

"Sterilis ut palus dudum aptaque remis

"Vicinas urbes alit et grave sensit aratrum."

Freinsheim. Supp. L. xlii. c. 44. Sueton. L. i. c. 34. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. iii. c. 5.

vaux. Quoiqu'il en soit, content d'avoir fourni les matériaux, j'en laisse l'emploi aux physiciens. Ce n'est pas chez les anciens qu'on apprend à n'approfondir rien, à effleurer chaque chose, et à parler avec le plus de hardiesse des sujets qu'on entend le moins.

L'ESPRIT
PHILOSOPHIQUE.
Prétensions
à l'esprit
philosophique.

XLIV. "Après l'esprit de discernement, ce qu'il y a de plus rare au monde (dit le judicieux la Bruyère) ce sont les perles et les diamans." Je mets sans balancer l'esprit philosophique avant celui de discernement. C'est la chose du monde la plus pronée, la plus ignorée et la plus rare. Il n'y a point d'écrivain qui n'y aspire. Il sacrifie de bonne grace la science. Pour peu que vous le pressiez, il conviendra que le jugement sévère embarrasse les opérations du génie : mais il vous assurera toujours que cet esprit philosophique qui brille dans ses écrits, fait le caractère du siècle où nous vivons. L'esprit philosophique d'un petit nombre de grands hommes, a formé, selon lui, celui du siècle. Celui-ci s'est répandu dans tous les ordres de l'état, et leur a préparé à son tour de dignes successeurs.

Ce qu'il
n'est pas.

XLV. Cependant si nous jettons les yeux sur les ouvrages de nos sages, leur diversité nous laisseroit dans l'incertitude sur la nature de ce talent ; et celle-ci pourroit nous conduire à douter s'il leur est tombé en partage. Chez les uns il consiste à se frayer des routes nouvelles, et à fronder toute opinion dominante, fût-elle de Socrate ou d'un Inquisiteur Portugais, par la seule raison qu'elle est dominante. Chez les autres cet esprit s'identifie avec la géométrie, cette reine impérieuse qui, non contente de régner, proscriit ses sœurs, et déclare tout raisonnement peu digne de ce nom, s'il ne roule pas sur des lignes et sur des nombres. Rendons justice à l'esprit hardi, dont les écarts ont quelquefois conduit à la vérité, et dont les excès mêmes, comme les rébellions des peuples, inspirent une crainte salutaire au despotisme. Pénétrons-nous bien de toute ce que nous devons à l'esprit géomètre : mais cherchons pour l'esprit philosophique, un objet plus sage que celui-là, et plus universel que celui-ci.

Ce qu'il est.

XLVI. Quiconque s'est familiarisé avec les écrits de Cicéron, de Tacite, de Bacon, de Leibnitz, de Bayle, de Fontenelle, de Montesquieu, s'en sera fait une idée aussi juste et bien plus parfaite que celle que j'essaierai de tracer.

L'esprit philosophique consiste à pouvoir remonter aux idées simples ; à saisir et à combiner les premiers principes. Le coup d'œil de son possesseur est juste, mais en même tems étendu. Placé sur une hauteur, il embrasse une grande étendue de pais, dont il se forme une image nette et unique,

que, pendant que des esprits aussi justes, mais plus bornés n'en découvrent qu'une partie. Il peut être géomètre, antiquaire, musicien, mais il est toujours philosophe, et à force de pénétrer les premiers principes de son art, il lui devient supérieur. Il a place parmi ce petit nombre de génies qui travaillent de loin-en-loin à former cette première science à laquelle, si elle étoit perfectionnée, les autres seroient soumises. En ce sens cet esprit est bien peu commun. Il est assez de génies capables de recevoir avec justesse des idées particulières ; il en est peu qui puissent renfermer dans une seule idée abstraite, un assemblage nombreux d'autres idées moins générales.

XLVII. Quelle étude peut former cet esprit ? Je n'en connois aucune. Don du ciel, le grand nombre l'ignore ou le méprise ; les sages le souhaitent ; quelques uns l'ont reçu ; nul ne l'acquiert : mais je crois l'étude de la littérature, cette habitude de devenir, tour-a-tour, Grec, Romain, disciple de Zénon ou d'Epicure, bien propre à le développer et à l'exercer. A-travers cette diversité infinie d'esprits, on remarque une conformité générale entre ceux à qui leur siècle, leur pays, leur religion ont inspiré une manière a-peu près pareille d'envisager les mêmes objets. Les ames les plus exemptes de préjugés, ne sauroient s'en défaire entièrement. Leurs idées ont un air de paradoxe ; et en brisant leurs chaînes, vous sentez qu'elles les ont portées. Je cherche chez les Grecs des auteurs de la démocratie ; des enthousiastes de l'amour de la patrie chez les Romains ; chez les sujets des Commode, des Sévère ou des Caracalla, des apologistes du pouvoir absolu ; et chez l'Epicurien de l'antiquité *, la condamnation de sa religion. Quel spectacle pour un esprit vraiment philosophique de voir les opinions les plus absurdes reçues chez les nations les plus éclairées, des barbares parvenus à la connoissance des plus sublimes vérités, des conséquences vraies, mais peu justes, tirées des principes les plus erronés, des principes admirables qui approchoient toujours de la vérité sans jamais y conduire, le langage formé sur les idées, et les idées justifiées par le langage, les sources de la morale partout les mêmes, les opinions de la contentieuse métaphysique partout variées, d'ordinaire extravagantes, nettes seulement pendant qu'elles furent superficielles, subtiles, obscures, incertaines, toutes les fois qu'elles prétendirent à la profondeur ! Un ouvrage Iroquois, fût-il rempli d'absurdités, seroit un morceau impayable. Il offriroit une expérience

Le secours
qu'il peut
tirer de la
littérature.

* Depuis qu'Epicure eut répandu sa doctrine, on commença à se déclarer assez publiquement sur la religion dominante, et à ne la regarder que comme une institution. V. Lucrét. de Ker. Natur. i. v. 62, &c. Salust. in Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61.

unique de la nature de l'esprit humain, placé dans des circonstances que nous n'avons jamais éprouvées, et dominé par des mœurs et des opinions religieuses totalement contraires aux nôtres. Quelquefois nous serions frappés et instruits par la contrariété des idées qui en naîtroient ; nous en chercherions les raisons ; nous suivrions l'ame d'erreur en erreur. Quelquefois aussi nous reconnoîtrions avec plaisir nos principes, mais découverts par d'autres routes, et presque toujours modifiés et altérés. Nous y apprendrions non seulement à avouer, mais à sentir la force des préjugés, à ne nous étonner jamais de ce qui nous paroît le plus absurde, et à nous défier souvent de ce qui nous semble le mieux établi.

J'aime à voir les jugemens des hommes prendre une teinte de leurs préventions, à les considérer qui n'osent pas tirer des principes qu'ils reconnoissent pour être justes, les conclusions qu'ils sentent être exactes. J'aime à les surprendre qui détestent chez le barbare, ce qu'ils admirent chez le Grec, et qui qualifient la même histoire d'impie chez le Payen, et de sacrée chez le Juif.

Sans cette connoissance philosophique de l'antiquité, nous ferions trop d'honneur à l'espèce humaine. L'empire de la coutume nous feroit peu connu. Nous confondrions à tout moment l'incroyable et l'absurde. Les Romains étoient éclairés ; cependant ces mêmes Romains ne furent pas choqués de voir réunir dans la personne de César un Dieu, un prêtre et un Athée *. Il vit élever des temples à sa clémence †. Collègue de Romulus, il recevoit les vœux de la nation ‡. Sa statue étoit couchée, dans les fêtes sacrées, auprès de ce Jupiter qu'un instant après il alloit lui-même invoquer §. Fatigué de cette vaine pompe, il cherchoit Panfa et Trébatius pour se moquer avec eux de la crédulité du peuple, et de ces Dieux l'effet et l'objet de sa terreur ||.

XLVIII.

* Athée en niant finon l'existence, du-moins la providence de la divinité ; car César étoit épicurien. Ceux qui ont envie de voir comment un homme d'esprit peut rendre obscure une vérité claire, liront avec plaisir les doutes que M. Bayle a su répandre sur les sentimens de César. V. Dict. de Bayle à l'article César.

† V. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. i. p. 369, &c.

‡ Cicero ad Attic, L. xii. epist. 46, &c. L. xiii. epist. 28.

|| César étoit souverain pontife, et ce sacerdoce n'étoit point pour les empereurs un vain titre. Les belles dissertations de M. de la Bastie sur le pontificat des empereurs convaincront les incrédules, s'il en est, sur cet article. Consultez surtout la troisième de ces pièces insérée dans les Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xv. p. 39.

|| Lucrèce né avec cet enthousiasme d'imagination, qui fait les grands poètes et les missionnaires, voulut être l'un et l'autre. Je plaindrois le théologien qui ne feroit pas grace au dernier en faveur du premier. Lucrèce, après avoir prouvé la Divinité malgré lui-même, en rapportant les phénomènes de la nature à des causes générales, cherche comment l'erreur qu'il combat

XLVII. L'histoire est pour un esprit philosophique, ce qu'étoit le jeu pour le Marquis de Dangeau *. Il voyoit un système, des rapports, une suite, là, où les autres ne discernoient que les caprices de la fortune. Cette science est pour lui celle des causes et des effets. Elle mérite bien que j'essaye de poser quelques règles propres, non à faire germer le génie, mais à le garantir des écarts : peut-être que si on les avoit toujours bien pesées, on auroit pris plus rarement la subtilité pour la finesse d'esprit, l'obscurité pour la profondeur, et un air de paradoxe pour un génie créateur.

L'histoire est la science des causes et des effets.

XLIX. Parmi la multitude des faits, il y en a, et c'est le grand nombre, qui ne prouvent rien au-delà de leur propre existence. Il y en a encore qui peuvent bien être cités dans une conclusion partielle, d'où le philosophe peut juger des motifs d'une action, et d'un trait dans un caractère : ils éclaircissent un chaînon. Ceux qui dominent dans le système général, qui y sont liés intimément, et qui en ont fait mouvoir les ressorts, sont fort rares ; et il est plus rare encore de trouver des esprits qui sachent les entrevoir dans le vaste cahos des évènements, et les en tirer purs et sans mélange.

Règles pour choisir les faits.

A ceux qui ont plus de jugement que d'érudition, il paroîtra peu nécessaire d'avertir qu'on doit toujours proportionner les causes aux effets, ne pas bâtir sur l'action d'un homme le caractère d'un siècle, ne pas chercher dans un effort unique, forcé et ruineux, la mesure des forces et des richesses d'un état, et se souvenir que ce n'est qu'en rassemblant qu'on peut juger, qu'un fait éclatant éblouit comme un éclair, mais qu'il instruit peu, si l'on ne le compare avec d'autres de la même espèce. Le peuple Romain fit voir en élistant Caton, qu'il aimoit mieux être corrigé

combat a pu s'emparer de tous les esprits. Il en trouve trois raisons : I. Nos songes ; nous y voyons des êtres et des effets que nous ne rencontrons point dans ce monde ; nous leur accordons aussitôt une existence réelle et une puissance immense. II. Notre ignorance de la nature, qui nous fait recourir par tout à l'action de la Divinité. III. Notre crainte, l'effet de cette ignorance ; elle nous engage à fléchir devant les calamités qui ravagent la terre, et nous fait essayer d'apaiser par nos prières quelque être invisible qui nous afflige. Lucrèce exprime cette dernière raison avec une énergie et une rapidité qui nous enlève. Il ne nous accorde point le tems de l'examiner.

“ Præterea cui non animus formidine Divûm

“ Contrahitur ? cui non conrepunt membra pavore,

“ Fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus

“ Contremittit, et magnum percurrunt murmura cælum ?

“ Non populi, gentesque tremunt ? Regesque superbi

“ Conripuiunt Divûm percussî membra timore,

“ Ne quod ob admissum fœde dictumve superbe

“ Pœnarum grave sit solvendi tempus adauctum.”

Lucret. de. Rer. Natura, L. v. ver. 1216, &c.

* Fonten. dans l'Eloge du Marq. de Dangeau.

que

que flaté *, dans ce même siècle, où il condamna la même févérité dans la personne de Livius Salinator †.

L. Déférez plutôt aux faits qui viennent d'eux-mêmes vous former un système, qu'à ceux que vous découvrez après avoir conçu ce système. Préférez souvent les petits traits aux faits brillans. Il en est d'un siècle ou d'une nation comme d'un homme. Alexandre se dévoile mieux dans la tente de Darius ‡ que dans les champs de Guagmela. Je reconnois tout autant la férocité des Romains à les voir condamner un malheureux dans l'amphithéâtre, qu'à les considérer qui étranglent un roi captif au pied du capitolé. Il n'y a point d'apparat dans les bagatelles. On se déshabille lors qu'on espère n'être pas vû ; mais le curieux cherche à pénétrer dans les retraites les plus secrètes. Pour décider si la vertu triomphoit chez un peuple dans un certain siècle, j'observe plutôt ses actions que ses discours. Pour le condamner comme vicieux, je fais plus attention à ses discours qu'à ses actions. On loue la vertu sans la connoître, on la connoît sans la sentir, on la sent sans la pratiquer ; mais il en est bien différemment du vice. On s'y porte par passion ; on le justifie par raffinement. D'ailleurs, il y a toujours et partout de grands criminels ; mais si la corruption n'est pas générale, ceux-ci même respectent leur siècle. Si le siècle est vicieux, (et ils sont habiles à le discerner,) ils le méprisent, ils se montrent à découvert, ils bravent ses jugemens ou ils espèrent de se les rendre favorables. Ils ne se trompent guères. Celui qui dans le siècle de Caton eût détesté le vice, se contente d'aimer la vertu dans celui de Tibère.

Le siècle de Tibère le plus vicieux de tous.

LI. J'ai choisi ce siècle avec réflexion. Le vice parvint alors à son comble. La cour de Tibère me l'apprend, mais un petit fait conservé par Suétone et par Tacite, m'en assure encore mieux ; le voici : la vertu des Romains punissoit de mort l'incontinence chez leurs femmes §. Leur politique permettoit la débauche chez les courtisannes || : et pour régler le désordre même on les forma en corps.

Sous

* Liv. L. xxxix. c. 40. Plutarch. in Caton. † Liv. L. xxix. c. 37.

‡ Quint. Curt. de Reb. Gest. Alexandri, L. iii. c. 32.

§ Les Romains confioient la soïn de la vertu des femmes à leur famille. Celle-ci s'assembloit, la jugeoit, si elle étoit accusée, la condamnoit à mort et exécutoit la sentence, si elle se trouvoit coupable. La loi pardonoit aussi au courroux du mari ou du père qui tuoit le galant, surtout s'il étoit de condition servile. V. Plutarch. in Romul. Dionys. Halicarn, L. vii. Tacit. Annal. L. xiii. Valer. Maxim. L. vi. c. 3—7. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. L. viii. p. 859, &c.

|| Le discours de Micio dans Terence, la manière dont Cicéron excuse les débauches de son client, et l'exhortation de Caton, peuvent nous faire connoître la morale des Romains à cet égard. Ils ne blâmoient la débauche que lorsqu'elle détournoit le citoyen de ses devoirs essentiels.

Sous Tibere un grand nombre de femmes de condition, ne rougirent point de se présenter publiquement devant leurs édiles, de se faire inscrire dans le rôle des courtitannes, et de briser par leur propre infamie, la barrière que les loix opposoient à leur prostitution*.

LII. Choisir les faits qui doivent être les principes de nos raisonnemens, on sent combien la tâche est difficile. La négligence ou le mauvais goût d'un historien, peuvent nous faire perdre à-jamais un trait unique, pour nous étourdir du bruit d'un combat. Si les philosophes ne sont pas toujours historiens, il seroit du-moins à souhaiter que les historiens fussent philosophes.

Je ne connois que Tacite qui ait rempli mon idée de cet historien philosophe. L'intéressant Tite-Live lui-même ne sauroit en ce sens lui être comparé. L'un et l'autre ont bien su s'élever au-dessus de ces compilateurs grossiers qui ne voyent dans les faits que des faits : mais l'un a écrit l'histoire en rhéteur, et l'autre en philosophe. Ce n'est pas que Tacite ait ignoré le langage des passions, ou Tite-Live celui de la raison : mais l'un plus attaché à plaire qu'à instruire, vous conduit pas-à-pas à la suite de ses héros, et vous fait éprouver tour-à-tour, l'horreur, l'admiration et la pitié. Tacite ne se sert de l'empire que l'éloquence a sur le cœur, que pour lier à vos yeux la chaîne des événemens, et remplir votre ame des plus sages leçons. Je gravis sur les Alpes avec Annibal ; mais j'assiste au conseil de Tibere. Tite-Live me peint l'abus du pouvoir, une sévérité que la nature approuve en fremissant, la vengeance et l'amour qui s'unissent à la liberté, la tyrannie qui tombe sous leurs coups† : mais les loix des décenvirs, leur caractère, leurs défauts, leurs rapports enfin avec le génie du peuple Romain, avec le parti des Décenvirs, avec leurs desseins ambitieux, il les oublie totalement. Je ne vois point chez lui comment ces loix faites pour une république bornée, pauvre, à demi-sauvage, la bouleversèrent, lorsque la force de son institution l'eut portée au faîte de la grandeur. Je l'aurois trouvé dans Tacite. J'en juge, non-

Parallele de
Tacite et de
Tite-Live.

Leurs oreilles n'étoient pas plus chastes que leur conduite : peu de gens connoissent la *Casina* de Plaute, mais ceux qui ont lu cette misérable pièce, ne peuvent comprendre qu'il n'y ait eu que quarante à cinquante ans de cette farce à l'Andrienne. Une intrigue sale d'esclaves, n'y est relevée que par des pointes et des obscénités dignes d'eux. C'étoit cependant la comédie de Plaute qu'on voyoit avec le plus de plaisir, et qu'on redemandoit le plus souvent. Voilà les mœurs de la seconde guerre Punique, de cette vertu que la postérité des anciens Romains regrettoit et admiroit. V. Terent. *Adelph. Act. 1. Sc. 2. v. 38.* Cicero pro *Cœlio*, c. 17. Horat. *Satyr. L. i. Sat. 2. v. 29. II. Prolog. ad Casin. Plaut.*

* Sueton. *L. iii. c. 35.* Tacit. *Annal. L. ii. c. 85.*

† Liv. *L. iii. c. 44—60.*

seulement par la trempe connue de son génie, mais encore par ce tableau énergique et varié qu'il offre des loix, ces enfans de la corruption, de la liberté, de l'équité et de la faction*.

Remarque
sur une idée
du M. d'A-
lembert.

LIII. Ne suivons point le conseil de cet écrivain qui unit, comme Fontenelle, le savoir et le goût. Je m'oppose, sans crainte du nom flétrissant d'érudit, à la sentence par laquelle ce juge éclairé, mais sévère, ordonne qu'à la fin d'un siècle on rassemble tous les faits, qu'on en choisisse quelques uns et qu'on livre le reste aux flammes†. Conservons-les tous précieusement. Un Montesquieu démêlera dans les plus chétifs, des rapports inconnus au vulgaire. Initons les botanistes. Toutes les plantes ne sont pas utiles dans la médecine, cependant ils ne cessent d'en découvrir de nouvelles. Ils espèrent que le génie et les travaux heureux y verront des propriétés jusqu'à-présent cachées.

On a fait les
hommes
trop systé-
matiques ou
trop capri-
cieux.

LIV. L'incertitude est pour nous un état forcé. L'esprit borné ne sauroit se fixer dans cet équilibre dont se piquoit l'école de Pyrrhon. Le génie brillant se laisse éblouir par ses propres conjectures: il sacrifie la liberté aux hypothèses. De cette disposition naissent les systèmes. On a vû du dessein dans les actions d'un grand homme; on a aperçu un ton dominant dans son caractère, et des spéculatifs de cabinet ont aussitôt voulu faire de tous les hommes, des êtres aussi systématiques dans la pratique que dans la spéculation. Ils ont trouvé de l'art dans leurs passions, de la politique dans leurs foiblesses, de la dissimulation dans leur inconstance; en un mot, à-force de vouloir faire honneur à l'esprit humain, ils en ont souvent fait bien peu au cœur.

Justement choqués de leur raffinement, et fâchés de voir étendre à tous les hommes, des prétentions qu'on eût du borner à un Philippe ou à un César, des esprits plus naturels se sont jetés dans l'autre extrême. Ils ont banni l'art du monde moral, pour y substituer le hazard. Selon eux les foibles mortels n'agissent que par caprice. La fureur d'un écervelé établit un empire: la foiblesse d'une femme le détruit.

Causes gé-
nérales,
mais déter-
minées.

LV. L'étude des causes déterminées, mais générales, doit plaire aux uns et aux autres. Ceux-ci y voyent avec plaisir l'homme humilié, les motifs de ses actions inconnus à lui-même, lui-même le jouet des causes étrangères, et de la liberté de chacun, l'origine d'une nécessité générale. Ceux-là y retrouvent l'enchaînement qu'ils aiment, et les spéculations dont leur esprit se nourrit.

* Tacit. Annal. L. iii. p. 84. edit. Lips.

† D'Alemb. Mélanges de philosophie et de littérature, vol. ii. p. 1.

Qu'une vaste carrière s'ouvre à mes réflexions ! La théorie de ces causes générales seroit entre les mains d'un Montesquieu, une histoire philosophique de l'homme. Il nous les feroit voir réplant la grandeur et la chute des empires, empruntant successivement les traits de la fortune, de la prudence, du courage, et de la foiblesse, agissant sans le concours des causes particulières, et quelquefois même triomphant d'elles. Supérieur à l'amour de ses propres systèmes, dernière passion du sage, il auroit su reconnoître que, malgré l'étendue de ces causes, leur effet ne laisse pas d'être borné, et qu'il se montre principalement dans ces évènements généraux, dont l'influence lente mais sûre change la face de la terre, sans qu'on puisse s'apercevoir de l'époque de ce changement, et surtout dans les mœurs, le religion, et tout ce qui est soumis au joug de l'opinion. Voilà une partie des leçons que ce philosophe eût tirées de ce sujet. Pour moi, j'y trouve simplement une occasion de m'essayer à penser. Je vais indiquer quelques faits intéressans, et tâcherai ensuite d'en rendre raison.

LVI. Nous connoissons le paganisme, ce système riant, mais absurde, qui peuple l'univers d'êtres fantasques, dont la puissance supérieure ne les rend que plus injustes et plus insensés que nous-mêmes. Quelle fut la nature et l'origine de ces dieux ? Furent-ils des princes, des fondateurs de sociétés, des grands hommes inventeurs des arts ? Une reconnaissance ingénieuse, une admiration aveugle, une adulation intéressée plaça-t-elle dans le ciel, ceux qui pendant leur vie avoient été nommés les bienfaiteurs de la terre ? Ou bien faut-il reconnoître dans ces divinités, autant de parties de l'univers auxquelles l'ignorance des premiers hommes avoit accordé la vie et la pensée ? Cette question est digne de notre attention : elle est curieuse, mais elle est difficile.

LVI. Nous ne connoissons guères le système du Paganisme que par les poètes* et par les pères de l'Eglise ; les uns et les autres très adonnés aux fictions†. Les ennemis d'une religion ne la connoissent jamais, parcequ'ils la haïssent, et souvent la haïssent parcequ'ils ne la connoissent pas. Ils adoptent contr'elle, avec empressement, les calomnies les plus atroces. Ils imputent à leurs adversaires des dogmes qu'ils détestent, et des conséquences aux-quelles il n'ont jamais songé. Les sectateurs d'une religion, de l'autre

* Il faut cependant distinguer Homère, Hésiode, Pindare, et les poètes tragiques, qui vécurent pendant que la tradition étoit plus pure.

† Voyez sur cette article la Recherche Libre du Docteur Midleton, et l'Histoire de Manichéisme de M. de Beausobre, deux beaux monumens d'un siècle éclairé.

côté, remplis de cette foi, qui se fait un crime de douter, sacrifient pour sa défense, leur raison et même leur vertu. Forger des prophéties, ou des miracles, pallier ce qu'ils ne peuvent défendre, allégoriser ce qu'ils ne peuvent pallier, et nier hardiment ce qu'ils ne peuvent allégoriser, sont des moyens, que jamais dévot n'a rougi d'employer. Rappelons-nous les Chrétiens et les Juifs. Interrogez leurs ennemis sur leur compte ; c'étoient des magiciens et des idolâtres*, eux, dont le culte étoit aussi épuré, que leurs mœurs étoient sévères. Jamais Musulman n'a hésité sur l'unité de Dieu†. Cependant combien de fois nos bons ayeux ne les ont-ils pas accusés d'adorer les astres‡ ? Dans le sein même de ces religions, il s'est élevé cent sectes différentes, qui, s'accusant les unes les autres d'avoir corrompu leurs dogmes communs, ont inspiré la fureur aux peuples et la modération aux sages. Cependant ces peuples étoient civilisés, et des livres reconnus pour être émanés de la divinité fixoient les principes de leur croyance. Mais où trouver ces principes, dans un amas confus de fables, qu'une tradition isolée, contradictoire, altérée, dictoit à quelques tribus de sauvages dans la Grèce ?

Le raisonnement nous aidera peu.

Pensée sur le culte réciproque des sectes Payennes.

Crésus envoyé à Delphes.

Alexandre consulte l'oracle de Jupiter Ammon.

LVII. Le raisonnement nous est ici d'un foible secours. Il est absurde de consacrer des temples à ceux dont on voit les sépulcres. Qu'y a-t-il de trop absurde pour les hommes ? Ne connoit-on pas des nations très éclairées, qui en appellent au témoignage des sens pour les preuves d'une religion, dont un dogme principal contredit ce témoignage ? Cependant si les dieux du paganisme avoient été des hommes, le culte réciproque|| que leurs adorateurs leur rendoient, eût été bien peu raisonnable, et une tolérance peu raisonnable n'est pas l'erreur du peuple.

LVIII. Crésus fait consulter l'oracle de Delphes§, Alexandre traverse les sables brulans de la Lybie pour demander à Jupiter Ammon s'il est son fils¶. Mais ce Jupiter Grec, ce roi de Crète, devenu le maître de la foudre, n'en eût-il pas écrasé cet Ammon, ce Lybien, ce nouveau Salmonée, qui tentoit de la lui arracher ? Deux rivaux se disputent l'empire de l'univers, peut-on à la fois les reconnoître tous

* Tacit. Hist. L. v. Fleury. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 369. et tom. ii. p. 51 et les Apologies de Justin Martyr et de Tertullien, qui y sont citées.

† D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. Artic. Allah. p. 100, et Sale's Alcoran. Prelim. Disc. p. 71.

‡ Reland. de Rel. Mahomm. Part. ii. c. 6 & 7.

|| V. Warburton's Divine Legation, tom. i. p. 270—276. § Herodot. L. i.

¶ Diodor. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. L. iv. c. 7. Arrian. L. iii.

deux? Mais si l'un et l'autre ne furent que l'éther, le ciel, la même divinité, le Grec et l'Africain l'auront désigné par les symboles qui convenoient à leurs mœurs, et par les noms que leurs langues leur fournissoient pour exprimer ses attributs. Mais loin de nous les raisonnemens, ce sont les faits qu'il faut interroger. Écoutons leur réponse.

LIX. Malheureux habitans des forêts, ces Grecs si orgueilleux tenoient tout des étrangers. Les Phéniciens leur apprirent l'usage des lettres; les arts, les loix, tout ce qui élève l'homme au dessus des animaux, ils le durent aux Egyptiens. Ces derniers leur apportèrent leur religion, et les Grecs, en l'adoptant, payerent le tribut que l'ignorance doit au savoir. Le préjugé ne fit qu'une résistance de bienfaisance, et se rendit sans difficulté, après avoir entendu l'oracle de Dodone, qui décida pour le nouveau culte*. Tel est le récit d'Hérodote, qui connoissoit la Grèce et l'Égypte, et dont le siècle placé entre la grossièreté de l'ignorance et les raffinements de la philosophie rend le témoignage décisif.

LX. Je vois déjà disparoitre une bonne partie des légendes Grecques, l'Apollon né dans l'île de Délos, le Jupiter enseveli dans la Crète. Si ces dieux habiterent autrefois la terre, l'Égypte et non la Grèce fut leur patrie. Mais si les prêtres de Memphis furent aussi bien leur religion que l'Abbé Banier†, jamais l'Égypte ne donna naissance à leurs dieux. A travers leur métaphysique ténébreuse, la raison luit assez pour leur faire sentir que jamais homme ne peut devenir Dieu, ni jamais Dieu être transformé en simple homme‡. Mystérieux dans leurs dogmes et dans leur culte, ces interprètes du ciel et de la sagesse, déguisèrent, par un langage pompeux, les vérités de la nature, qu'un peuple grossier eût méprisées dans leur majestueuse simplicité. Les Grecs méconnurent cette religion à bien des égards. Ils l'altérèrent par des mélanges étrangers, mais le fonds demeura, et ce fonds Egyptien fut par conséquent allégorique||.

LXI.

* Herodot. L. ii.

† Dans sa mythologie expliquée par l'histoire.

‡ Herodot. L. ii.

|| Je dois beaucoup, dans ces recherches, au savant Freret de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Il a donné des ouvertures dans une route, qui paroît vue de tous cotés. Je crois cependant que ses raisonnemens valent mieux, lorsqu'il est question de faits que quand il s'agit de dogmes. Prévenu d'estime pour ce littérateur, je devrai avidement sa réponse à la chronologie Newtonienne; mais oserai-je de le dire? il ne répondit point à mon attente. Que lui reste-t-il de nouveau, si vous lui ôtez les principes d'une théologie et d'une chronologie

Le culte héroïque.

LXI. Le culte héroïque, si bien distingué de celui des dieux dans les premiers siècles de la Grèce, nous montre que les dieux n'étoient pas des héros*. Les anciens croyoient que les grands hommes, admis après leur mort aux festins des dieux, jouissoient de leur félicité, sans participer à leur puissance. Ils s'assembloient autour des tombeaux de leurs bienfaiteurs ; leurs chants de louanges† célébroient leur mémoire, et faisoient naître une émulation salutaire de leurs vertus. Leurs ombres évoquées des enfers goûtoient avec plaisir les offrandes de la dévotion‡. Il est vrai que cette dévotion devint insensiblement un culte religieux, mais ce ne fut que très tard, et lorsqu'on identifia ces héros avec des divinités anciennes, dont ils portoient le nom, ou rappelloient le caractère. Dans le siècle d'Homère, on les distinguoit encore. Hercule n'est point un de ses dieux. Il ne reconnoit Esculape que pour un médecin distingué||, et Castor et Pollux sont pour lui des guerriers morts et enterrés à Sparte§.

Système d'Ephémère.

LXII. La superstition avoit cependant franchi ces limites, les héros étoient devenus des dieux, et le culte qu'on rendoit aux dieux les avoit tirés du rang des hommes ; lorsque un philosophe hardi entreprit de prouver qu'ils l'avoient été. Ephémère le Messénien avança ce paradoxe¶. Mais loin d'en appeler aux monumens authentiques de la Grèce et de l'Égypte, qui auroient dû conserver la mémoire de ces hommes célèbres ; il va se perdre dans l'océan. Une Utopie méprisée de tous les anciens, une île de Panchaïe, riche, fertile, superstitieuse, et connue à lui seul, lui offre dans un temple magnifique de Jupiter une colonne d'or, où Mercure avoit gravé les exploits et l'apothéose des héros de

gie nouvelles, que nous possédions déjà (1), des généalogies défectueuses et très peu concluantes, quelques recherches minutieuses, sur la chronologie de Sparte, une astronomie ancienne, que je n'entends pas trop bien, et la belle préface de M. Bougier, que je relis toujours avec un goût nouveau ?

* Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 28, &c.

† V. Mem. de Litter. tom. xii. p. 5. &c. et Ezech. Spanheim in Callim.

‡ Homer. Odyss. L. xi.

|| Homer. Iliad, L. iv. v. 193.

§ Id. L. v. v. 241.

¶ Lactant. Institut. L. i. c. xi. p. 62.

“ Auriquis auctor Ephemerus, qui fuit à civitate Messanâ, res gestas Jovis et cæterorum qui Dii putantur collegit, historiamque contextit ex titulis et inscriptionibus sacris, quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur, maximeque in fano Jovis Triphylîi, ubi auream columnam positam esse ab ipso Jove, titulus indicabat, in quâ columnâ gesta sua perscripsit ut monumentum esset posteris rerum suarum.” Ce récit de Lactance diffère un peu de celui de Diodore.

(1) Dans le Mem. de l'Acad. tom. v. xviii. xx. xxiii.

la race*. Ces fables étoient trop grossières pour les Grecs eux-mêmes. Elles ne valurent à leur auteur le mépris général avec le nom d'Athée†.

LXIII. Enhardis, peut être par son exemple, les Crétois se vantèrent de posséder le tombeau de Jupiter, qui étoit mort dans leur île, après y avoir long tems regné‡. Callimaque se montre indigné de cette fiction, et son scholiaste nous en dévoile l'origine§. On avoit écrit sur un tombeau, *Tombeau de Minos fils de Jupiter*. Le tems ou le dessein fit disparoître les mots de *fils* et de *Minos*; on lut *Tombeau de Jupiter¶*. Cependant le système d'Ephémère s'accréditoit lentement malgré ses preuves. Diodore de Sicile parcourut la terre, pour rassembler dans les traditions des divers peuples de quoi l'appuyer**. Mais les Stoïciens, dans leur mélange bizarre du Théisme le plus pur, du Spinofisme et de l'idolatrie populaire, rapportoient ce paganisme, dont ils étoient les zélateurs au culte de la nature brisée en autant de dieux qu'elle a de faces différentes. Cicéron cet académicien, pour qui tout étoit ob-

* Diodore de Sicile, L. v. L. 29, 30. et L. vi.

Il y a sur Ephémère une dissertation de M. Fourmont l'aîné, qui contient des conjectures très hardies, et des emportemens fort plaisans (1). Il sied mal à un jeune homme de mépriser quoi que ce soit, mais je ne saurois résister cette pièce sérieusement. Celui qui ne voit pas que la Panchaie décrite dans Diodore de Sicile étoit située au midi de la Gédrosie, et à l'occident peu éloignée de la péninsule des Indes, peut croire avec M. Fourmont que le Golfe Arabe est au midi de l'Arabie heureuse, que le pays de Phank sur le continent est l'île de Panchaie, que le désert de Pharan est le plus beau lieu du monde, et que la ville de Pierie en Syrie est la capitale d'un petit canton aux environs de Medine.

† Callim. ap. Plut. tom. ii. p. 880. Eratosth. et Polyh. ap. Strab. Georg. L. ii. p. 102, 103. et L. vii. p. 299. edit. Casaub.

‡ Gerard Vossius de Histor. Græcis, L. i. c. xi. fait voir que non seulement les Payens lui donnoient ce nom, mais encore Theophile d'Antioche parmi les Chrétiens et Joseph parmi les Juifs; ce qui fait voir qu'Ephémère en attaquant les dieux des Grecs, n'en reconnoissoit point d'autres.

§ Lactant. Instit. L. i. c. xi. p. 65. Lucian Timon, p. 34. et Jupit. Frag. p. 701. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

¶ Callimach. Hym. in Jovem, v. 8. et Scholiast. Vet. in loc. edit. Græc.

¶ Tel est le récit du scholiaste adopté par le Chevalier Newton. Mais Lactance rapporte l'inscription ZAN XPONOI, ce qui m'a l'air bien plus antique. Lucien, car les fables vont toujours en augmentant, nous apprend, que Minos portoit que Jupiter ne tonnoit plus, qu'il avoit subi le sort des mortels, *ἤλεσαν ὡς καὶ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸν Ζεὺς, τὸν καὶ πάλαι*.

** Diodore de Sicile dans les cinq premiers livres, passim.

(2) Mem. de Littér. tom. xv. p. 265, 266.

jection et rien n'étoit preuve, ose à peine leur opposer le système d'Ephémère*.

Ne prevalut
que sous
l'empire
Romain.

LXIV. Ce ne fut que sous l'empire Romain, que les idées du Muffénien prirent le dessus. Dans le tems qu'un monde esclave décernoit le titre de dieux à des monstres indignes de celui d'hommes, c'étoit faire sa cour que de confondre Jupiter et Domitien. Bienfaiteurs de la terre, ainsi les appelloit l'adulation, leur droit à la divinité étoit le même; leur nature, et leur puissance étoient égales. Par politique ou par méprise, Pline lui-même ne se garantit pas de cette erreur†. En vain Plutarque essaya-t-il de revendiquer la foi de ses ayeux‡. Ephémère regna par tout; et les pères de l'Eglise, se servant de leurs avantages, attaquèrent le paganisme du côté le plus foible. Pourroit on les blâmer? Si les dieux prétendus ne furent pas en effet des hommes défiés, ils l'étoient devenus, du moins dans l'opinion de leurs adorateurs; et les pères n'en vouloient qu'à leurs opinions.

Enchaîne-
ment des
erreurs.

LXV. Allons plus loin; tâchons de suivre l'enchaînement non des faits, mais des idées, de sonder le cœur humain, et de démêler ce fil d'erreurs, qui du sentiment vrai, simple, et universel qu'il y a une puissance au dessus de l'homme, le conduisit par degrés à se faire des dieux, auxquels il eût rougi de ressembler.

Sentimens
confus du
sauvage.

Le sentiment n'est qu'un retour sur nous-mêmes. Les idées se rapportent aux objets hors de nous. Leur nombre, en occupant l'esprit, affoiblit le sentiment. C'est donc parmi les sauvages, dont les idées sont bornées aux besoins, et les besoins simplement ceux de la nature, que le sentiment doit être le plus vif, quoiqu'en même tems le plus confus. Le sauvage ressent à tout moment des agitations, qu'il ne peut ni expliquer ni reprimer. Ignorant et foible, il craint tout, parcequ'il ne peut se défendre de rien. Il admire tout, parcequ'il ne connoit rien. Le mépris bien fondé de lui-même, car la vanité est un ouvrage de la société, lui fait sentir l'existence d'une puissance supérieure. C'est cette puissance, dont il ignore les attributs, qu'il invoque, et dont il demande des grâces, sans savoir à quel titre il en peut espérer. Ce sentiment peu distinct produisit les dieux bons des premiers Grecs, et les divinités de la plus part des sauvages, et les uns et les autres n'en sûrent régler ni le nombre, ni le caractère, ni le culte.

* Cicér. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

† Plin. Hist. Natur. L. vii. c. 51. et. pass.

‡ Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. de Isid. et Osirid.

LXVI. Bientôt le sentiment devint idée. Le sauvage ^{Il adore tout} rendit son hommage à tout ce qui l'entouroit. ^{ce qu'il voit;} Tout devoit lui paroître plus excellent que lui-même. Ce chêne majestueux, qui le couvroit de son feuillage épais, avoit ombragé ses ayeux, depuis l'origine de sa race. Il élevoit sa tête ^{pourquoi?} jusqu'aux nues; le fier Aquilon se perdoit à travers ses branches. Auprès de cet arbre altier qu'étoit la durée, la taille, la force? La reconnoissance se joignit à l'admiration. Cet arbre qui lui prodiguoit les glands, cette onde claire où il se désalteroit, étoient des bienfaiteurs qui rendoient sa vie heureuse; sans eux il ne pouvoit subsister, mais quel besoin avoient-ils de lui? En effet sans les lumières qui nous apprennent combien la raison seule est supérieure à toutes ces parties nécessaires d'un système intelligent, chacune d'elles est au dessus de l'homme. Mais privé de ces lumières, le sauvage leur accorda à chacune la vie et la puissance. Il se prosterna devant son ouvrage.

LXVII. Les idées du sauvage sont uniques, parcequ'elles ^{Ses idées} sont simples. Remarquer les qualités différentes des objets, ^{sont uni-} observer celles qui leur sont communes, et de cette ressemblance former une idée abstraite, qui représente le genre, sans être l'image d'aucun objet particulier; sont les ouvrages de l'esprit, qui agit, qui se replie sur lui-même, et qui déjà surchargé d'idées, cherche à se soulager par la méthode. Dans le premier état, l'âme passive et ignorant ses forces, ne fait que recevoir les impressions étrangères: ces impressions ne lui rendent les objets qu'isolés, et comme ils sont en eux-mêmes! Le sauvage rencontroit ses dieux par tout, chaque forêt, chaque prairie en fourmilloit.

LXVIII. L'expérience développa ses idées; car les na- ^{Il combine} tions, comme les hommes, doivent tout à l'expérience. Son ^{ses idées et} esprit familiarisé avec un grand nombre d'objets étrangers ^{multiplie ses} s'aperçut de leur nature commune, et cette nature devint ^{dieux.} pour lui une nouvelle divinité supérieure à tous ces dieux particuliers. Mais chaque chose qui existe a son existence déterminée à un tems ou à un lieu; et c'est ce qui la distingue de toute autre chose. L'homme a dû se conduire différemment à l'égard de ces deux manières d'exister, l'une sensible et devant les yeux, l'autre passagère, métaphysique, et qui n'est peut-être que la succession des idées. La nature commune, différenciée uniquement par le tems, a dû faire disparaître les natures particulières, pendant que celles qui sont distinguées par les lieux ont pu subsister comme parties de la nature commune. Le dieu des rivières n'a point attenté sur les droits du Tibre où du Cliturne*, mais le vent

* Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xii. p. 36. Plin. Epist. L. viii. Epist. 3;

du Sud qui souffloit hier, et celui que nous ressentons aujourd'hui, ne sont l'un et l'autre que ce tyran furieux, qui soulève les flots de la mer Adriatique*.

Suite de ses
combinaisons.
Légers.

LXIX. Plus on s'exerce à penser, plus on fait de combinaisons. Deux genres sont différens à quelques égards, ils se ressemblent à d'autres : ils sont destinés au même usage, ils font partie du même élément. La fontaine devient rivière, la rivière se perd dans la mer. Cette mer fait partie du vaste océan qui embrasse toute l'étendue de la terre, et la terre elle-même renferme dans son sein tout ce qui subsiste par un principe de végétation. A mesure que les nations se sont éclairées, leur idolâtrie a dû se raffiner. Elles ont mieux senti combien l'univers est gouverné par des loix générales; elles se sont plus rapprochées de l'unité d'une cause efficiente. Jamais les Grecs n'ont su simplifier leurs idées au delà de l'eau, de la terre et du ciel, qui, sous les noms de Jupiter, de Neptune, et de Pluton, contenoient et régissoient toutes choses. Mais les Egyptiens, d'un génie plus propre aux spéculations abstraites, formèrent enfin leur Osiris† le premier des Dieux, le principe intelligent, qui agissoit sans cesse sur le principe matériel, connu sous le nom d'Isis sa femme et sa sœur. Des gens, qui croyoient à l'éternité de la matière, ne pouvoient guères aller plus loin.

Génération
et hiérarchie
des dieux.

LXX. Jupiter, le Dieu de la mer et le noir Pluton étoient frères. Toutes les branches de leur postérité s'étendoient à l'infini, et renfermoient toute la nature. Telle étoit la mythologie des anciens. Pour des hommes grossiers, l'idée de génération étoit plus naturelle que celle de création. Elle étoit plus aisée à saisir, elle supposoit moins de puissance, on y étoit conduit par des liaisons sensibles; mais aussi cette génération les menoit à établir une hiérarchie, dont ces êtres libres mais bornés ne pouvoient pas se passer. Les trois grands Dieux exercoient une puissance paternelle sur leurs enfans, habitans de la terre, des airs, et des mers.

* Hor. Carm. L. iii. Od. 3.

“ ——— Neque Auster.

“ Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ.”

† Remarquez que cet Osiris et sa sœur étoient les plus jeunes des dieux. Il avoit fallu aux Egyptiens, un grand nombre de siècles, pour parvenir à cette simplicité (1).

‡ Le culte du soleil a été connu de tous les peuples. Je dirai ce qui m'en paroît la raison. C'est peut-être le seul objet de l'univers à la fois sensible et unique. Sensible à tous les peuples, de la manière la plus brillante et la plus bienfaisante, il enlevait leurs hommages. Unique et indivisible, les raisonneurs qui n'étoient pas trop difficiles trouvoient en lui tous les grands traits de la divinité.

(1) Diodore de Sicile. L. i. 4, 8.

et la primogéniture de Jupiter lui donnoit une supériorité sur ses frères, qui lui mérita le titre de roi des dieux, et de pere des hommes. Mais ce roi, ce pere suprême, étoit trop borné à tous égards, pour nous permet re de faire honneur aux Grecs de la croyance d'un être suprême.

LXXI. Ce système, tout mal construit qu'il étoit, rendoit raison de tous les effets de la nature. Mais le monde moral, l'homme, son sort, et ses actions étoient sans divinités. L'éther ou la terre y eut été peu propre. Du besoin de nouveaux dieux naquit une nouvelle chaîne d'erreurs, qui, s'unissant avec la première, ne forma qu'un même Roman théologique. Je soupçonne que ce système nâquit plus tard. L'homme ne songe guères à rentrer en lui-même, qu'après avoir épuisé les objets étrangers.

LXXII. Deux hypothèses ont toujours été, et seront toujours. Dans l'une, l'homme n'a reçu du Créateur que la raison et la volonté. C'est à lui à décider de l'usage qu'il en fera, et à régler ses actions à son gré. Dans l'autre, il ne peut agir que suivant les loix préétablies de la Divinité, dont il n'est que l'instrument. Le sentiment le trompe, et lorsqu'il croit suivre sa volonté, il ne suit en effet que celle de son maître. Ces dernières idées ont pu naître dans l'esprit d'un peuple à peine sorti de l'enfance. Peu fait aux ressorts compliqués de la machine, les grandes vertus, les crimes atroces, les inventions utiles de ce petit nombre d'âmes singulières, qui ne doivent rien à leur siècle, lui parurent surpasser les forces humaines. Il vit partout des dieux agissans, qui inspiroient le vice ou la vertu aux foibles mortels, incapables de se soustraire à leurs volontés*. Ce n'est pas la prudence qui inspire à Pandare le dessein de rompre la trêve, et de décocher un trait au cœur de Ménélas. C'est Minerve qui le pousse à cet attentat†. La malheureuse Phèdre n'est point coupable. Vénus, outrée des mépris d'Hyppolite, allume dans le cœur de cette reine une flamme incestueuse qui la précipite au crime et à la mort‡. Un dieu se chargea de chaque événement de la vie, de chaque passion de l'ame, et de chaque ordre de la société.

Dieux de la vie humaine.

Systèmes de la liberté et de la nécessité.

Les anciens suivoient le dernier.

* Je ne suis pas trop content de cet endroit. Je donne la meilleure raison que j'ai pu trouver; mais il me semble que dans ces premiers siècles, on eût dû être guidé par le sentiment, et le sentiment est tout entier du côté de la liberté.

† Homer. Iliad. L. iv v. 93, &c.

‡ Αλλ' ἔτι ταύτη τον δ' ἐρώτα χρεῖ πασειν.

Δειξω δὲ ὅπως τραγῶμα, καὶ φανησεται.

Και τον μεν ημιν πολέμιον πεφυκοτα

Κτενεῖ πατρὸς ἀραισι, ...

Ἡ δ' εὐκλεῆς μεν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶ ἀπολυται

Φαίδρα ————— (1).

(1) Euripid. Hippol. Act 1. v. 40.

Union des
deux espèces
du dieux.

LXXIII. Mais ces dieux de l'homme, ces passions et ces facultés généralisées et personifiées de cette manière, n'avoient qu'une existence métaphysique et trop peu sensible pour les hommes. Il falloit les fondre avec les dieux de la nature, et c'est ici que l'allégorie imagina mille rapports fantastiques, car l'esprit veut au moins une apparence de vérité. Il étoit naturel que le dieu de la mer le fut des matelots. L'expression figurée de cet œil qui voit tout, de ces rayons qui percent les airs, pouvoit aisément faire du soleil, un habile prophète, et un archer adroit. Mais pourquoi la planète Vénus est-elle mère des amours ? Pourquoi s'éleve-t-elle de l'écume des flots ? Laissons ces énigmes aux devins. Aussi tôt que les départements des dieux de la nature humaine furent établis, ils durent enlever tout le culte des homes. Ils parloient au cœur et aux passions, au lieu que les dieux physiques, qui n'avoient point acquis n'attributs moraux, rentrèrent insensiblement dans le mépris et dans l'oubli. Aussi n'est-ce que dans l'antiquité la plus reculée que je vois fumer les autels de Saturne*.

Des dieux
ont des pas-
sions hu-
maines.

LXXIV. Les dieux s'intéressent donc dans les affaires humaines. Il ne se passe rien dont ils ne soient les auteurs. Mais sont-ils les auteurs du crime ? Cette conséquence nous effraye : un payen n'hésitoit point à l'admettre, et ne pouvoit en effet hésiter. Les dieux inspiroient souvent des desseins vicieux. Pour les suggérer, il falloit les vouloir, et même les aimer. Il ne leur restoit pas la ressource d'un petit mal permis dans le meilleur des mondes possibles†. Ce mal n'étoit pas seulement permis, il étoit autorisé, et d'ailleurs les différentes divinités, bornées à leurs départements particuliers, étoient très indifférentes à un bien général qu'elles ne connoissoient point. Chacune suivoit son caractère, et n'inspiroit que les passions qu'elle ressentoit. Le dieu de la guerre étoit fier, brutal, et sanguinaire ; la déesse de la prudence, sage, retenue, peu sincère ; la mère des amours, aimable, voluptueuse, emportée, dans ses caprices ; la ruse et la souplesse convenoient au dieu des marchands ; et les cris des malheureux flatoient l'oreille du tyran soupçonneux des morts, du noir monarque des enfers.

Ils ont des
préférences.

LXXV. Un dieu pere des hommes l'est de tous également. Il ne connoît ni la haine, ni la faveur. Mais les divinités partiales doivent avoir des favoris. Ne distingueront-elles pas ceux dont le goût est conforme au leur ? Mars ne peut qu'aimer ces Thraces dont la guerre est l'unique occupation ‡, et ces Scythes dont la boisson la plus délicieuse

* J'entens chez les Grecs ; son culte se conserva long tems en Italie.

† Fontenelle dans l'Eloge de M. de Leibnitz.

‡ Herodot. L. v. c. 4, 5. Meziriac. Comm. sur les Epit. d'Ovide, tom. I. p. 162.

est le sang de leurs ennemis*. Les mœurs d'un habitant de Cypré † ou de Corinthe, lieux où tout respiroit le luxe et la mollesse, devoient plaire à la déesse des amours. La reconnoissance se joignoit au goût. Des sentimens de préférence étoient dus à des peuples, dont les mœurs n'étoient qu'un culte détourné de leurs dieux tutélaires. Le culte même qu'on leur rendoit se rapportoit toujours à leur caractère. Ces victimes humaines qui expiroient sur l'autel de Mars ‡, ces mille courtisanes qui se dévouoient au temple de Venus §, toutes ces femmes distinguées de Babylone, qui lui immoloient leur pudeur ||, ne pouvoient qu'attirer à ces divers peuples, la faveur la plus distinguée de leurs protecteurs. Mais comme les intérêts des nations ne sont pas moins opposés que leurs mœurs, il falloit que les dieux adoptassent les querelles de leurs adorateurs. "Quoi ! voir avec patience que cette ville qui m'élève cent temples succombe sous le fer d'un conquérant ? Ah ! plutôt ! . . ." C'est ainsi que chez les Grecs, une guerre parmi les hommes en allumoit une parmi les dieux. Troye bouleversa le ciel. Le Scamandre vit briller l'égide de Minerve, il fut témoin de l'effet des fleches sorties du carquois d'Apollon, il sentit le redoutable trident de Neptune, qui soulevoit la terre sur ses fondemens. Quelquefois les arrêts inévitable destin rétablissoient la paix ¶. Mais le plus souvent les divers

Leurs querelles.

* Herodot. L. iv. c. 64, 65.

† M. de Vaugelas m'apprend que lorsqu'il s'agit de l'antiquité il faut toujours dire Cypré, quoique le nom moderne soit Chypre (1). Je vois que MM. de Fenelon (2) et de Vertot (3) ont fait cette distinction.

‡ Herod. L. v. c. 4, 5. Minuc. Fœl. Octav. c. 25. p. 258. Luc Pharf. L. i. Lactant. L. i. c. 25.

§ Strab. Geog. L. viii. p. 378.

|| Herod. L. i. c. 199.

Elles étoient tenues de se prostituer une fois de leur vie au premier venu, dans le temple de Venus. M. de Voltaire, qui leur impose cette obligation une fois tous les ans, la traite de fable insensée (4). Cependant Hérodote avoit voyagé sur les lieux, et M. de Voltaire a trop lu l'histoire, pour ignorer combien de triomphes pareils la superstition a remportés sur l'humanité et sur la vertu. Que pense-t-il d'un acte de foi ? Je prévins sa réponse. Au reste j'ignorois que Babylone fût la ville de l'univers la mieux policée. Quinte Curce la dépeint comme la plus licencieuse ; Bérose le Babylonien se plaint lui même que ses concitoyens, franchissant toutes les barrières de la pudeur, vivoient à la manière des bêtes, et le scholiaste de Juvenal nous fait sentir que de son tems ils n'avoient point dégénérés (5).

(1) Rem. de M. de Vaugelas sur la langue François, tom. i. p. 102, 103.

(2) Dans le Telemaque.

(3) Dans son Hist. de Malthe.

(4) Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. vi. p. 24.

(5) Quint. Curt. Gest. Alex. L. v. c. 1. et Comment. Freinsheim. in Loc.

dieux convenoient mutuellement de s'abandonner réciproquement leurs ennemis *; car sur l'Olympe, comme sur la terre, la haine a toujours été plus puissante que l'amitié.

Ils ont la figure humaine.

LXXVI. Un culte épuré eût été peu assorti à de telles divinités. Les peuples veulent des objets sensibles; une figure qui décore leurs temples, et fixe leurs idées. Il falloit assurément la plus belle de toutes les figures. Mais qu'elle est cette figure? Demandez-le aux hommes, c'est sans doute la leur. Peut-être un taureau répondrait-il un peu différemment †. La sculpture se perfectionne pour servir à la dévotion, et les temples se remplissent de statues de vieillards, de jeunes gens, de femmes, et d'enfans, suivant les attributs différens de chacun des dieux.

Ils éprouvent les plaisirs et les maux corporels.

LXXVII. La beauté n'est peut-être fondée que sur l'usage. La figure humaine n'est belle que parce qu'elle se rapporte si bien aux usages auxquels elle est destinée. La figure divine est la même; il faut que ses usages le soient aussi, et même ses défauts. Delà cette génération grossière des dieux, qui ne composent plus qu'une famille à la manière des hommes; delà leurs fêtes de nectar et d'ambrosie, et la nourriture qu'ils reçoivent dans les sacrifices ‡. De là encore leur sommeil §, et leurs douleurs ¶. Des dieux, devenus des hommes très puissans, devoient souvent visiter la terre, habiter dans les temples, se plaire aux amusemens de l'homme, assister à la chasse, à la danse, et quelquefois, devenir sensibles aux charmes d'une mortelle, et donner naissance à une race de héros.

Événemens généraux.

LXXVIII. Dans ces grands événemens, où, du jeu d'un grand nombre d'acteurs, dont les vues, la situation et le caractère diffèrent, il naît une unité d'action, ou plutôt d'effet; c'est peut-être dans les seules causes générales qu'il faut chercher la leur.

Mélange de causes dans les événemens particuliers.

LXXIX. Dans les événemens plus particuliers, le procédé de la nature est très différent de celui des philosophes. Chez elle il y a peu d'effets assez simples, pour ne devoir leur origine qu'à une seule cause; au lieu que nos sages s'attachent d'ordinaire à une cause, non seulement universelle, mais unique. Evitons cet écueil; pour peu qu'une action paroisse compliquée, admettons-y les causes générales, sans rejeter le dessein et le hasard. Sylla se démet du pouvoir souverain. César le perd avec la vie:

* Eurip. Hippolit. Act v. ver. 1327. et Ovid. Metam. passim.

† Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. i. c. 27, 28.

‡ V. les Césars de Julien par M. Spanheim, p. 257, 258. Rem. 876. lre Oiseau d'Aristophane et Lucien presque partout.

§ Hom. Iliad. L. i, v. 609.

¶ Id. L. v. ver. 335.

Cependant leurs attentats avoient été précédés par leurs conquêtes : avant de devenir les plus puissans des Romains, ils en étoient les plus renommés. Auguste les suit de près. ^{Elévation} Tyran sanguinaire*, soupçonné de lâcheté, le plus grand des ^{d'Auguste.} crimes dans un chef de parti†, il parvient au trône, et fait oublier aux républicains qu'ils eussent jamais été libres. La disposition de ces républicains diminue ma surprise. Egalement incapables de liberté sous Sylla et sous Auguste, ils ignoroient cette vérité sous celui-là : des guerres civiles et deux proscriptions plus cruelles que la guerre, leur avoient appris, du tems de celui-ci, que la république, affaïssée sous le poids de sa grandeur et de sa corruption, ne pouvoit subsister sans maître. D'ailleurs Sylla, chef de la noblesse, combattoit à la tête de ces fiers patriciens, qui vouloient bien l'armer du glaive du despotisme pour les venger de leurs ennemis et des siens, mais non laisser entre ses mains le pouvoir de les détruire eux-mêmes. Ils avoient vaincu, non pour lui mais avec lui : la harangue de Lépide‡, et la conduite de Pompée § font assez sentir que Sylla aime mieux descendre du trône qu'en tomber. Mais Auguste, à l'exemple de César ||, ne se sert que de ces hardis aventuriers, Agrippa, Mecene, Pollion, dont la fortune attachée à la sienne s'évanouissoit dans une aristocratie de nobles, divisés entr'eux, mais unis pour accabler tout homme nouveau. ^{Ses causes}

LXXX. Des circonstances heureuses, les débauches d'Antoine, la foiblesse de Lépide, la crédulité de Cicéron travaillèrent de concert pour lui avec cette disposition générale : mais il faut avouer aussi que, s'il ne fit pas naître ces circonstances, il les employa en grand politique. Que la variété de mes objets ne me permet-elle de faire connoître ce gouvernement raffiné, ces chaînes qu'on portoit sans les sentir, ce prince confondu parmi les citoyens, ce sénat respecté par son maître ¶ ! Choisissons en un trait.

* Après la prise de Peruse il sacrifia trois cens des principaux citoyens sur un autel érigé à la divinité de son père. V. Suet. L. ii. c. 15.

† Sueton L. ii. c. 16.

‡ Sallust. Fragm. p. 404. Edit. Thyé

§ Freinsheim. Supplem. L. lxxxix. c. 26—33.

|| Tacit. Annal. L. iv. p. 109. Sueton. ubi infra.

¶ J'attens avec impatience la suite des dissertations sur ce sujet, que M. de la Bletterie nous a promises. Le système d'Auguste si souvent méconnu y paroîtra dessiné jusqu'à ses moindres rameaux. Cet auteur pense avec finesse et une aimable liberté, il discute sans sécheresse, et s'exprime avec toutes les graces d'un style clair et élégant. Peut-être que, Descartes de l'histoire, il raisonne un peu trop à priori, et qu'il établit ses conclusions moins sur de autorités particulières que sur des inductions générales : mais ce défaut est celui d'un homme de beaucoup d'esprit.

Auguste, maître des revenus de l'empire et des richesses du monde, distingua toujours son patrimoine de particulier du trésor public. Il fit ainsi paroître à peu de frais sa modération, qui laissoit à ses héritiers des biens inférieurs à ceux de plusieurs de ses sujets *, et son amour de la patrie, qui avoit abandonné au service de l'état deux patrimoines entiers et une somme immense provenue des legs de ses amis défunts †.

Même action cause et effet.

LXXXI. Une pénétration ordinaire suffit pour sentir lorsqu'une action est à la fois cause et effet. Dans le monde moral il y en a beaucoup qui le sont ; ou plutôt, il y en a très-peu qui ne tiennent plus ou moins de la nature de l'une et de l'autre.

La corruption de tous les ordres des Romains vint de l'étendue de leur empire, et produisit la grandeur de la république ‡.

Mais il faut un jugement peu commun, lorsque deux choses existent toujours ensemble, et paroissent intimement liées, pour discerner qu'elles ne se doivent point leur origine l'une à l'autre.

Les sciences ne viennent pas du luxe.

LXXXII. Les sciences, dit-on, naissent du luxe : un peuple éclairé fera toujours vicieux. Je ne le crois pas. Les sciences ne sont point les filles du luxe ; mais l'une et l'autre naissent de l'industrie. Les arts ébauchés se font aux premiers besoins de l'homme. Perfectionnés, ils lui en trouvent de nouveaux, depuis le bouclier de Minerve de Vitellius § jusqu'aux entretiens philosophiques de Cicéron. Mais à mesure que le luxe corrompt les mœurs, les sciences les adoucissent ; semblables aux prières dans Homère, qui parcourent toujours la terre à la suite de l'injustice, pour adoucir les fureurs de cette cruelle divinité ||.

* Toutes déductions faites de ses legs au peuple et aux soldats, Auguste ne laissa à Tibère et à Livie que millies quingenties, trente millions de livres. L'augure Lentulus, mort sous son règne, possédoit quatre millies, quatre-vingt millions. V. Sueton. L. ii. c. 101. Senec. de Benefic. L. ii.

† Quatre decies millies, deux cens quatre vingt millions. V. Suet. Loc. citat et marmor. Ancyran.

‡ V. Montefq. Confid. sur la Grandeur des Romains.

Je distingue la grandeur de l'empire Romain d'avec celle de la république : l'une consistoit dans le nombre des provinces, l'autre dans celle des citoyens.

§ Vitellius envoya des galères jusqu'aux colonnes d'Hercule, pour chercher les plus rares, dont il remplît ce plat monstrueux. Si nous en croyons M. Arbuthnot, il coûta 765,625 l. sterling. V. Sueton. in Vitellio. c. 13. Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 138.

|| Μετοπισθ' ατης αλεγειναι κινσαι.

Homer. Iliad. L. ix. v. 500.

Voilà

Voilà quelques réflexions qui m'ont paru solides sur les *Conclusion.*
différens usages des Belles-Lettres. Heureux si je pouvois
en inspirer le goût ! J'aurois trop bonne opinion de moi-
même, si je ne sentoie pas les défauts de cet essai ; j'en au-
rois une trop mauvaise, si je n'espérois pas que dans un âge
moins précoce et avec des connoissances plus étendues je
pourrai me voir plus en état d'y suppléer. On pourra dire
que ces réflexions sont vraies, mais usées, ou qu'elles sont
nouvelles, mais paradoxales. Quel auteur aime les critiques ?
Cependant la première me déplairoit le moins. L'avantage
de l'art m'est plus cher que la gloire de l'artiste.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

D E S I G N

OF THE

SIXTH BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

THE allegorical interpretation which the Bishop of Gloucester has given of the sixth book of the Æneid, seems to have been very favourably received by the Public. Many writers both at home and abroad, have mentioned it with approbation, or at least with esteem, and I have more than once heard it alleged, in the conversation of scholars, as an ingenious improvement on the plain and obvious sense of Virgil. As such, it is not undeserving of the notice of a candid critic; nor can the enquiry be void of entertainment, whilst Virgil is our constant theme. Whatever may be the fortune of the chace, we are sure it will lead us through pleasant prospects and a fine country.

That I may escape the imputation as well as the danger of misrepresenting his lordship's hypothesis, I shall expose it in his own words. "The purpose of this discourse is "to shew that Æneas's adventure to the INFERNAL "SHADES, is no other than a figurative description of his "INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES; and particularly a "very exact one of the SPECTACLES of the ELEUSI- "NIAN*." This general notion is supported with singular ingenuity, dressed up with an easy yet pompous display of learning, and delivered in a style much fitter for the Hierophant of Eleusis, than for a modern critic, who is observing a remote object through the medium of a glimmering and doubtful light:

Ibant obscuri, solâ sub nocte, per umbram.

* See Warburton's Dissertation, &c. in the third volume of Mr. Warton's Virgil, I shall quote indifferently that Dissertation or the Divine Legation itself.

His lordship naturally enough pursues two different methods, which unite, as he apprehends, in the same conclusion. From general principles peculiar to himself, he refers the propriety and even necessity of such a description of the mysteries; and from a comparison of particular circumstances, he labours to prove that Virgil has actually introduced it into the *Æneid*. Each of these methods shall be considered separately.

As the learned Prelate's opinions branch themselves out into luxuriant systems, it is not easy to resume them in a few words. I shall, however, attempt to give a short idea of those general principles, which occupy, I know not how, so great a share of the *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*.

“ The whole system of Paganism, of which the mysteries were an essential part, was instituted by the antient lawgivers for the support and benefit of society. The mysteries themselves were a school of morality and religion, in which the vanity of Polytheism*, and the unity of the First Cause, were revealed to the initiated. Virgil, who intended his immortal poem for a republic in action, as those of Plato and Tully were in precept, could not avoid displaying this first and noblest art of government. His perfect lawgiver must be initiated, as the antient founders of states had been before him; and as Augustus himself was many ages afterwards.”

What a crowd of natural reflections must occur to an unbiassed mind! Was the civil magistrate the mover of the whole machine; the sole contriver, or at least the sole support of religion? Were antient laws ALWAYS designed for the benefit of the people, and NEVER for the private interest of the lawgiver? Could the first fathers of rude societies instruct their new-made subjects in philosophy as well as in agriculture? Did they all agree, in Britain as in Egypt, in Persia as in Greece, to found these secret schools on the same common principle; which subsisted nearly eighteen hundred years at Eleusis† in its primæval purity? Can these things be? Yes, replies the learned Prelate, they are: “ Egypt was the mysterious mother of Religion and Policy; and the arts of Egypt were diffused with her colonies over the antient world. Inachus

* At least of the vulgar polytheism, by revealing that the *dii majorum gentium* had been mere mortals.

† From their institution, 1399 years before the Christian æra, (Marm. Arundel. Ep. 14.) till their suppression, towards the end of the fourth century.

“carried the mysteries into Greece, Zoroaster into Persia*, &c. &c.”—I retire from so wide a field, in which it would be easy for me to lose both my myself and my adversary. The ANTIENT WORLD, EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, and FOUR HUNDRED AUTHORS GENUINE AND APOCRYPHAL†, would, under tolerable management, furnish some volumes of controversy; and since I have perused the two thousand and fourteen pages of the unfinished *Legation*, I have less inclination than ever to spin out volumes of laborious trifles.

I shall, however, venture to point out a fact, not very agreeable to the favourite notion, that Paganism was entirely the religion of the magistrate. The oracles were not less antient, nor less venerable than the mysteries. Every difficulty, religious or civil, was submitted to the decision of those infallible tribunals. During several ages no war could be undertaken, no colony founded, without the sanction of the Delphic oracle; the first and most celebrated among several hundred others‡. Here then we might expect to perceive the directing hand of the magistrate. Yet when we study their history with attention, instead of the alliance between church and state, we can discover only the antient alliance between the avarice of the priest and the credulity of the people.

* Though I hate to be positive, yet I would almost venture to affirm, that Zoroaster's connection with Egypt is no where to be found, except in the *D. L.*

† See a list of four hundred authors, quoted, &c. in the *D. L.* from St. Austin and Aristotle, down to Scarron and Rabelais. Amongst these authors we may observe Sanchoniatho, Orpheus, Zaleucus, Charondas, the Oracles of Porphyry, and the History of Jeffrey of Monmouth.

The bishop has entered the lists with the tremendous Bentley, who treated the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas as the forgeries of a sophist. A whole section of mistakes or misrepresentations is devoted to this controversy: but Bentley is no more, and W————n may sleep in peace.

I shall, however, disturb his repose, by asking him on what authority he supposes that the old language of the Twelve Tables was altered for the convenience of succeeding ages. The fragment of those laws, collected by Lipsius, Sylburgius, &c. bear the Stamp of the most remote antiquity. Lipsius himself (tom. i. p. 206.) was highly delighted with those *antiquissima verba*: but what is much more decisive, Horace (*L. ii. Ep. i. ver. 23*), Seneca (*Epistol. 114*), and Aulus Gellius (*XX. 1*), rank those laws amongst the oldest remains of the Latin tongue. Their obsolete language was admired by the lawyers, ridiculed by the wits, and pleaded by the friends of Antiquity as an excuse for the frequent obscurities of that code.

Had an adversary to the *Divine Legation* been guilty of this mistake, I am afraid it would have been styled an *egregious blunder*.

‡ See Vandale de Oraculis, p. 559. That valuable book contains whatever can now be known of oracles. I have borrowed his facts; and could with great ease have borrowed his quotations.

For my own part, I am very apt to consider the mysteries in the same light as the oracles. An intimate connection subsisted between them*: Both were preceded and accompanied with fasts, sacrifices, and lustrations; with mystic sights and preternatural sounds: But the most essential preparations for the *ASPIRANT*, was a general confession of his past life, which was exacted of him by the priest. In return for this implicit confidence, the Hierophant conferred on the initiated a sacred character; and promised them a peculiar place of happiness in the Elysian fields, whilst the souls of the profane (however virtuous they had been) were wallowing in the mire†. Nor did the priests of the mysteries neglect to recommend to the brethren a spirit of friendship, and the love of virtue; so pleasing even to the most corrupt minds, and so requisite to render any society respectable in its own eyes. Of all these religious societies, that of Eleusis was the most illustrious. From being peculiar to the inhabitants of Attica, it became at last common to the whole Pagan world. Indeed, I should suspect that it was much indebted to the genius of the Athenian writers, who bestowed fame and dignity on whatever had the least connection with their country; nor am I surprised that Cicero and Atticus, who were both initiated, should express themselves with enthusiasm, when they speak of the sacred rites of their beloved Athens.

But our curiosity is yet unsatisfied; we would press forwards into the sanctuary; and are eager to learn *WHAT* was the *SECRET* which was revealed to the initiated, and to them alone. Many of the profane, possessed of leisure and ingenuity, have tried to guess, what has been so religiously concealed. The *SECRET* of each is curious and philosophical; for as soon as we attempt this enquiry, the honour of the mysteries becomes our own‡. I too could

* The prophet Alexander, whose arts are so admirably laid open by Lucian, instituted his oracle and his mysteries as regular parts of the same plan. It is here we may say, with the learned catholic, “*Les nouveaux Saints me font douter des anciens.*”

† See Diogen. Laert. vi. 39. and Menag. ad loc.

‡ I shall sum them up in a curious passage of the celebrated Freret. “*Les sectes philosophiques cherchoient à deviner le dogme caché sous le voile des ceremonies; et tâchoient de le ramener chacune à leur doctrine. Dans l’hypothèse des Epicuriens, adoptée de nos jours par M. M. Leclerc et Warburton,*” (Leclerc *adopted* it in the year 1687; Mr. Warburton *invented* it in the year 1738, “*tout ce qu’on révéloit aux adeptes après tant de préparatifs et d’épreuves, c’est que les dieux adorés du vulgaire, avoient été des hommes, &c. Les Stoiciens et les Hylozoïstes supposoient qu’on enseignoit aux Initiés, qu’il n’y avoit d’autres dieux que les élémens et les parties de l’univers matériel. Enfin suivant les nouveaux Platoniciens, ces symboles servoient*” à couvrir

could frame an hypothesis, as plausible perhaps, and as uncertain as any of theirs. did I not feel myself checked by the apprehension of discovering what never existed*. I admire the discretion of the initiated; but the best security for discretion is, the vanity of concealing that we have nothing to reveal.

The examples of great men, when they cannot serve as models, may serve as warnings to us. I should be very sorry to have discovered, that an ATHEISTICAL HISTORY† was used in the celebration of the mysteries, to prove the unity of the First Cause, and that an ANTIENT HYMN‡ was sung, for the edification of the devout Athenians, which was most probably a MODERN FORGERY of some Jewish or Christian Impostor. Had I delivered THESE TWO DISCOVERIES, with an air of confidence and triumph, I should be still more mortified.

After all, as I am not apt to give the name of Demonstration to what is mere conjecture, his lordship may take advantage of my scepticism, and still affirm, that his favourite mysteries were schools of theism, instituted by the lawgiver. Yet unless Æneas is the lawgiver of Virgil's republic, he has no more business with the mysteries of Athens, than with the laws of Sparta. We will, therefore, reflect a moment on the true nature and plan of the Æneid.

An epic fable must be important as well as interesting: great actions, great virtues, and great distresses, are the peculiar province of heroic poetry. This rule seems to

“à couvrir les dogmes d'une théologie et d'une philosophie sublimes, enseignées autrefois par les Egyptiens & les Chaldéens.” Mr. Freret inclines, though with great diffidence, to the last opinion. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. tom. xxi. p. 12. Hist.*

* Je ne suis si convaincu de notre ignorance par les choses qui sont, et dont la raison nous est inconnue; que par celles qui ne sont point et dont nous trouvons la raison. *Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. xi. p. 229.*

† *The Fragment of Sanchoiatho's Phœnician History.* Eusebius and Bishop Cumberland have already observed, that the formation of the world is there attributed to the blind powers of matter, without the least mention of an intelligent cause.

‡ *Orpheus's Hymn to Musæus*, quoted by Justin Martyr, and several other fathers, but rejected as spurious by Cudworth (*Intellectual System*, p. 300,) by Leclerc (*Hist. Eccl. p. 692*), and by Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. i. p. 199*). The first of these, the *immortal Cudworth*, is often celebrated by the Bishop of Gloucester; Leclerc's literary character is established; and with respect to Dr. Jortin, I will venture to call him a learned and moderate critic. The few who may not choose to confess, that their objections are unanswerable, will allow that they deserve to be answered.

have

have been dictated by nature and experience, and is very different from those chains in which genius has been bound by artificial criticism. The importance I speak of, is not indeed always dependant on the rank or names of the personages. Columbus, exploring a new world with three floops and ninety sailors, is a hero worthy of the epic muse; yet our imagination would be much more strongly affected by the image of a virtuous prince saved from the ruins of his country, and conducting his faithful followers through unknown seas and through hostile lands. Such is the hero of the *Æneid*. But his peculiar situation suggested other beauties to the Poet, who had an opportunity of adorning his subject with whatever was most pleasing in Grecian fable, or most illustrious in Roman history. *Æneas* had fought under the walls of Ilium; and conducted to the banks of the Tyber a colony from which Rome claimed her origin.

The character of the hero is expressed by one of his friends in a few words; and, though drawn by a friend, does not seem to be flattered:

*Rex erat Æneas nobis; quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*.*

These three virtues, of JUSTICE, of PIETY, of VALOR, are finely supported throughout the poem†.

I. I shall here mention one instance of the hero's justice, which has been less noticed than its singularity seems to deserve.

After Evander had entertained his guests, with a sublime simplicity, he lamented, that his age and want of power made him a very useless ally. However, he points out auxiliaries, and a cause worthy of a hero. The Etruscans, tired out with the repeated tyrannies of Mezentius, had driven that monarch from his throne, and reduced him to implore the protection of Turnus. Unsatisfied with freedom, the Etruscans called loudly for revenge; and, in the Poet's opinion, revenge was justice.

*Ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis:
Regem ad supplicium præsentì Marte repossunt‡.*

* *Æneid*, i. 548.

† M. de Voltaire condemns the latter part of the *Æneid*, as far inferior in fire and spirit to the former. As quoted in the *Legation*, he thinks that Virgil

— *s'épuise avec Didon et rate à la fin Lavinie*;

a pretty odd quotation for a Bishop; but I most sincerely hope, that neither his lordship nor Mrs. W——n are acquainted with the true meaning of the word *rater*;

‡ *Æneid*, viii. 495.

Æneas, with the approbation of gods and men, accepts the command of these brave rebels, and punishes the tyrant with the death he so well deserved. The conduct of Æneas and the Etruscans may, in point of justice, seem doubtful to many; the sentiments of the Poet cannot appear equivocal to any one. Milton himself, I mean the Milton of the commonwealth, could not have asserted with more energy the daring pretensions of the people, to punish as well as to resist a tyrant. Such opinions, published by a writer whom we are taught to consider as the creature of Augustus, have a right to surprize us; yet they are strongly expressive of the temper of the times; the republic was subverted, but the minds of the Romans were still republican.

2. Æneas's piety has been more generally confessed than admired. St. Evremond laughs at it, as unsuitable to his own temper. The Bishop of Gloucester defends it, as agreeable to his own system of the lawgiver's religion. The French wit was too superficial, the English scholar too profound, to attend to the plain narration of the Poet, and the peculiar circumstances of antient heroes. WE believe from faith and reason: THEY believe from the report of their senses. Æneas had seen the Grecian divinities overturning the foundations of fated Troy. He was personally acquainted with his mother Venus, and with his persecutor Juno, Mercury, who commanded him to leave Carthage, was as present to his eyes as Dido, who strove to detain him. Such a knowledge of religion, founded on sense and experience, must insinuate itself into every instant of our lives, and determine every action. All this is, indeed, fiction; but it is fiction in which we choose to acquiesce, and which we justly consider as the charm of poetry. If we allow, that Æneas lived in an intimate commerce with the superior beings, we must likewise allow his love or his fear, his confidence or his gratitude, towards those beings, to display themselves on every proper occasion. Far from thinking Æneas too pious, I am sometimes surprized at his want of faith. Forgetful of the fates, which had so often and so clearly pointed out the destined shores of Latium, he deliberates whether he shall not sit down quietly in the fields of Sicily. An apparition of his father is necessary to divert him from this impious and ungenerous design.

3. A hero's valour will not bear the rude breath of suspicion; yet has the courage of Æneas suffered from an unguarded expression of the Poet:

*Exemplò Æneæ solvuntur frigore membra;
Ingemit*.*

* Æneid, i. 96.

On every other occasion the Trojan chief is daring without rashness, and prudent without timidity. In that dreadful night, when Troy was delivered up to her hostile gods, he performed every duty of a soldier, a patriot, and a son.

— *Moriamur, et in media arma ruamus.
Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem*.*

*Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
Tector, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
Vitavisse vices Danaûm; et, si fata fuissent
Ut caderem, meruisse manu†.*

To quote other proofs of the same nature, would be to copy the six last books of the *Æneid*. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning the calm and superior intrepidity of the hero, when, after the perfidy of the Rutuli, and his wound, he rushed again to the field, and restored victory by his presence alone.

*Ipse neque aversos dignatur sternere morti;
Nec pede congressos æquo, nec tela ferentes
Insequitur: solum densa in caligine Turnum
Vesligat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit‡.*

At length, indignant that his victim has escaped, his contempt gives way to fury:

*Jam tandem invadit medios, & Marte secundo
Terribilis, sævam nullo discrimine cædem
Suscitât, irarumque omnes effundit habenas||.*

The heroic character of *Æneas* has been understood and admired by every attentive reader. But to discover the **LAWGIVER** in *Æneas*, and a **SYSTEM OF POLITICS** in the *Æneid*, required the **CRITICAL TELESCOPE**§ of the great

* *Æneid*, ii. 353.

† *Idem*, ii. 341.

‡ *Idem*, xii. 464.

|| *Idem*, xii. 397.

§ Others are furnished by criticism with a *telescope*. They see with great clearness whatever is too remote to be discovered by the rest of mankind; but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They discover in every passage some secret meaning, some remote allusion, some artful allegory, or some occult imitation, which no other reader ever suspected; but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the contexture of narration, the various colours of diction, or the flowery embellishments of fancy. Of all that engages the attention of others they are totally insensible; while they pry into the worlds of conjecture, and amuse themselves with phantoms in the clouds.
Rambler.

W——n. The naked eye of common sense cannot reach so far. I revolve in my memory the harmonious sense of Virgil: Virgil seems as ignorant as myself of his political character. I return to the less pleasing pages of the *Legation*: so far from condescending to proofs, the Author of the *Legation* is even sparing of conjectures.

“Many political instructions may be drawn from the *Ænid*.” And from what book which treats of MAN, and the adventures of human life, may they not be drawn? His lordship’s chymistry (did his hypothesis require it) would extract a SYSTEM OF POLICY from the ARABIAN NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS.

“A system of policy delivered in the example of a great prince, must shew him in every public occurrence of life. Hence, Æneas was of necessity to be found voyaging, with Ulysses, and fighting, with Achilles*.”

There is another public occurrence, at least as much in the character of a LAWGIVER, as either voyaging or fighting; I mean GIVING LAWS. Except in a single line†, Æneas never appears in that occupation. In Sicily, he compliments Acestes with the honour of giving laws to the colony, which he himself had founded:

*Interea Æneas urbem designat aratro,
Sortiturque domos: hoc Ilium, & hæc loca Trojæ
Esse jubet. Gaudet regno Trojanus Acestes,
Indiciture forum, & partibus dat jura vocatis‡.*

In the solemn treaty, which is to fix the fate of his posterity, he disclaims any design of innovating the laws of Latium. On the contrary, he only demands a hospitable seat for his gods and his Trojans; and professes to leave the whole authority to king Latinus.

*Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambæ
Inviçtæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.
Sacra deoque dabo: socer arma Latinus habeto,
Imperium solumne socer: mihi mœnia Teucris
Constituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen§.*

* D. L. vol. i. p. 212.

† Æneid, iii. 137.

‡ Idem, v. 755.

§ Idem, xii. 189.

“ But, after all, is not the fable of *Æneid* the establishment of an empire ?” Yes, in one sense, I grant it is. *Æneas* had many external difficulties to struggle with. When the Latins were defeated, Turnus slain, and Juno appeased, these difficulties were removed. The hero’s labour was over, the lawgiver’s commenced from that moment ; and, as if Virgil had a design against the bishop’s system, at that very moment the *Æneid* ends. Virgil, who corrected with judgment and felt with enthusiasm, thought perhaps, that the sober arts of peace could never interest a reader, whose mind had been so long agitated with scenes of distress and slaughter. He might perhaps say, like the Sylla of Montesquieu, “ J’aime à remporter des victoires, “ à fonder ou détruire des états, à faire des ligues, à punir “ un usurpateur ; mais pour ces minces détails de gouvernement, où les génies médiocres ont tant d’avantages, “ cette lente exécution des loix, cette discipline d’une milice “ tranquille, mon ame ne sçauroit s’en occuper *.”

Had Virgil designed to compose a POLITICAL INSTITUTE, the example of Fenelon, his elegant imitator, may give us some notion of the manner in which he would have proceeded. The preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy professedly designed to educate a prince for the happiness of the people. Every incident in his pleasing romance is subservient to that great end. The goddess of wisdom, in a human shape, conducts her pupil through a varied series of instructive adventure ; and every adventure is a lesson or a warning for Telemachus. The pride of Sesostris, the tyranny of Pygmalion, the perfidy of Adrastus, and the imprudence of Idomeneus, are displayed in their true light. The innocence of the inhabitants of *Bœtica*, the commerce of Tyre, and the wise laws of Crete and Salentum, instructed the prince of the various means by which a people may be made happy. From the Telemachus of Fenelon, I could pass with pleasure to the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon. But I should be led too far from my subject, were I to attempt to lay open the true nature and design of that philosophical history. We must return from Fenelon and Xenophon to the Bishop of Gloucester.

His lordship props the legislative character of *Æneas* with an additional support : “ Augustus, who was shadowed in the person of *Æneas*, was initiated into the Eleusini- “ an mysteries †. *Ergo*, &c.” This doctrine of types and shadows, though true in general, has on this, as well as

* *Oeuvres de Montesquieu*, tom. iii. p. 555 † *D. L.* vol. i. p. 228.

on graver occasions, produced a great abuse of reason, or at least of reasoning. To confine myself to Virgil, I shall only say, that he was too judicious to compliment the Emperor, at the expence of good sense and probability. Every age has its manners; and the poet must suit his hero to the age, and not the age to his hero. It is easy to give instances of this truth. Marc Antony, when defeated and besieged in Alexandria, challenged his competitor to decide their quarrel by a single combat. This was rejected by Augustus with contempt and derision, as the last effort of a desperate man*; and the world applauded the prudence of Augustus, who preferred the part of a general to that of a gladiator. The temper and good sense of Virgil must have made him view things in the same light; yet, when Virgil introduces Æneas in similar circumstances, he gives him a quite different conduct. The hero wishes to spare the innocent people, provokes Turnus to a single combat, and, even after the perfidy and last defeat of the Rutuli, is still ready to risk his person and victory, against the unhappy life and desperate fortunes of his rival. The laws of honour are different in different ages; and a behaviour which in Augustus was decent, would have covered Æneas with infamy.

We may apply this observation to the very case of the Eleusinian mysteries. Augustus was initiated into them, at a time when Eleusis was become the COMMON TEMPLE OF THE UNIVERSE. The Trojan hero could not, with the smallest propriety, set him that example; as the Trojan hero lived in an age when those rites were confined to the natives of Greece, and even of Attica†.

I have now wandered through the scientific maze in which the Bishop of Gloucester has concealed his first and general argument. It appears (when resumed) to amount to this irrefragable demonstration, "THAT IF THE MYSTERIES WERE INSTITUTED BY LEGISLATORS, (which they probably were not,) ÆNEAS (who was no legislator) MUST OF COURSE BE INITIATED INTO THEM BY THE POET."

And here I shall mention a collateral reason assigned by his lordship, which might engage Virgil to introduce a

* Plutarch, in Vit. M. Anton. tom. i. 950. Wechel,

† Plutarch, in Vit. Thesei, tom. i. p. 16. Herodot. viii. 65. Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 42. The gradation of Athenians, Greeks, and mankind at large, may be traced in these passages.

description of the mysteries: the PRACTICE of OTHER POETS. This proof is so exceedingly brittle, that I fear to handle it; and shall report it faithfully in the words of our ingenious critic*:

“ Had the old poem under the name of Orpheus been now extant, it would perhaps have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus’s initiation; and that the hint of this Sixth Book was taken from thence.”

As nothing now remains of that old poem, except the title, it is not altogether so easy to guess what it would or would not have shewn us.

“ But farther, it was customary for the poets of the Augustan age to exercise themselves on the subject of the mysteries, as appears from Cicero, who desires Atticus, then at Athens, and initiated, to send to Chilius, a poet of eminence, an account of the Eleusinian mysteries; in order, as it should seem, to insert them in some poem he was then writing.”

The Eleusinian mysteries are not mentioned in the original passage. Cicero using the obscure brevity of familiar letters, desires that Atticus would send their friend Chilius, ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ†, which may signify twenty different things, relative either to the worship of Ceres in particular, or to the Athenian institutions in general; but which can hardly be applied to the Eleusinian mysteries‡.

“ Thus it appears that both the ancient and modern poets afforded Virgil a pattern for this famous episode.”

How does this appear? From an old poem, of whose contents the critic is totally ignorant, and from an obscure passage, the meaning of which he has most probably mistaken.

Instead of conjecturing what Virgil might or ought to do, it would seem far more natural to examine what he has done. The Bishop of Gloucester attempts to prove, that the descent to hell is properly an initiation; since the

* D. L. vol. i. p. 233.

† Chilius te rogat, et ego ejus rogatus; ευμολπιδων πατριά. Cicero ad Attica. i. 9.

‡ As the B. of G. alleges the authority of Victorius, I shall shelter myself under the names and reasons of Grævius and the Abbé Mongault, and even transcribe the words of the former. “ Non est ut hic intelligantur ritus illi secretiores, qui tantum mystis noti erant, et sine capitis periculo vulgari non poterant, sed illa sacra et ceremoniæ, quibus in Eleusiniis celebrandis utebantur in omnium oculis Eumolpidæ; quasque poetæ et prisce scriptores alii commemorant passim: aut fortè per Eumolpidas intelligit testè ipsos Athenienses: ut petierit Chilius, Atheniensium leges et disciplinam sibi describi et mitti.”

Sixth Book of the Æneid really contains the secret doctrine as well as the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries.

What was this SECRET DOCTRINE? As I profess my ignorance, we must consult the oracle. "The secret doctrine of the mysteries revealed to the initiated, that JUPITER . . . AND THE WHOLE RABBLE OF LICENTIOUS DEITIES, WERE ONLY DEAD MORTALS*." Is any thing like this laid open in the Sixth Book of Virgil? Not the remotest hint of it can be discovered throughout the whole book; and thus, to use his Lordship's own words, SOMETHING (I had almost written EVERY THING) is still wanting "to complete the IDENTIFICATION †."

Notwithstanding this disappointment, which is cautiously concealed from the reader, the learned Bishop still courtes round the Elysian Fields in quest of a secret. Once he is so lucky as to find Æneas talking with the poet Musæus, whom tradition has reckoned among the founders of the Eleusinian mysteries. The critic listens to their conversation; but, alas! Æneas is only inquiring, in what part of the garden he may find his father's shade; to which Musæus returns a very polite answer. Anchises himself is our last hope. As that venerable shade explains to his son some mysterious doctrines, concerning the universal mind and the transmigration of souls, his lordship is pleased to assure us, that these are THE HIDDEN DOCTRINES OF PERFECTION revealed only to the initiated. Let us for a moment lay aside hypothesis, and read Virgil.

It is observable, that the three great poets of Rome were all addicted to the Epicurean philosophy; a system, however, the least suited to a poet; since it banishes all the genial and active powers of nature, to substitute in their room a dreary void, blind atoms, and indolent gods. A description of the infernal shades was incompatible with the ideas of a philosopher whose disciples boasted, that he had rescued the captive world from the tyranny of religion, and the fear of a future state. These ideas Virgil was obliged to reject: but he does still more; he abandons not only the CHANCE of Epicures, but even these gods, whom he so nobly employs in the rest of his poem, that he may offer to the reader's imagination a far more specious and splendid set of ideas:

*Principio cælum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet ‡.*

* D. L. vol. i. p. 154.

† Idem, p. 277.

‡ Æneid, vi. 724.

The more we examine these lines, the more we shall feel the sublime poetry of them. But they have likewise an air of philosophy, and even of religion, which goes off on a nearer approach. The mind which is INFUSED* into the several parts of matter, and which MINGLES ITSELF with the mighty mass, scarcely retains any property of a spiritual substance; and bears too near an affinity to the principles, which the impious Spinoza revived rather than invented.

I am not insensible, that we should be slow to suspect, and still slower to condemn. The poverty of human language, and the obscurity of human ideas, make it difficult to speak worthily of THE GREAT FIRST CAUSE. Our most religious poets, in striving to express the presence and energy of the Deity, in every part of the universe, deviate unwarily into images which are scarcely distinguished from materialism. Thus our Ethic Poet:

“ All are but parts of one stupendous whole,

“ Whose body Nature is, and God the soul†;”

and several passages of Thomson require a like favourable construction. But these writers deserve that favour, by the sublime manner in which they celebrate the great Father of the Universe, and by those effusions of love and gratitude, which are inconsistent with the materialist's system. Virgil has no such claim to our indulgence. THE MIND of the UNIVERSE is rather a metaphysical than a theological being. His intellectual qualities are faintly distinguished from the powers of matter, and his moral attributes, the source of all religious worship, form no part of Virgil's creed.

Yet is this creed approved‡ by our orthodox prelate, as free from any mixture of Spinozism. I congratulate his lordship on his indulgent and moderate temper. His brethren (I mean those of former times) had much sharper eyes for spying out a latent heresy. Yet I cannot easily persuade myself, that Virgil's notions were ever the creed of a religious society, like that of the mysteries. Luckily, indeed, I have no occasion to persuade myself of it; unless I should prefer his lordship's mere authority to the voice of antiquity, which assures me, that this system was either invented or imported into Greece by Pythagoras; from the writings of whose disciples Virgil might so very naturally borrow it.

* Quomodo porro Deus iste si nihil esset nisi animus, aut infixus aut infusus esset in mundo. Cicero de Naturâ Deor. L. i. c. 11.

† Pope's Essay on Man, epistle i. ver. 267.

‡ D. L. vol. i. p. 278.

Anchises then proceeds to inform his son, that the souls both of men and of animals were of celestial origin, and (as I understand him) parts of the universal mind; but that by their union with earthly bodies they contracted such impurities as even death could not purge away. Many expiations, continues the venerable shade, are requisite, before the soul, restored to its original simplicity, is capable of a place in Elysium. The far greater part are obliged to revisit the upper world, in other characters and in other bodies; and thus, by gradual steps, to reascend towards their first perfection.

This moral transmigration was undoubtedly taught in the mysteries. As the Bishop asserts this from the best authority, we are surprized at a sort of diffidence, unusual to his lordship, when he advances things from his own intuitive knowledge. In one place, this transmigration is part of the hidden doctrine of perfection*; in another, it is one of those principles which were promiscuously communicated to all †. The truth seems to be, that his lordship was afraid to rank among the secrets of the mysteries, what was professed and believed by so many nations and philosophers. The pre-existence of the human soul is a very natural idea; and from that idea speculations and fables of its successive revolution through various bodies will arise. From Japan to Egypt, the transmigration has been part of the popular and religious creed ‡. Pythagoras § and Plato || have endeavoured to demonstrate the truth of it, by facts, as well as by arguments.

Of all these visions (which should have been confined to the poets) none is more pleasing and sublime, than that which Virgil has invented. Æneas sees before him his posterity, the heroes of ancient Rome; a long series of airy forms

“Demanding life, impatient for the skies,”
and prepared to assume, with their new bodies, the little passions and transient glories of their destined lives.

Having ¶ thus revealed the secret doctrine of the mysteries, the learned Prelate examines the ceremonies. With the assistance of Meursius**, he pours out a torrent of erudition to convince us, that the scenes through which

* D. L. vol. i. p. 279.

† Idem, p. 142.

‡ See our modern relations of Japan, China, India, &c. and for Egypt, Herodotus, L. ii.

§ Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 69, &c. 158, &c.

|| Plato in Phædro and in Republic. L. x.

¶ I shall mention here, once for all, that I do not always confine myself to the ORDER of his lordship's PROOFS.

** Meursii Eleusinia, sive de Cereris Eleusinæ sacro.

Æneas passed in his descent to the shades, were the same as were represented to the aspirants in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. From thence his lordship draws his great conclusion, that the descent is no more than an emblem of the hero's initiation.

A staunch polemic will feed a dispute, by dwelling on every accessory circumstance, whilst a candid critic will confine himself to the more essential points of it. I shall, therefore, readily allow, what I believe may in general be true, that the mysteries exhibited a theatrical representation of all that was believed or imagined of the lower world; that the aspirant was conducted through the mimic scenes of Erebus, Tartarus, and Elysium; and that a warm enthusiast, in describing these awful spectacles, might express himself as if he had actually visited the infernal regions*. All this I can allow, and yet allow nothing to the Bishop of Gloucester's hypothesis. It is not surprizing that the COPY was like the ORIGINAL; but it still remains undetermined, WHETHER VIRGIL INTENDED TO DESCRIBE THE ORIGINAL OR THE COPY.

Lear and Garrick, when on the stage, are the same; nor is it possible to distinguish the player from the monarch. In the green-room, or after representation, we easily perceive, what the warmth of fancy and the justness of imitation had concealed from us. In the same manner it is from extrinsic circumstances, that we may expect the discovery of Virgil's allegory. Every one of those circumstances persuades me, that Virgil described a real, not a mimic world, and that scene lay in the infernal shades, and not in the temple of Ceres.

The singularity of the Cumæan shores must be present to every traveller who has once seen them. To a superstitious mind, the thin crust, vast cavities, sulphureous streams, poisonous exhalations, and fiery torrents, may seem to trace out the narrow confine of the two worlds. The lake Avernus was the chief object of religious horror; the black woods which surrounded it, when Virgil first came to Naples, were perfectly suited to feed the superstition of the people†. It was generally believed, that this deadly flood was the entrance of hell‡; and an oracle was once established on its banks, which pretended, by magic rites, to call up the departed spirits§. *Æneas*, who revolved a more daring enterprise, addresses himself to the priestesses of those

* See D. L. vol. i. particularly p. 280.

† Strabo, L. v. p. 168.

‡ Silius Italicus, L. xii.

§ Diod. Sicul. L. iv. p. 267. edit. Westfeling.

dark regions. Their conversation may perhaps inform us, whether an initiation, or a descent to the shades, was the object of this enterprize. She endeavours to deter the hero, by setting before him all the dangers of his rash undertaking:

—*Facilis descensus Averni :*

*Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis ;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est *.*

These particulars are absolutely irreconcilable with the idea of initiation, but perfectly agreeable to that of a real descent. That every step, and every instant, may lead us to the grave is a melancholy truth. The mysteries were only open at stated times, a few days at most in the course of the year. The mimic descent of the mysteries was laborious and dangerous, the return to light easy and certain. In real death, this order is inverted:

—*Pauci, quos æquus amavit*

*Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere †.*

These heroes, as we learn from the speech of Æneas, were Hercules, Orpheus, Castor and Pollux, Theseus, and Pirithous. Of all these, antiquity believed, that before their death they had seen the habitations of the dead; nor, indeed, will any of the circumstances tally with a supposed initiation. The adventure of Eurydice, the alternate life of the brothers, and the forcible intrusion of Alcides, Theseus, and Pirithous, would mock the endeavours of the most subtle critic, who should try to melt them down into his favourite mysteries. The exploits of Hercules, who triumphed over the king of terrors,

*Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit,
Ipsum à solio regis traxitque trementem ‡ ;*

was a wild imagination of the Greeks §. But it was the duty of antient poets to adopt and embellish these popular traditions: and it is the interest of every man of taste, to acquiesce in THEIR POETICAL FICTIONS.

* Æneid, vi. 126.

† Idem, vi. 129.

‡ Idem, vi. 395.

§ Homer, Odyss. L. xi. ver. 623. Apoll. Biblioth. L. ii. c. 5.

After this, we may leave ingenious men to search out what, or whether any thing gave rise to those idle stories. Diodorus Siculus represents Pluto as a kind of undertaker, who made great improvements in the useful art of funerals*. Some have sought for the poetic hell in the mines of Epirus†, and others in the mysteries of Egypt. As this last notion was published in French‡, six years before it was invented in English§, the learned author of the *D. L.* has been severely treated by some ungenerous adversaries¶. Appearances, it must be confessed, wear a very suspicious aspect: but what are appearances, when weighed against his lordship's declaration, "That this is a point of honour in which he is particularly delicate; and that he may venture to boast, that he believes no author was ever more averse to take to himself what belonged to another¶¶." Besides, he has enriched this mysterious discovery with many collateral arguments, which would for ever have escaped all inferior critics. In the case of Hercules, for instance, he demonstrates, that the initiation and the descent to the shades were the same thing, because an antient has affirmed that they were different**; and that Alcides was initiated at Eleusis, before he set out for Tænarus, in order to descend to the infernal regions.

There is, however, a single circumstance, in the narration of Virgil, which has justly surprized critics, unacquainted with any but the obvious sense of the poet; I mean the **IVORY GATE**. The Bishop of Gloucester seizes this, as the secret mark of allegory, and becomes eloquent in the exultation of triumph††. I could, however, represent to him, that in a work which was deprived of the author's last revision, Virgil might too hastily employ what Homer had invented, and at last unwarily slide into an Epicurean idea‡‡. Let this be as it may, an obscure expression is a weak basis

* Diodor. Sicul. L. v. p. 386. Edit. Wesseling.

† Leclerc. Biblioth. Universelle, tom. vi. p. 55.

‡ By the Abbé Teraillon, in his philosophical romance of Sethos, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1732. See the third book, from beginning to end. The author was a scholar and a philosopher. His book has far more variety and originality than Telemachus. Yet Sethos is forgotten, and Telemachus will be immortal. That harmony of style, and the great talent of speaking to the heart and passions, which Fenelon possessed, was unknown to Teraillon. I am not surprized that Homer was admired by the one, and criticized by the other.

§ See *D. L.* vol. I. p. 228., &c. The first edition was printed in London, in the year 1738.

¶ Cowper's Life of Socrates, p. 102.

¶¶ Letter from a late professor of Oxford, &c. p. 133.

** *D. L.* vol. III. p. 277.

†† Idem, vol. I. p. 229.

‡‡ Idem, vol. I. p. 283.

for an elaborate system; and whatever his lordship may chuse to do, I had much rather reproach my favourite poet with want of care in one line, than with want of taste throughout a whole book*.

Virgil has borrowed, as usual, from Homer his episode of the infernal shades, and, as usual, has infinitely improved what the Grecian had invented. If, among a profusion of beauties, I durst venture to point out the most striking beauties of the Sixth Book, I should perhaps observe, 1. That after accompanying the hero through the silent realms of night and chaos, we see with astonishment and pleasure a new creation bursting upon us; 2. That we examine, with a delight which springs from the love of virtue, the just empire of Minos; in which the apparent irregularities of the present system are corrected; and where the patriot who died for his country is happy, and the tyrant who oppressed it is miserable. 3. As we interest ourselves in the hero's fortunes, we share his feelings: the melancholy Palinurus, the wretched Deiphobus, the indignant Dido; the Grecian kings who tremble at his presence, and the venerable Anchises who embraces his pious son, and displays to his sight the future glories of his race; all these objects affect us with a variety of pleasing sensations.

Let us for a moment obey the mandate of our great critic, and consider these awful scenes as a mimic shew, exhibited in the temple of Ceres, by the contrivance of the priest, or, if he pleases, of the legislator. Whatever was animated (I appeal to every reader of taste), whatever was terrible, or whatever was pathetic, evaporates into lifeless allegory:

—*tenuem sine viribus umbram,*

Dat inania verba,

Dat sine mente sonum, gressusque effingit euntis.

The end of philosophy is truth; the end of poetry is pleasure. I willingly adopt any interpretation which adds new beauties to the original; I assist in persuading myself, that it is just; and could almost shew the same indulgence to the critic's as to the poet's fiction. But should a grave

* Horace seems to have used as unguarded an expression:

Et adscribi quietis

Ordinibus patiar deorum.

Od. L. iii. 3:

The word and idea of *Quietus* are perfectly Epicurean; but rather clash with the active passions displayed in the rest of Juno's speech.

His lordship (D. L. vol. II. p. 140.) accuses Virgil himself of a like inattention; which, with his usual gentleness, he calls an *absurdity*.

doctor lay out four-score pages in explaining away the sense and spirit of Virgil, I should have every inducement to believe, that Virgil's soul was very different from the doctor's.

I have almost exhausted my own, and probably my reader's patience, whilst I have obsequiously waited on his lordship, through the several stages of an intricate hypothesis. He must now permit me to allege two very simple reasons, which persuade me, that Virgil has not revealed the secret of the Eleusinian mysteries; the first is HIS IGNORANCE, and the second HIS DISCRETION.

I. As his lordship has not made the smallest attempt to prove that Virgil was himself initiated, it is plain that he supposed it, as a thing of course. Had he any right to suppose it? By no means: that ceremony might naturally enough finish the education of a young Athenian; but a barbarian, a Roman, would most probably pass through life without directing his devotion to the foreign rites of Eleusis.

The philosophical sentiments of Virgil were still more unlikely to inspire him with that kind of devotion. It is well known that he was a determined Epicurean*; and a very natural antipathy subsisted between the Epicureans and the managers of the mysteries. The celebration opened with a solemn excommunication of those Atheistical philosophers, who were commanded to retire, and to leave that holy place for pious believers†; the zeal of the people was ready to enforce this admonition. I will not deny, that curiosity might sometimes tempt an Epicurean to pry into these secret rites; and that gratitude, fear, or other motives, might engage the Athenians to admit so irreligious an aspirant. Atticus was initiated at Eleusis; but Atticus was the friend and benefactor of Athens‡. These extraordinary exceptions may be proved, but must not be supposed.

Nay, more; I am strongly inclined to think that Virgil was never out of Italy till the last year of his life. I am sensible, that it is not easy to prove a negative proposition, more especially when the materials of our knowledge are so very few and so very defective§; and yet by glancing our eye

* See the Life of Virgil by Donatus, the Sixth Eclogue, and the Second Georgic, v. 490.

† Lucian in Alexandro, p. 489.

‡ Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 2, 3. 4.

§ The life of Virgil, attributed to Donatus, contains many characteristic particulars; but which are lost in confusion, and disgraced with a mixture of absurd

eye over the several periods of Virgil's life, we may perhaps attain a sort of probability which ought to have some weight, since nothing can be thrown into the opposite scale.

Although Virgil's father was hardly of a lower rank than Horace's, yet the peculiar character of the latter afforded his son a much superior education: Virgil did not enjoy the same opportunities of observing mankind on the great theatre of Rome, or of pursuing philosophy, in her favourite shades of the academy.

*Adjecere bnæ paulò plus artis Athenæ :
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter silvas academi quærere verum*.*

The sphere of Virgil's education did not extend beyond Mantua, Cremona, Milan, and Naples †.

After the accidents of civil war had introduced Virgil to the knowledge of the great, he passed a few years at Rome, in a state of dependance, the JUVENUM NOBILIUM CLIENS ‡. It was during that time that he composed his Eclogues, the hasty productions of a muse capable of far greater things ‡.

By the liberality of Augustus and his courtiers, Virgil soon became possessed of an affluent fortune ¶. He composed the Georgics and the Æneid in his elegant villas of Campania and Sicily; and seldom quitted those pleasing retreats even to come to Rome ¶.

After he had finished the Æneid, he resolved on a journey into Greece and Asia, to employ three years in revising and perfecting that poem, and to devote the remainder of his life to the study of philosophy **. He was at Athens, with Augustus, in the summer of A V C 735; and whilst Augustus was at Athens, the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated ††. It is not impossible, that Virgil might

absurd stories, such as none but a monk of the darker ages could either invent or believe. I always considered them as the interpolations of some more recent writer; and am confirmed in that opinion by the life of Virgil, pure, from those additions which Mr. Spence lately published, from a Florence MS. at the beginning of Mr. Holdsworth's valuable observations on Virgil.

* Horat. L. II. Ep. ii. ver. 43.

† Donat. in Virgil.

‡ Horat. L. IV. Od. xii.

§ Donat. in Virgil.

¶ Prope Centies Sestertium, about eighty thousand pounds

¶ Donat. in Virgil.

** Id. ibid.

†† They always began the fifteenth of the Attic month Boedromion, and lasted nine days. Those who take the trouble of calculating the Athenian calendar, on the principles laid down by Mr. Dodwell (de Cyclis Antiquis) and by

might then be initiated, as well as the Indian philosopher *; but the *Æneid* could receive no improvement from this newly acquired knowledge. He was taken ill at Megara. The journey increased his disorder, and he expired at Brundisium, the twenty-second of September of the same year 735 †.

Should it then appear probable, that Virgil had no opportunity of learning the SECRET of the mysteries, it will be something more than probable that he has not revealed what he never knew.

His Lordship will perhaps tell me, that Virgil might be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries without making a journey to Athens: since those mysteries had been brought to Rome long before ‡. Here indeed I should be apt to suspect some mistake; or, at least, a want of precision in his Lordship's ideas; as Salmasius § and Casaubon ||, men tolerably versed in antiquity assure me, that indeed some Grecian ceremonies of Ceres had been practised at Rome from the earliest ages; but that the mysteries of Eleusis were never introduced into that capital, either by the emperor Hadrian, or by any other: and I am the more induced to believe, that these rites were not imported in Virgil's time, as the accurate Suetonius speaks of an unsuccessful attempt for that purpose, made by the emperor Claudius, above threecore years after Virgil's death ¶.

II. None but the initiated COULD reveal the secret of the mysteries; and THE INITIATED COULD NOT REVEAL IT, WITHOUT VIOLATING THE LAWS, AS WELL OF HONOUR AS OF RELIGION. I sincerely acquit the Bishop of Gloucester of any design; yet so unfortunate is his system, that it represents a most virtuous and elegant poet, as equally devoid of taste, and of common honesty.

His Lordships acknowledges, that the initiated were bound to secrecy by the most solemn obligations **; that Virgil was conscious of the imputed impiety of his design; that at Athens he never durst have ventured on it; that even at Rome such a discovery was esteemed not only

by Dr. Halley, will find, that A V C. Var. 735, the 15th of Boedromion coincided with the 24th of August of the Julian year. But if we may believe Dion Cassius, the celebration was this year anticipated, on account of Augustus and the Indian philosopher. L. LIV. p. 739. edit. Reimar.

* Strabo, L. xv. p. 720.

† Donat. in Virgil.

‡ D. L. vol. I. p. 118.

§ Salmasius ad Scriptores Hist. August. p. 55.

|| Casaubon ad Scriptor. Hist. Augustus, p. 25.

¶ Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

** D. L. vol. I. p. 147.

IMPIOUS but INFAMOUS: and yet his Lordship maintains, that after the compliment of a formal apology,

Sit mihi fas, audita loqui *.

Virgil lays open the whole SECRET of the mysteries under the thin veil of an allegory, which could deceive none but the most careless readers †.

An apology! an allegory! Such artifices might perhaps have saved him from the sentence of the Areopagus, had some zealous or interested priest denounced him to that court, as guilty of publishing A BLASPHEMOUS POEM. But the laws of honour are more rigid, and yet more liberal than those of civil tribunals. Sense, not words, is considered; and guilt is aggravated, not protected, by artful evasions. Virgil would still have incurred the severe censure of a contemporary, who was himself a man of very little religion.

*Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgârit arcana, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum* ‡.

Nor can I easily persuade myself, that the ingenious mind of Virgil could have deserved this excommunication.

These lines belong to an ode of Horace, which has every merit, except that of order. That death in our country's cause is pleasant and honourable; that virtue does not depend on the caprice of a popular election; and that the mysteries of Ceres ought not to be disclosed, are ideas which have no apparent connection. The beautiful disorder of lyric poetry, is the usual apology made by professed critics on these occasions:

*Son style impetueux, souvent marche au hazard;
Chez elle, un beau desordre est un effet de l'art* §;

An insufficient apology for the few, who dare judge from their own feelings. I shall not deny, that the irregular notes of an untutored muse have sometimes delighted me. We can very seldom be displeased with the unconstrained workings of nature. But the liberty of an outlaw is very different from that of a savage. It is a mighty disagreeable sight, to observe a lyric writer of taste and reflexion

* D. L. vol. I. p. 240 † Idem, p. 277. ‡ Horat. L. III. Od. ii.
§ Boileau, Art Poétique, L. ii. v. 72.

striving to forget the laws of composition, disjoining the order of his ideas, and working himself up into artificial madness,

Ut cum ratione insaniat.

I had once succeeded (as I thought) in removing this defect, by the help of an hypothesis which connected the several parts of Horace's ode with each other. My ideas appeared (I mean to myself) most ingeniously conceived. I read the ode once more, and burnt my hypothesis. But to return to our principal subject.

The date of this ode may be of use to us; and the date may be fixed with tolerable certainty, from the mention of the PARTHIANS, who are described as the enemies against whom a brave youth should signalize his valor.

*Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta, &c.*

Those who are used to the LABOURED HAPPINESS of all Horace's expressions* will readily allow, that if the Parthians are mentioned rather than the Britons or Cantabrians, the Gauls or the Dalmatians, it could be only at a time when the PARTHIAN WAR engaged the public attention. This reflection confines us between the years of Rome 729 and 735. Of these six years, that of 734 has a superior claim to the composition of the ode.

Julius Cæsar was prevented by death from revenging the defeat of Crassus†. This glorious task, unsuccessfully attempted by Marc Antony‡, seemed to be reserved for the prudence and felicity of Augustus; who became sole master of the Roman world in the year 724; but it was not till the year 729, that, having changed the civil administration and pacified the Western provinces, he had leisure to turn his views towards the East. From that time, Horace, in compliance with the public wish, began to animate both prince and people to revenge the manes of Crassus§. The cautious policy of Augustus, still averse to war, was at length roused in the year 734, by some disturbances in

* *Curiosa Felicitas.* The ingenious Dr. Warton has a very strong dislike to this celebrated character of Horace. I suspect that I am in the wrong, since, in a point of criticism, I differ from Dr. Warton. I cannot, however, forbear thinking, that the expression *is itself* what Petronius wished to describe; the happy union of such ease as seems the gift of fortune, with such justice as can only be the result of care and labour.

† Sueton. in Cæsar, c. 44.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Anton. Julian in Cæsar, p. 324. edit. Spanheim.

§ Horat. L. I. Od. ii. L. III. Od. v. L. II. Serma. i. v. 15, &c.

Armenia. He passed over into Asia, and sent the young Tiberius with an army beyond the Euphrates. Every appearance promised a glorious war. But the Parthian monarch, Phraohates, alarmed at the approach of the Roman legions, and diffident of the fidelity of his subjects, diverted the storm, by a timely and humble submission:

— *Jus, imperiumque Phraohates*
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor *.

Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome, with the Parthian hostages, and the Roman ensigns, which had been taken from Crassus.

These busy scenes, which engage the attention of contemporaries, are far less interesting to posterity, than the silent labours, or even amusements of a man of genius.

— *Cæsar dum magnus ad altum*
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque adfestat Olympo.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otii.

Whilst Cæsar humbled the Parthians, Virgil was composing the Æneid. It is well known, that this noble poem occupied the author, without being able to satisfy, him, during the twelve last years of his life, from the year 723 to the year 735 †. The public expectation was soon raised, and the modest Virgil was sometimes obliged to gratify the impatient curiosity of his friends. Soon after the death of young Marcellus ‡, he recited the second, fourth, and SIXTH books of the Æneid, in the presence of Augustus and Octavia ||. He even sometimes read parts of his work to more numerous companies; with a desire of obtaining their judgment, rather than their applause. In this manner, Propertius seems to have heard the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, and from that specimen he ventures to foretell the approaching birth of a poem, which will surpass the Iliad.

Ælia Virgilium custodis litora Phæbi,
Cæsaris et fortes dicere posse rates.

* Horat. L. i. Epist. xii. Vell. Pater. L. ii. c. xciv. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. i. Sueton. in Octav. c. xxi. and in Tiber. c. xiv. Justin, L. xlii. c. v. Dion Cassius, L. liv. p. 736. edit. Reimar. Joseph. Ant. L. xv. c. v. Ovid. Fast. v. ver. 551, &c.

† Donat. in Virgil.

‡ Marcellus died in the latter end of the year 731. Usserii Annales, p. 555.

|| Donat. in Virgil.

*Qui nunc Ænoæ Trojani fuscitat arma,
Factaque Lavinis mœnia litoribus.
Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade*.*

As a friend and as a critic, Horace was entitled to all Virgil's confidence, and was probably acquainted with the whole progress of the Æneid, from the first rude sketch, which Virgil drew up in prose, to that harmonious poetry, which the author alone thought unworthy of posterity.

To resume my idea, which depended on this long deduction of circumstances; when Horace composed the second ode of his third book, the Æneid, and particularly the sixth book, were already known to the public. The detestation of the wretch who reveals the mysteries of Ceres, though expressed in general terms, must be applied by all Rome to the author of the sixth book of the Æneid. Can we seriously suppose, THAT HORACE WOULD HAVE BRANDED WITH SUCH WANTON INFAMY, ONE OF THE MEN IN THE WORLD WHOM HE LOVED AND HONOURED THE MOST †?

Nothing remains to say, except that Horace was himself ignorant of his friend's allegorical meaning, which the Bishop of Gloucester has since revealed to the world. It may be so; yet, for my own part, I should be very well satisfied with understanding Virgil no better than Horace did.

It is perhaps some such foolish fondness of antiquity, which inclines me to doubt, whether the BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER has really united the severe sense of ARISTOTLE with the sublime imagination of LONGINUS. Yet a judicious critic (who is now, I believe, ARCHDEACON OF GLOUCESTER) assures the public, that his patron's mere amusements have done much more than the joint labours of the two Grecians. I shall conclude these Observations with a remarkable passage from the Archdeacon's Dedication ‡: "It was not enough, in YOUR ENLARGED
"VIEW OF THINGS, to restore either of these models)
"ARISTOTLE or LONGINUS) to their original splendor.
"They were both to be revived; or rather A NEW ORI-
"GINAL PLAN OF CRITICISM to be struck out, WHICH
"SHOULD UNITE THE VIRTUES OF EACH OF THEM.
"This experiment was made on the two greatest of our
"own poets, (Shakspeare and Pope,) and by reflecting

* Propert. L. ii. El. xxv. v. 66.

† Horat. L. i. Od. iii. L. i. Sermon. v. ver. 39, &c.

‡ See the Dedication of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, with an English commentary and notes.

“ all the LIGHTS OF THE IMAGINATION ON THE SEVE-
 “ REST REASON, every thing was effected which the
 “ warmest admirer of antient art could promise himself
 “ from such a union. BUT YOU WENT FARTHER : by
 “ joining to these powers A PERFECT INSIGHT INTO HU-
 “ MAN NATURE ; and so ennobling the exercise of litera-
 “ ry, by the justest moral censure, YOU HAVE NOW AT
 “ LENGTH ADVANCED CRITICISM TO ITS FULL GLORY.”

P O S T S C R I P T.

I was not ignorant, that several years since, the Rev. Dr. Jortin had favoured the Public with a DISSERTATION ON THE STATE OF THE DEAD, AS DESCRIBED BY HOMER AND VIRGIL * : but the book is now grown so scarce, that I was not able to procure a sight of it till after these papers had been already sent to the press. I found Dr. Jortin's performance, as I expected, moderate, learned, and critical. Among a variety of ingenious observations, there are two or three which are very closely connected with my present subject.

I had passed over in silence one argument of the Bishop of Gloucester, or rather of Scarron and the Bishop of Gloucester ; since the former found the remark, and the latter furnished the inference.

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere divos,

cries the unfortunate Phlegyas. In the midst of his torments, he preaches justice and piety, like Ixion in Pindar. A very useful piece of advice, says the French buffoon, for those who were already damned to all eternity :

*Cette sentence est bonne et belle :
 Mais en enfer, de quoi sert elle ?*

From this judicious piece of criticism his lordship argues, that Phlegyas was preaching not to the dead, but to the living ; and that Virgil is only describing the mimic Tartarus, which was exhibited at Eleusis for the instruction of the initiated.

I shall transcribe one or two of the reasons, which Dr. Jortin condescends to oppose to Scarron's criticism.

* Six Dissertations on different Subject, published in a volume in octavo, in the year 1755. It is the Sixth Dissertation, p. 207—324.

“ To preach to the damned, says he, is labour in vain.
 “ And what if it is? It might be part of his punishment,
 “ to exhort himself and others, when exhortations were
 “ too late. This admonition, as far as it relates to himself
 “ and his companions in misery, is to be looked upon not
 “ so much as an admonition to mend, but a bitter sarcasm,
 “ and reproaching of past iniquities.

“ It is labour in vain. But in the poetical system, it
 “ seems to have been the occupation of the damned to
 “ labour in vain, to catch at meat and drink that fled from
 “ them, &c.

“ His instruction, like that of Ixion in Pindar, might
 “ be for the use of the living. You will say, *how can*
 “ *that be?* Surely nothing is more easy and intelligible.
 “ The muses hear him—The muses reveal it to the poet,
 “ and the inspired poet reveals it to mankind. And so
 “ much for Phlegyas and Monsieur Scarron.”

It is prettily observed by Dr. Jortin, “ That Virgil,
 “ after having shone out with full splendor through the
 “ sixth book, sets at last in a cloud.” The IVORY GATE
 puzzles every commentator, and grieves every lover of
 Virgil: yet it affords no advantages to the Bishop of Gloucester.
 The objection presses as hard on the notion of an
 initiation, as on that of a real descent to the shades.
 “ The troublesome conclusion still remains as it was; and
 “ from the manner in which the hero is dismissed after
 “ the ceremonies, we learn, that in those initiations, the
 “ machinery, and the whole shew, was (in the Poet’s
 “ opinion) a representation of things, which had no truth
 “ or reality.

“ *Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto :*

“ *Sed FALSA ad cœlum mittunt INSOMNIA manes.*

“ Dreams in general may be called *vain* and *deceitful*,
 “ *somnia vana*, or *somnia falsa*, if you will, as they are
 “ opposed to the *real* objects which present themselves to
 “ us when we are awake. But when *false* dreams are
 “ opposed to *true* ones, there the epithet *falsa* has another
 “ meaning. True dreams represent what is real, and
 “ shew what is true; false dreams represent things which
 “ are not, or which are not true. Thus Homer and Vir-
 “ gil, and many other poets, and indeed the nature of the
 “ thing, distinguish them.”

Dr. Jortin, though with reluctance, acquiesces, in the
 common opinion, that by six unlucky lines, Virgil is destroy-
 ing

ing the beautiful system, which it has cost him eight hundred to raise. He explains too this preposterous conduct, by the usual expedient of the Poet's epicureism. I only differ from him in attributing to haste and indiscretion, what he considers as the result of design.

Another reason, both new and ingenious, is assigned by Dr. Jortin, for Virgil explaining away his hero's descent into an idle dream. "All communication with the dead, the infernal powers, &c. belonged to the art magic, and magic was held in abomination by the Romans." Yet if it was held in ABOMINATION, it was supposed to be real. A writer would not have made his court to James the First, by representing the stories of witchcraft as the phantoms of an over-heated imagination.

Whilst I am writing, a sudden thought occurs to me, which, rude and imperfect as it is, I shall venture to throw out to the public. It is this. After Virgil, in imitation of Homer, had described the two gates of sleep, the horn, and the ivory, he again takes up the first in a different sense:

— QUÆ VERIS FACILIS DATUR EXITUS UMBRIS.

The TRUE SHADES, VERÆ UMBRÆ, were those airy forms which were continually sent to animate new bodies, such light and almost immaterial natures as could without difficulty pass through a thin transparent substance. In this new sense, Æneas and the Sybil, who were still encumbered with a load of flesh, could not pretend to the prerogative of TRUE SHADES. In their passage over Styx, they had almost sunk Charon's boat.

— *Gemuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.*

Some other expedient was requisite for their return; and since the horn gate would not afford them an easy dismissal, the other passage, which was adorned with the polished ivory, was the only one that remained either for them, or for the Poet.

By this explanation, we save Virgil's judgment and religion, though I must own, at the expence of an uncommon harshness and ambiguity of expression. Let it only be remembered, that those, who in desperate cases conjecture with modesty, have a right to be heard with indulgence.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE SUBJECT OF

L'HOMME AU MASQUE DE FER.

THE mysterious history of the famous French prisoner, known by the appellation of *l'Homme au Masque de Fer*, is related by M. Voltaire, in the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, and in the *Questions sur l'Encyclopedie*. That writer, the most sceptical and lively of his age, never attempts either to contest the truth, or to reveal the secret of that wonderful affair. *Je ne connois point de fait ni plus extraordinaire ni mieux constaté* is the just conclusion of his first account. In his subsequent additions, he refutes with force and contempt the idle suppositions that this unknown prisoner was the Duc de Beaufort, the Count de Vermandois, or the Duke of Monmouth. At length, breaking off abruptly, he throws out a dark intimation, *qu'il en sait peut être plus que le Pere Grifet, et qu'il n'en dira pas davantage*.

If we are disposed to exercise our curiosity and conjectures upon this historical anecdote, we must steadily remember, that no hypothesis can deserve the least credit, unless it corresponds with and explains the following circumstances :

1. The prisoner who passed his melancholy life in the isles de St. Marguerite and the Bastile was called *Marchiali*. As the name was most assuredly fictitious, this circumstance seems, and indeed is, of small importance. However, in case an Italian was either the author of his birth, or the guardian of his infancy, a name drawn from that language would most naturally present itself.

2. *Marchiali* was buried secretly and by night, in the parish church of St. Paul's on the third day of March in the year 1703, as is proved by the journal of the Pere Grifet, who was entrusted with the very delicate employment of confessor to the Bastile. A few days before his death, the unknown prisoner told his physician that he believed himself about sixty years of age. If he reckoned with precision, he was born in the spring of the year 1643, about the time of the death of Louis the Thirteenth. But the dreary

hours of a prison move slowly, and the infirmities of age are hastened by grief and solitude. Marchiali could speak only from conjecture; nor is it unlikely that he might be somewhat younger than he supposed himself.

3. He was conducted to the Isles de St. Marguerite on the coast of Provence, some months after the death of Cardinal Mazarin; that is to say, about the end of the year 1661, or the beginning of 1662. This is the first among the few events of his life. M. de Voltaire mentions, in one place, a previous confinement at Pignerol; but without being perfectly clear, or even consistent on that head.

4. Marchiali, whoever he was, had never acted any distinguished part on the public theatre of the world. The sudden absence of such a person, in any part of Europe, would infallibly have occasioned much wonder and enquiry, some traces of which must have reached our knowledge. But in this instance, using the amplest latitude of time, we cannot even discover any one important *death*, that leaves the minutest opening for our most licentious suspicions.

5. An illustrious birth was therefore the only advantage by which the prisoner could be distinguished; and his birth must indeed have been illustrious, since, when Monsieur de Louvois made him a visit, he spoke to him standing, and *avec une considération qui tenoit du respect*. We must ascend very high ere we can attain a rank which that proud and powerful minister of the French monarchy could think it his duty to *respect*.

6. The most extraordinary precautions were employed, not only to secure, but to conceal, this mysterious captive; and his guards were ordered to kill him, if he made the least attempt to discover himself. That order, as well as the silver plate which he threw out of the prison window, after writing something upon it, and which fell into the hands of an illiterate fisherman, sufficiently prove that he was acquainted with his own name and condition. The mask, which he never was permitted to lay aside, shews the apprehension of the discovery of some very striking resemblance.

7. Prisoners of such alarming importance are seldom suffered to live. Of all precautions, the dagger and the bowl are undoubtedly the surest. Nothing but the most powerful motives, or, indeed, the tenderest ties, could have stopped the monarch's hand, and induced him rather to risk a discovery, than to spill the blood of this unfortunate man. He was lodged in the best apartment of the Bastille, his table was served in the most delicate manner, he was allowed to play on the guitar, and supplied with the finest laces and linen, of which he was passionately fond. Every kind
attention

attention was studiously practised, that could in any wise alleviate the irksomeness of his perpetual imprisonment.

8. When Monsieur de Chamillard, in the year 1721, was on his death-bed, his son-in-law, the Marechal de la Feuillade, begged on his knees, that he would disclose to him that mysterious transaction. The dying minister refused to gratify this unreasonable curiosity. "It was the secret of the state, (he said,) and he had taken an oath never to divulge it." The prisoner had then been dead eighteen years, and Louis the Fourteenth almost six. It must have been a secret of no common magnitude that could still affect the peace and welfare of future generations.

Before we proceed to a probable solution of these strange circumstances, let us try to connect them with some facts of a more public and general nature.

1. The doubtful birth of Louis XIV. often occurs, in conversation, as the subject of historical scepticism. The first grounds of the suspicion are obvious. He was born after a sterile union of twenty-three years between Louis the Thirteenth and Anne of Austria. But as such an event, however unfrequent, is neither destitute of possibility, nor even of example, the scandalous rumour would long since have died away in oblivion, had it not derived additional strength from the character and situation of the royal pair.

2. Though Louis XIII. wanted not either parts or courage, his character was degraded by a coldness and debility, both of mind and body, which had little affinity with his heroic father. Had his indifference towards the sex been confined to the queen, it might have been considered as the mere effect of personal dislike; but his *chaste* amours with his female favourites betrayed to the laughing court, that the king was less than a man.

3. Without reviving all the obsolete scandal of the *fronde*, we may respectfully insinuate that Anne of Austria's reputation of chastity was never so firmly established as that of her husband. To the coquetry of France, the queen united the warm passions of a Spaniard. Her friends acknowledge that she was gay, indiscreet, vain of her charms, and strongly addicted at least to romantic gallantry. It is well known that she permitted some distinguished favourites to entertain her with soft tales of her beauty and their love; and thus removed the distant ceremony, which is perhaps the surest defence of royal virtue. Anne of Austria passed twenty eight years with a husband, alike incapable of gratifying her tender or her sensual inclinations. At the age of forty-three, she was left an independent widow, mistress of herself, and of the kingdom.

4. The civil wars which raged during the minority of Louis XIV. arose from the blind and unaccountable attachment of the queen to Cardinal Mazarin, whom she obstinately supported against the universal clamour of the French nation. The Austrian pride, perhaps, and the useful merit of the minister, might determine the queen to brave an insolent opposition; but a connection, formed by policy, might very easily terminate in love. The necessity of business would engage that princess in many a secret and midnight conference with an Italian of an agreeable person, vigorous constitution, loose morals, and artful address. The amazing anecdote hinted at in the honest memoirs of La Porte, sufficiently proves that Mazarin was capable of employing every expedient to insinuate himself into *every part* of the royal family.

5. If Anne of Austria yielded to such opportunities, and to so artful a lover; if she became a mother after her husband's death, her weakness, and the consequences of it, would have been carefully screened from the eye of curious malignity. When Louis XIV. succeeded to the possession of the kingdom, and of the fatal secret, he was deeply interested in the guard of his own, and of his mother's honour. Had her frailty been revealed to the world, the living proof would have awakened and confirmed all the latent suspicions, diffused a spirit of distrust and division among the people, and shaken the hereditary claim of the monarch. If the strong grasp of Louis XIV. retained the French sceptre, the doubt and the danger were entailed on future ages. In some feeble, or infant reign, an ambitious Condé might embrace the fair pretence to assert the right to his genuine branch, and to exclude from the succession the spurious posterity of Louis XIII.

In a word, the child of Anne of Austria and of Cardinal Mazarin would have been at once the brother and the most dangerous enemy of his sovereign. The humanity of Louis XIV. might have declined a brother's murder; but pride, policy, and even patriotism, must have compelled that prince to hide his face and his existence with an iron mask and the walls of the Bastille.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that I suppose the unfortunate Marchiali to have been that child. If the several facts which I have drawn together blend themselves, without constraint, into a consistent and natural system, it is surely no weak argument in favour of the truth, or at least of the probability of my opinion.

May 27th, 1774.

MEMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

POUR SERVIR DE

REPONSE à l'EXPOSE' des MOTIFS de la Conduite du
Roi de FRANCE relativement à l'ANGLETERRE.

L'AMBITION d'une puissance, toujours ennemie du repos public, a obligé enfin le roi de la Grande Bretagne à employer dans une guerre juste et légitime ces forces que Dieu et son peuple lui ont confiées.—C'est en vain que la France essaye de justifier, ou plutôt de déguiser, sa politique aux yeux de l'Europe par son dernier manifeste, que l'orgueil et l'artifice semblent avoir dicté, mais qui ne peut se concilier avec la vérité des faits et les droits des nations. L'équité, la modération, l'amour de la paix, qui ont toujours réglé les démarches du roi, l'engagent maintenant à soumettre sa conduite et celle de ses ennemis au jugement du tribunal libre et respectable, qui prononce sans crainte et sans flatterie l'arrêt de l'Europe, du siècle présent et de la postérité. Ce tribunal, composé des hommes éclairés et désintéressés de toutes les nations, ne s'arrête jamais aux professions, et c'est par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des sentimens de leurs cœurs.

Lorsque le roi monta sur le trône, il jouissoit du succès de ses armes dans les quatre parties du monde. Sa modération rétablit la tranquillité publique, dans le même instant qu'il soutenoit avec fermeté la gloire de sa couronne, et qu'il procuroit à ses sujets les avantages les plus solides. L'expérience lui avoit fait connoître combien les fruits de la victoire même sont tristes et amers ; combien les guerres heureuses ou malheureuses épuisent les peuples sans aggrandir les princes. Ses actions prouvoient à l'univers, qu'il sentoit tout le prix de la paix, et il étoit au moins à présumer que la raison qui l'avoit éclairé sur les malheurs inévitables de la guerre, et la dangereuse vanité des conquêtes, lui inspireroit la résolution sincère et inébranlable de maintenir la tranquillité publique, dont il étoit lui-même l'auteur et le garant. Ces principes ont servi de base à la conduite invariable de sa majesté pendant les quinze années qui ont
suivi

suivi la paix conclue à Paris en 1763 : époque heureuse de repos et de félicité, dont la mémoire fera long tems conservée par le souvenir et peut-être par les regrets des nations de l'Europe.—Les instructions du roi à tous ses ministres portoient l'empreinte de son caractère et de ses maximes. Il leur recommandoit comme le plus important de leurs devoirs d'écouter avec une attention scrupuleuse les plaintes et les représentations des puissances, ses alliés ou ses voisins, de prévenir, dans leur origine, tous les sujets de querelle qui pourroient aigrir ou aliéner les esprits, de détourner le fléau de la guerre par tous les expédiens compatibles avec la dignité du souverain d'une nation respectable, et d'inspirer à tous les peuples une juste confiance dans le système politique d'une cour qui détestoit la guerre sans la craindre, qui n'employoit pour ses moyens que la raison et la bonne foi, et qui n'avoit pour objet que la tranquillité générale. Au milieu de cette tranquillité les premières étincelles de la discorde s'allumèrent en Amérique. Les intrigues d'un petit nombre de chefs audacieux et criminels, qui abusèrent de la simplicité crédule de leurs compatriotes, séduisirent insensiblement la plus grande partie des colonies Angloises à lever l'étendard de la révolte contre la mère patrie, à qui elles étoient redevables de leur existence et de leur bonheur. La cour de Versailles oublia sans peine la foi des traités, les devoirs des alliés, et les droits des souverains, pour essayer de profiter des circonstances qui paroissoient favorables à ses desseins ambitieux. Elle ne rougit point d'avilir sa dignité par les liaisons secrètes qu'elle forma avec des sujets rebelles, et après avoir épuisé toutes les ressources honteuses de la perfidie et de la dissimulation, elle ôsa avouer à la face de l'Europe, indignée de sa conduite, le traité solennel que les ministres du roi très Chrétien avoient signé avec les agens ténébreux des colonies Angloises, qui ne fondonient leur indépendance prétendue que sur la hardiesse de leur revolte. La déclaration offensante que le Marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, le 13 Mars de l'année dernière, autorisa sa majesté à repousser par les armes l'insulte inouïe qu'on venoit d'offrir à l'honneur de sa couronne ; et le roi n'oublia pas dans cette occasion importante ce qu'il devoit à ses sujets et à lui-même. Le même esprit de fausseté et d'ambition regnoit toujours dans les conseils de la France. L'Espagne, qui s'est repentie plus d'une fois d'avoir négligé ses vrais intérêts pour servir aveuglément les projets destructeurs de la branche aînée de la maison de Bourbon, fut engagée à changer le rôle de médiateur pour celui d'ennemi de la Grande Bretagne. Les calamités de la guerre se sont multipliées ; mais la cour de Versailles ne

doit

doit pas jusqu'à présent se vanter du succès de ses opérations militaires ; et l'Europe fait apprécier ces victoires navales, qui n'existent que dans les Gazettes et dans les manifestes des vanqueurs prétendus.

Puisque la guerre et la paix imposent aux nations des devoirs entièrement différens et même opposés, il est indispensable de distinguer ces deux états dans le raisonnement aussi bien que dans la conduite ; mais dans le dernier manifeste que la France vient de publier, ces deux états sont perpétuellement confondus. Elle prétend justifier sa conduite en faisant valoir tour-à-tour et presque au même instant, ces droits qu'il n'est permis qu'à un ennemi de réclamer, et ces maximes qui règlent les obligations et les procédés de l'amitié nationale. L'adresse de la cour de Versailles à brouiller sans cesse deux suppositions qui n'ont rien de commun, est la conséquence naturelle d'une politique fautive et insidieuse, incapable de soutenir la lumière du grand jour. Les sentimens et les démarches du roi, qui n'ont point à redouter l'examen le plus sévère, l'invitent au contraire à distinguer clairement ce que ses ennemis ont confondu avec tant d'artifice. Il n'appartient qu'à la justice de parler sans crainte le langage de la raison et de la vérité.

La pleine justification de sa majesté et la condamnation indélébile de la France, se réduit donc à la preuve de deux propositions simples et presque évidentes ; premièrement, Qu'une paix profonde, permanente, et de la part de l'Angleterre sincère et véritable, subsistoit entre les deux nations, lorsque la France forma des liaisons d'abord secrètes, et ensuite publiques et avouées, avec les colonies revoltées de l'Amerique : secondement, Que suivant les maximes les mieux reconnues du droit des gens, et selon la teneur même des traités actuellement subsistans entre les deux couronnes, ces liaisons pouvoient être regardées comme une infraction de la paix, et que l'aveu public de ces liaisons équivaloit à une déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien. C'est peut-être la première fois qu'une nation respectable ait eu besoin de prouver deux vérités aussi incontestables, et la justice de la cause du roi est déjà reconnue par tous les hommes qui jugent sans intérêt et sans prévention.

“ Lorsque la Providence appella le roi au trône, la France jouissoit de la paix la plus profonde.” Telles sont les expressions du dernier manifeste de la cour de Versailles, qui reconnoît sans peine les assurances solennelles d'une amitié sincère et des dispositions les plus pacifiques qu'elle reçut dans cette occasion de la part de sa majesté Britannique, et qui furent souvent renouvelées par l'entremise des ambas-

ambassadeurs aux deux cours, pendant quatre ans jusqu'au moment fatal et décisif de la déclaration du marquis de Noailles. Il s'agit donc de prouver que dans ces tems heureux de la tranquillité générale, l'Angleterre cachoit une guerre secrète sous les apparences de la paix, et que ses procédés injustes et arbitraires étoient portés au point de légitimer du côté de la France les démarches les plus fortes, et qui ne seroient permises qu'à un ennemi déclaré. Pour remplir cet objet il faudroit porter devant le tribunal de l'Europe des griefs clairement articulés et solidement établis. Ce grand tribunal exigeroit des preuves formelles et peut-être reiterées de l'injure et de la plainte, le refus d'une satisfaction convenable, et la protestation de la partie souffrante qu'elle se tenoit hautement offensée par ce refus, et qu'elle se regardoit désormais comme affranchie des devoirs de l'amitié et du lien des traités. Les nations qui respectent la sainteté des sermens et les avantages de la paix, sont les moins promptes à saisir les occasions qui semblent les dispenser d'une obligation sacrée et solemnelle, et ce n'est qu'en tremblant qu'elles osent renoncer à l'amitié des puissances dont elles ont long tems effuyé l'injustice et les insultes.

Mais la cour de Versailles a ignoré ou a méprisé ces principes sages et salutaires, et au lieu de poser les fondemens d'une guerre juste et légitime, elle se contente de semer dans tous les pages de son manifeste des plaintes vagues et générales, exprimées dans une style de métaphore et d'exagération. Elle remonte plus de soixante ans pour accuser le peu de soin de l'Angleterre à ratifier quelques réglemens de commerce, quelques articles du traité d'Utrecht. Elle se permet de reprocher aux ministres du roi d'employer le langage de la hauteur et de l'ambition, sans s'abaisser jusqu'au devoir de prouver des imputations aussi peu vraisemblables qu'elles sont odieuses. Les suppositions gratuites de la mauvaise foi et de l'ambition de la cour de Londres sont confusément entassées, comme si l'on craignoit de s'y arrêter. L'on insinue d'une manière très obscure les insultes prétendues qu'ont effuyées le commerce, le pavillon et même le territoire François, " et on laisse échapper enfin l'aveu
 " des engagemens que le roi très Chrétien avoit déjà for-
 " més avec l'Espagne, pour venger leurs griefs respectifs
 " et pour mettre un terme à l'empire tyrannique que l'An-
 " gleterre a usurpé et prétend conserver sur toutes les
 " mers."

Il est difficile de combattre des fantomes, ou de répondre d'une manière nette et précise au langage de la declamation. La juste confiance du roi desireroit sans doute de se

se livrer à l'examen le plus approfondi de ces plaintes vagues, de ces griefs prétendus, sur lesquels la cour de Versailles a si prudemment évité de s'expliquer, avec la clarté et le détail qui pourroient seuls appuyer ses raisons et faire excuser ses procédés. Pendant une paix de quinze ans les intérêts de deux nations puissantes et peut-être jalouses, qui se touchent par tant d'endroits différens dans l'ancien et dans le nouveau monde, fournissent inévitablement des sujets de plainte et de discussion, que la modération réciproque sauroit toujours assoupir, mais qui ne sont que trop facilement aigris et empoisonnés par la haine réelle et les soupçons affectés d'un ennemi secret et ambitieux : et les malheurs de l'Amérique étoient très propres à multiplier les espérances, les prétextes et les prétensions injustes de la France. Cependant telle a été la conduite toujours uniforme et toujours pacifique du roi et de ses ministres, qu'elle a souvent réduit ses ennemis au silence, et s'il est permis d'appercevoir le vrai sens de ces accusations vagues et équivoques, dont l'obscurité étudiée décèle les traits de la honte et de l'artifice, s'il est permis de démêler des objets qui n'ont point d'existence, on peut assurer avec la hardiesse de la vérité qu'il est plusieurs de ces griefs prétendus qui sont annoncés pour la première fois dans une déclaration de guerre, sans avoir jamais été proposés à la cour de Londres dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu les écouter avec l'attention sérieuse et favorable de l'amitié. A l'égard des plaintes que l'ambassadeur de sa majesté très Chrétienne communiquoit de tems en tems aux ministres du roi, il seroit aisé de donner ou plutôt de renouveler les réponses satisfaisantes qui prouvent aux yeux de la France elle-même la modération du roi, son amour de la justice, et la sincérité de ses dispositions à conserver la tranquillité générale de l'Europe. Ces représentations, dont la cour de Versailles pourroit se dispenser de rappeler le souvenir, étoient rarement marquées au coin de la raison et de la vérité, et il se trouvoit le plus souvent que les personnes en Europe, en Amérique, ou sur les mers, desquelles elle tenoit son intelligence suspecte et malfondée, n'avoient pas craint d'abuser de sa confiance, pour mieux servir ses intentions secrètes. Si les faits que la France faisoit valoir comme le sujet de ses plaintes étoient appuyés quelque fois sur une base moins fragile, les ministres du roi les éclaircissoient sur le champ par la justification la plus nette et la plus entière des motifs et des droits de leur souverain, qui pouvoit sans blesser le repos public punir la contrebande qui se faisoit sur ses côtes, et à qui les loix des nations accorderoient le droit légitime d'arrêter tous les vaisseaux

seaux qui portoient des armes et des munitions de guerre à ses ennemis ou à ses sujets rebelles. Les tribunaux étoient toujours ouverts aux particuliers de toutes les nations, et il faut bien peu connoître la constitution Britannique pour supposer que la puissance royale eût été capable de les exclure des moyens d'appel. Dans le théâtre vaste et éloigné des opérations d'une guerre navale, la vigilance la plus active, l'autorité la plus ferme sont incapables de découvrir ou de réprimer tous les desordres ; mais toutes les fois que la cour de Versailles a pu établir des torts réels que ses sujets avoient éprouvés sans la connoissance ou l'approbation du roi, sa majesté a donné les ordres les plus prompts et les plus efficaces pour arrêter les abus qui bleissoient sa dignité, autant que les intérêts de ses voisins, qui avoient été enveloppés dans les malheurs de la guerre. L'objet et l'importance de cette guerre suffiroient pour démontrer à l'Europe les principes qui ont dû régler les démarches politiques de l'Angleterre. Dans le tems qu'elle employoit ses forces pour ramener à leur devoir les colonies revoltées de l'Amérique, est-il vraisemblable qu'elle eût choisi ce moment pour irriter par l'injustice ou l'insolence de ses procédés les puissances les plus respectables de l'Europe ?—L'équité a toujours prescrit les sentimens et la conduite du roi, mais dans cette occasion importante sa prudence même est le garant de sa sincérité et de sa modération.

Mais pour établir clairement le système pacifique qui subsistoit entre les deux nations, il ne faudroit qu'en appeler au temoignage même de la cour de Versailles. A l'époque où elle ne rougit pas de placer toutes ces infractions prétendues de la tranquillité publique, qui auroient engagé
 “ un prince moins avare du sang de ses sujets, à user sans
 “ hésiter de représailles, et à repousser l'insulte par la force
 “ de ses armes,” les ministres du roi très Chrétien parloient le langage de la confiance et de l'amitié. Au lieu d'annoncer les desseins de la vengeance avec ce ton de hauteur qui épargne du moins à l'injustice les reproches de perfidie et de dissimulation, la cour de Versailles cachoit la conduite la plus insidieuse sous les professions les plus séduisantes ; mais ces professions mêmes servent aujourd'hui à démentir ses déclarations, et à rappeler les sentimens qui auroient dû faire la règle de sa conduite.—Si la cour de Versailles ne veut pas s'accuser de la dissimulation la moins digne de sa grandeur, elle sera forcée de convenir que jusque'au moment qu'elle dicta au marquis de Noailles la déclaration qui a été reçue comme le signal de la guerre, elle ne connoissoit pas des sujets de plainte
 assez

assez réels ou assez importans pour l'autoriser à violer les obligations de la paix, et la foi de traités qu'elle avoit jurés à la face de Dieu et de l'univers, et à se dispenser de l'amitié nationale dont elle avoit réitéré jusqu'au dernier instant les assurances les plus vives et les plus solennelles.

Lorsqu'un adversaire est incapable de justifier sa violence dans l'opinion publique, ou même à ses propres yeux, par les injures qu'il prétend avoir essuyées, il a recours au danger chimérique auquel sa patience auroit pu l'exposer; et à la place des faits solides dont il est dépourvu, il essaye de substituer un vain tableau qui n'existe que dans son imagination, où peut-être dans son cœur.—Les ministres du roi très Chrétien qui paroissent avoir senti la foiblesse des moyens qu'ils ont été réduits à employer, font encore des efforts impuissans pour ajouter à ces moyens l'appui des soupçons les plus odieux, et les plus étranges. “ La cour
“ de Londres faisoit dans ses ports des préparatifs et des
“ armemens qui ne pouvoient avoir l'Amérique pour
“ objet: leur but étoit par conséquent trop déterminé pour
“ que le roi pût s'y meprendre, et dès lors il devint un
“ devoir rigoureux de faire des dispositions capables de
“ prévenir les mauvais desseins de son ennemi, &c. Dans
“ cet état des choses le roi sentit qu'il n'y avoit pas un mo-
“ ment à perdre.” Tel est langage de la France: nous allons faire entendre celui de la vérité.

Pendant les disputes qui s'allumoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles s'étoit appliquée avec l'ardeur la plus vive et la plus opiniâtre à l'augmentation de sa marine. Le roi ne prétend pas regner en tyran sur toutes les mers, mais il fait que les forces maritimes ont fait dans tous les siècles la sûreté et la gloire de ses états; et qu'elles ont souvent contribué à protéger la puissance ambitieuse qui a si longtems travaillé à l'affervir.

Le sentiment de sa dignité et la juste connoissance de ses devoirs et de ses intérêts engageoient sa majesté à veiller d'un œil attentif sur les démarches de la France, dont la politique dangereuse, sans motif et sans ennemi, précipitoit dans tous ses ports la construction et l'armement des vaisseaux, et qui détournoit une partie considérable de ses revenus, pour subvenir aux frais de ces préparatifs militaires, dont il étoit impossible d'annoncer la nécessité ou l'objet.—Dans cette conjoncture le roi n'a pu se dispenser de suivre les conseils de sa prudence, et l'exemple de ses voisins; l'augmentation successive de leur marine a servi de règle à la sienne; et sans blesser les égards qu'elle devoit aux puissances amies, sa majesté a publiquement déclaré à son parlement assemblé, qu'il convenoit dans la situation actuelle des affaires,

affaires, que la défense de l'Angleterre se trouvât dans un état respectable. Les forces navales qu'elle fortifioit avec tant de soin n'étoient destinées qu'à maintenir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe; et pendant que le temoignage de sa conscience dispoit le roi à ajouter foi aux professions de la cour de Versailles, il se préparoit à ne point craindre les desseins perfides de son ambition.—Elle ôse maintenant supposer qu'au lieu de se borner aux droits d'une défense légitime, le roi s'étoit livré à l'espérance des conquêtes, et que la “ Réconciliation de la Grande Bretagne avec ses “ colonies annonçoit de sa part un projet formé de les “ rallier à sa couronne pour les armer contre la France.” Puisque le cour de Versailles ne peut excuser ses démarches qu'à la faveur d'une supposition destituée de vérité et de vraisemblance, le roi est en droit de la sommer a la face de l'Europe, de montrer la preuve d'une assertion aussi odieuse qu'elle est hasardée, et de développer ces opérations publiques, ou ces intrigues secrètes qui puissent autoriser les soupçons de la France, que la Grande Bretagne après un combat long et pénible n'a offert la paix à les sujets que dans le dessein d'entreprendre une guerre nouvelle contre une puissance respectable avec laquelle elle conservoit tous les dehors de d'amitié.

Après avoir fidèlement exposé les motifs frivoles et les griefs prétendus de la France, on rappelle, avec une assurance justifiée par la raison et par les faits, cette première proposition si simple et si importante, qu'un état de paix subsistoit entre les deux nations, et que la France étoit liée par toutes les obligations de l'amitié et des traités envers le roi, qui n'avoit jamais manqué à ses engagements légitimes.

Le premier article du traité signé à Paris le 10 Février 1763, entre leurs majestés Britannique, très Chrétienne, Catholique, et très Fidèle, confirme de la manière la plus précise et la plus solennelle les obligations, que le droit naturel impose à toutes les nations, qui se reconnoissent mutuellement pour amies, mais ces obligations sont détaillées et stipulées dans ce traité par des expressions aussi vives qu'elles sont justes.—Après avoir renfermé dans une formule générale tous les états et tous les sujets des hautes parties contractantes, elles annoncent leur résolution non-seulement à ne jamais permettre des hostilités quelconques par terre ou par mer, mais encore à se procurer réciproquement dans toute occasion tout ce qui pourroit contribuer à leur gloire, intérêts, ou avantages mutuels, sans donner aucun secours ou protection directement ou indirectement à ceux qui voudroient porter quelque préjudice à l'une ou à l'autre des hautes parties contractantes.—Tel fut l'engage-
ment

ment sacré que la France contracta avec la Grande Bretagne, et on ne sauroit se dissimuler qu'une semblable promesse doit s'appliquer avec plus de force encore et d'énergie aux rebelles domestiques qu'aux ennemis étrangers des deux couronnes.—La révolte des Américains a mis à l'épreuve la fidélité de la cour de Versailles, et malgré les exemples fréquens que l'Europe a déjà vu de son peu de respect pour la foi des traités, sa conduite dans ces circonstances a étonné et indigné toutes les nations, qui ne sont pas aveuglément dévouées aux intérêts et même aux caprices de son ambition. Si la France s'étoit proposée de remplir ses devoirs, il lui étoit impossible de les méconnoître ; l'esprit aussi bien que la lettre du traité de Paris lui imposoit l'obligation de fermer ses ports aux vaisseaux des Américains, d'interdire à ses sujets tout commerce avec ce peuple rebelle, et de ne point accorder son secours ni sa protection aux ennemis domestiques d'une couronne à laquelle elle avoit juré une amitié sincère et inviolable. Mais l'expérience avoit trop bien éclairé le roi sur le système politique de ses anciens adversaires pour lui faire espérer qu'ils se conformeroient exactement aux principes justes et raisonnables qui assurent la tranquillité générale.

Aussitôt que les colonies révoltées eurent consommé leurs attentats criminels, par la déclaration ouverte de leur indépendance prétendue, elles songèrent à former des liaisons secrètes avec les puissances les moins favorables aux intérêts de la mère patrie, et à tirer de l'Europe les secours militaires, sans lesquels il leur auroit été impossible de soutenir la guerre qu'elles avoient entreprise. Leurs agens essayèrent de pénétrer et de se fixer dans les différens états de l'Europe ; mais ce ne fut qu'en France qu'ils trouvèrent un azyle, des espérances et des secours. Il ne convient pas à la dignité du roi de vouloir rechercher l'époque ou la nature de la correspondance qu'ils eurent l'adresse de lier avec les ministres de la cour de Versailles, et dont on vit bientôt les effets publics dans la liberté générale ou plutôt dans la licence effrénée d'un commerce illégitime. On fait assez que la vigilance des loix ne peut pas toujours prévenir la contrebande habile, qui se reproduit sous mille formes différentes, et à qui l'avidité du gain fait braver tous les dangers, et éluder toutes les précautions ; mais la conduite des négocians François, qui faisoient passer en Amérique non-seulement les marchandises utiles ou nécessaires, mais encore le salpêtre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie, annonçoit hautement qu'ils étoient assurés non-seulement de l'impunité, mais de la protection même et de la faveur des ministres de la cour de Versailles.

On ne tentoit point une entreprise aussi vaine et aussi difficile que celle de cacher aux yeux de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Europe entière les démarches d'une compagnie de commerce, qui s'étoit associée pour fournir aux Américains tout ce qui pouvoit nourrir et entretenir le feu de la révolte. Le public instruit nommoit le chef de l'entreprise dont la maison étoit établie à Paris : ses correspondans à Dunkerque, à Nantes, à Bordeaux étoient également connus. Les magasins immenses qu'ils formoient et qu'ils renouvelloient tous les jours furent chargés successivement sur les vaisseaux qu'ils construisoient ou qu'ils achetoient, et dont on essayoit à peine de dissimuler l'objet et la destination. Ces vaisseaux prenoient ordinairement de fausses lettres de mer pour les îles Françaises de l'Amérique, mais les marchandises dont leurs cargaisons étoient composées suffisoient avant le moment de leur départ pour laisser entrevoir la fraude et l'artifice : ces soupçons étoient bientôt confirmés par la direction du cours de ces vaisseaux ; et au bout de quelques semaines l'on apprenoit sans surprise qu'ils étoient tombés entre les mains des officiers du roi qui croisoient dans les mers de l'Amérique, et qui les arrêtoient à la vue même des côtes des colonies révoltées. Cette vigilance n'étoient que trop bien justifiée par la conduite de ceux qui eurent la fortune ou l'adresse de s'y dérober ; puisqu'ils n'abordèrent en Amérique que pour livrer aux rebelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés pour leur service. — Les indices de ces faits, qui ne pouvoient être considérés que comme une infraction manifeste de la foi des traités, se multiplioient toujours, et la diligence de l'ambassadeur du roi à communiquer à la cour de Versailles ses plaintes et ses preuves, ne lui laissoit pas même la ressource honteuse et humiliante de paroître ignorer ce qui se passoit et se répétoit continuellement au cœur de ses états. Il indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité des vaisseaux, que les agens du commerce de l'Amérique faisoient équiper dans les ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu'on avoit engagés dans le service des colonies révoltées. Les dates, les lieux, les personnes, étoient toujours désignées avec une précision que offroit aux ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne les plus grandes facilités pour s'assurer de la vérité de ces rapports, et pour arrêter, pendant qu'il en étoit tems, le progrès de ces armemens illicites. — Parmi une foule d'exemples qui accusent le peu d'attention de la cour de Versailles à remplir les conditions de la paix, ou plutôt son attention constante et soutenue à nourrir la discorde et la guerre, il est impossible de tout dire, et il est très difficile de

de choisir les objets les plus frappans. Les neuf gros vaisseaux équipés et frétés par le Sieur de Beaumarchais et ses associés, au mois de Janvier de l'an 1777, ne sont confondus avec le vaisseau l'Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui passèrent impunément au service des rebelles. Chaque mois et presque tous les jours fournissoient de nouveaux sujets de plainte ; et une courte notice du mémoire que le vicomte de Stormont, ambassadeur du roi, communiqua au comte de Vergennes au mois de Novembre de la même année, donnera une idée juste, mais très imparfaite, de l'espèce de torts que la Grande Bretagne avoit si souvent essuies. “ Il y a à Rochfort un “ vaisseau de soixante pièces de canon, et à l'Orient un “ vaisseau des Indes percé pour soixante canons. Ces “ deux vaisseaux sont destinés pour l'usage des rebelles. “ Ils seront chargés de différentes marchandises, et frétés “ par Messieurs Chaumont, Holken, et Sabatier.—Le “ vaisseau l'Heureux est parti de Marseilles, sous un autre “ nom, le vingt-six de Septembre. Il va en droiture à la “ Nouvelle Hampshire, quoiqu'il prétende aller aux Isles. “ On y a permis l'embarquement de trois mille fusils, et “ de deux mille cinq cents livres de soufre, marchandise “ aussi nécessaire aux Américains qu'elle est inutile dans les “ Isles. Ce vaisseau est commandé par M. Lundi, officier “ François, officier de distinction, ci-devant lieutenant de “ M. de Bougainville.—L'Hippopotame, appartenant au “ Sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à son bord quatorze “ mille fusils, et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour “ l'usage des rebelles.—Il y a environ cinquante vaisseaux “ François, qui se préparent à partir pour l'Amérique “ Septentrionale, chargés de munitions de guerre, et “ de différentes marchandises pour l'usage des rebelles. “ Ils partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du “ Havre, de Bordeaux, de Bayonne, et de différens autres “ ports. Voici les noms de quelques uns des principaux “ intéressés : M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ses associés, “ &c. &c.”

Dans un royaume où la volonté du prince ne trouve point d'obstacle, des secours si considérables, si publics, si long tems soutenus, si nécessaires enfin à l'entretien de la guerre en Amérique, annonçoient assez clairement les intentions secrètes des ministres du roi très Chrétien. Mais ils portèrent bien plus loin l'oubli et le mépris des engagements les plus solennels, et ce ne fut point sans leur permission qu'une guerre sourde et dangereuse sortoit des ports de la France, sous le masque trompeur de la paix, et le pavillon prétendu des colonies Américaines.

L'accueil

L'accueil favorable, que leurs agens trouvèrent auprès des ministres de la cour de Versailles, les encouragea bientôt à former et à exécuter le projet audacieux d'établir une place d'armes dans le païs qui leur avoit servi d'azyle. Ils avoient apporté, ou ils sçurent fabriquer, des lettres de marquer au nom du Congrès Américain, qui a eu la hardiesse d'usurper tout les droits, de la souveraineté. Les affociés dont les vues intéressées se prêtoient sans peine à tous leurs desseins, firent équiper des vaisseaux qu'ils avoient construits ou achetés. On les arma pour aller en course dans les mers de l'Europe, et même sur les côtes de la Grande Bretagne. Pour sauver les apparences, les capitains de ces corsaires arboroiént le pavillon prétendu de l'Amérique ; mais leurs équipages étoient toujours composés d'un grand nombre de François, qu'on enrôloit avec impunité sous les yeux même de gouverneurs, et des officiers des provinces maritimes. Un essaim nombreux de ces corsaires, animé par l'esprit de rapine, sortoit des ports de la France, et après avoir couru les mers Britanniques, ils rentroient, ou ils se réfugioient dans ces mêmes ports. Ils y ramenoient leurs prises, et à la faveur de l'artifice grossier et foible, qu'on daignoit quelquefois employer, la vente de ces prises se faisoit assez publiquement, et assez commodément sous les yeux des officiers royaux toujours disposés à protéger le commerce de ces négocians qui violoiént les loix, pour se conformer aux intentions du ministère François. Les corsaires s'enrichissoient des dépouilles des sujets du roi, et après avoir profité d'une liberté entière de réparer leurs pertes, de pourvoir à leurs besoins, et de se procurer toutes les munitions de guerre, la poudre, les canons, les agrêts qui pouvoient servir à de nouvelles entreprises, ils resortoiént librement des mêmes ports, pour se remettre en mer et en course. L'histoire du corsaire le *Reprisal* peut se citer parmi une foule d'exemples, qui montrent au jour la conduite injuste mais à peine artificieuse de la cour de Versailles. Ce vaisseau, qui avoit amené en Europe le Sieur Franklin, agent des colonies révoltées, fut reçu avec ses deux prises qu'il avoit faites en route ; il resta dans le port de Nantes aussi long tems qu'ils convenoit à ses vues, se remit deux fois en mer pour piller les sujets du roi, et se retira tranquillement à l'Orient avec de nouvelles prises qu'il venoit de faire. Malgré les représentations les plus fortes de l'ambassadeur du roi et les assurances les plus solennelles des ministres François, on permit au capitaine de ce corsaire de demeurer à l'Orient tout le tems dont il avoit besoin pour radoubier son vaisseau, de se pourvoir de cinquante barriques de poudre à canon, et de recevoir sur son bord tous les matelots François qui vouloiént bien s'engager avec lui.

Muni de ces renforts, le *Reprisal* sortit pour la troisième fois des ports de ses nouveaux alliés, et forma bientôt une petite escadre de pirates, par la jonction concertée du *Lexington* et du *Dolphin*, deux armateurs, dont le premier avoit déjà conduit plus d'une prise à la rivière de Bordeaux, et dont le second, armé à Nantes, et monté par un équipage entièrement François, n'avoit rien d'Américain que le nom et son commandant.—Ces trois vaisseaux, qui jouissoient si publiquement de la protection de la cour de Versailles, s'emparèrent en très peu de tems de quinze navires Anglois, dont la plus part furent ramenés et secrètement vendus dans les ports de France.—De pareils faits, qu'il seroit aisé de multiplier, tiennent lieu de raisonnemens et de reproches, et l'on peut se dispenser de réclamer dans cette occasion la foi des traités; et il n'est point nécessaire de démontrer qu'une puissance alliée, ou même neutre, ne peut jamais permettre la guère sans violer la paix.—Les principes du droit des gens refuseroient sans doute à l'ambassadeur de la couronne la plus respectable ce privilege d'armer des corsaires, que la cour de Versailles accordoit fourdement aux agens des rebelles dans le sein de la France. Dans les îles la tranquillité publique fut violée d'une manière encore plus audacieuse, et malgré le changement du gouverneur, les ports de la Martinique servoient toujours d'azile aux corsaires qui couroient les mers sous un pavillon Américain, mais avec un équipage François. Le Sieur Bingham, agent des rebelles, qui jouissoit de la faveur et de la confiance des deux gouverneurs successeurs de la Martinique, dirigeoit l'armement des corsaires, et la vente publique de leurs prises. Deux vaisseaux marchands, le *Lancashire Hero*, et l'*Irish Gimblet*, qui devinrent la proie du *Revenge*, assurent que sur cent-vingt-cinq hommes d'équipage il n'y avoit que deux Américains, et que le propriétaire, qui l'étoit en même tems de onze autres corsaires, se reconnoissoit pour habitant de la Martinique, où il étoit respecté comme le favori et l'agent secret du gouverneur lui-même.

Au milieu de tous ces actes d'hostilité, qu'il est impossible de qualifier d'un autre nom, la cour de Versailles continuoit toujours de parler le langage de la paix et de l'amitié, et ses ministres épuisèrent toutes les ressources de l'artifice et de la dissimulation pour assoupir les justes plaintes de la Grande Bretagne, pour tromper ses soupçons et pour arrêter les effets de son ressentiment. Depuis la première époque des troubles de l'Amérique jusqu'au moment de la déclaration de guerre par le marquis de la Noailles, les ministres du roi très Chrétien ne cessèrent de renouveler les protestations les plus fortes et les plus expressees de leurs dispositions pacifiques; et si la conduite ordinaire de la cour de Versailles étoit propre à

inspirer une juste défiance, le cœur de sa majesté lui four-
nissoit des motifs puissans pour croire que la France avoit
enfin adopté un système de modération et de paix, qui perpé-
tuerait le bonheur solide et réciproque des deux nations.
Les ministres de la cour de Versailles tachèrent d'excuser
l'arrivée et le séjour des agens des rebelles, par l'assurance la
plus forte qu'ils ne trouveroient en France qu'un simple azile
sans distinction et sans encouragement.

La liberté du commerce et l'avidité du gain servirent
quelquefois de prétexte pour couvrir les entreprises illégi-
times des sujets François, et dans le moment qu'on alléguoit
vainement l'impuissance des loix, pour prévenir des abus que
des états voisins savoient si bien réprimer, on condamna,
avec toutes les apparences de la sincérité, le transport des
armes et des munitions de guerre, qui se permettoit impuné-
ment, pour le service des rebelles. Aux premières repré-
sentations de l'ambassadeur du roi, au sujet des corsaires qui
s'armoient sous le pavillon de l'Amérique, mais dans les
ports de France, les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne
répondirent par des expressions de surprise et d'indignation,
et par la déclaration positive, qu'on ne souffriroit jamais des
entreprises aussi contraires à la foi des traités et à la tran-
quillité publique. La suite des évènements, dont on a déjà
vu un petit nombre, montra bientôt l'inconstance ou plutôt
la fausseté de la cour de Versailles; et l'Ambassadeur du roi
fut chargé de mettre devant les yeux des ministres François
les conséquences sérieuses mais inévitables de leur politique.
Il remplit sa commission avec tous les égards qui sont dûs à
une puissance respectable, dont on desireroit de conserver
l'amitié, mais avec la fermeté digne d'un souverain, et d'une
nation, peu accoutumés à faire ou à supporter des injustices.
La cour de Versailles fut sommée de s'expliquer, sans délai
et sans détour, sur sa conduite et sur ses intentions, et le roi
lui proposa l'alternative de la paix ou de la guerre.—Elle
choisit la paix, mais ce ne fut que pour blesser ses ennemis
d'une manière sûre et secrète, sans avoir rien à craindre de
leur justice. Elle condamna sévèrement ces secours et ces
armemens, que les principes du droit public ne lui permet-
toient pas de justifier. Elle déclara à l'ambassadeur du roi,
qu'elle étoit résolue à faire sortir sur le champ les corsaires
Américains de tous les ports de France, pour n'y jamais
rentrer, et qu'on prendroit désormais les précautions les plus
rigoureuses pour arrêter la vente des prises qu'ils auroient
faits sur les sujets de la Grande Bretagne. Les ordres qui
furent donnés pour cet effet étonnèrent les partisans des
rebelles, et semblèrent arrêter le progrès du mal: mais les
sujets de plainte renaissoient tous les jours, et la manière dont
ces

ces ordres furent d'abord éludés, violés ensuite, et enfin tout-à-fait oubliés par les négocians, les corsaires, et même par les officiers royaux, n'étoit point excusée par les protestations d'amitié dont la cour de Versailles accompagna ces infractions de la paix, jusqu'à ce moment qu'elle annonça, par son ambassadeur à Londres, le traité d'alliance qu'elle venoit de signer avec les agens des colonies révoltées de l'Amérique.

Si un ennemi étranger, reconnu parmi les puissances de l'Europe, avoit fait la conquête des états du roi dans l'Amérique, et que le France eût confirmé, par un traité solennel, un acte de violence qui dépouilloit, au milieu d'une paix profonde, le voisin respectable dont elle se disoit l'amie et alliée, l'Europe entière se seroit soulevée contre l'injustice d'un procédé qui violoit sans pudeur tout ce qu'il y a de plus saint parmi les hommes. La première découverte, la possession non interrompue de deux cens ans, et le consentement de toutes les nations, auroient suffi pour constater les droits de la Grande Bretagne aux terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et sa souveraineté sur le peuple qui y avoit formé des établissemens avec la permission et sous le gouvernement des prédécesseurs du roi. Si ce peuple même a ôsé secouer le joug de l'autorité ou plutôt des loix, s'il a usurpé les provinces et les prérogatives de son souverain, et s'il a recherché l'alliance des étrangers pour appuier son indépendance prétendue; ces étrangers ne peuvent accepter son alliance, ratifier ces usurpations, et reconnoître son indépendance, sans supposer que la révolte a des droits plus étendus que ceux de la guerre, et sans accorder aux sujets rebelles un titre légitime aux conquêtes qu'ils n'avoient pu faire qu'au mépris de la justice et des loix. Les ennemis secrets de la paix, de la Grande Bretagne et peut-être de la France même, eurent cependant l'adresse criminelle de persuader à sa majesté très Chrétienne qu'elle pouvoit, sans violer la foi des traités, déclarer publiquement qu'elle recevoit au nombre de ses alliés les sujets révoltés d'un roi, son voisin et son allié. Les professions d'amitié, dont on accompagna cette déclaration que le marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, ne servoient qu'à aggraver l'injure par l'insulte, et il étoit réservé pour la France de se vanter de ses dispositions pacifiques dans l'instant même que son ambition lui inspira d'exécuter et d'avouer un acte de perfidie sans exemple dans l'histoire des nations. “ Cependant, ” (tel est le langage que la cour de Versailles ôse encore se permettre,) “ Cependant ce seroit s'abuser de croire que c'est la reconnoissance que le roi a faite de l'indépendance des treize états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale qui a irrité le roi d'Angleterre : ce prince n'ignore pas sans doute tous les exemples de ce

“ genre que fournissent les annales Britanniques et même “ son propre règne.”—Jamais ces exemples prétendus n'ont existé.—Jamais le roi n'a reconnu l'indépendance d'un peuple qui avoit secoué le joug de son prince légitime; et il est triste, sans doute, que les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne aient surpris la religion de leur souverain pour couvrir d'un nom aussi respectable des assertions sans fondement et sans vraisemblance, qui sont démenties par le souvenir de l'Europe entière.

Au commencement des disputes qui s'élevoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles déclara qu'elle ne prétendoit point être juge de la querelle; et son ignorance des principes de la constitution Britannique, aussi bien que des privilèges et des obligations des colonies, auroit dû l'engager à persister toujours dans une déclaration aussi sage et modeste. Elle se seroit épargné la honte de transcrire les manifestes du Congrès Américain, et de prononcer aujourd'hui, “ Que les procédés de la cour de Londres forcèrent ces anciennes colonies de recourir à la voie des armes “ pour maintenir leurs droits, leurs privilèges et leur liberté.” Ces vains prétextes ont déjà été réfutés de la manière la plus convaincante, et les droits de la Grande Bretagne sur ce peuple révolté, ses bienfaits et sa longue patience, ont été déjà prouvés par la raison et par les faits. Il suffit ici de remarquer, que la France ne peut se prévaloir de l'injustice qu'elle reproche à la cour de Londres sans introduire dans la jurisprudence de l'Europe des maximes aussi nouvelles qu'elles seroient fausses et dangereuses; sans supposer que les disputes qui s'élèvent au sein d'un état indépendant et souverain sont soumises à la juridiction d'un prince étranger, et que ce prince peut évoquer à son tribunal ses alliés et leurs sujets révolté, pour justifier la conduite du peuple qui s'est affranchi des devoirs de l'obéissance légitime. Les ministres du roi très Chrétienne s'apercevront peut-être un jour que l'ambition les a fait oublier les intérêts et les droits de tous les souverains. L'approbation que la cour de Versailles vient de donner à la révolte des colonies Angloises ne lui permettroit pas de blamer le soulèvement de ses propres sujets dans le nouveau monde ou de ceux de l'Espagne, qui auroient des motifs bien plus puissans pour suivre le même exemple, s'ils n'en étoient point détournés par la vue des calamités dans lesquelles ces malheureuses colonies se sont précipitées.

Mais la France elle-même paroît sentir la faiblesse, le danger et l'indécence de ces prétensions, et se relâchant dans la déclaration du marquis de Noailles, aussi bien que dans le dernier manifeste, sur le droit de l'indépendance, elle se contente de soutenir que ces colonies révoltées jouissoient dans

dans le fait de cette indépendance qu'elles s'étoient donnée; que l'Angleterre même l'avoit en quelque sorte reconnue elle-même en laissant subsister des actes qui tiennent à la souveraineté, et qu'ainsi à France, sans violer la paix, pouvoit conclure un traité d'amitié et de commerce avec les états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.—Voici de quelle manière la Grande Bretagne avoit reconnu cette indépendance également imaginaire dans le droit et dans le fait. Deux ans ne s'étoient pas encore passés depuis le jour que les rebelles avoient déclaré leur résolution criminelle de secouer le joug de la mère-patrie, et ce terme avoit été rempli par les évènements d'une guerre sanglante et opiniâtre. Les succès avoient été balancés, mais l'armée du roi, qui occupoit les plus importantes des villes maritimes, continuoit toujours de menacer les provinces intérieures; le pavillon Anglois regnoit sur toutes les mers de l'Amérique; et le rétablissement de sa dépendance légitime étoit posé comme la condition indispensable de la paix que la Grande Bretagne offroit à des sujets révoltés, dont elle respectoit les droits, les intérêts et même les préjugés. La cour de Versailles qui annonce avec tant "de franchise et de simplicité" le traité signé avec ces prétendus états de l'Amérique, qu'elle trouvoit dans une situation indépendante, avoit seule contribué par ses secours clandestins à nourrir le feu de la révolte, et ce fut la crainte de la paix qui engagea la France à se servir du bruit de cette alliance comme du moyen le plus efficace pour enflammer les esprits des peuples qui commençoient déjà à ouvrir les yeux sur les suites malheureuses de la révolte, la tyrannie de leurs nouveaux chefs, et les dispositions paternelles de leur souverain légitime.

Dans ces circonstances il est impossible de nier sans insulter trop grossièrement à la raison et à la vérité, que la déclaration du marquis de Noailles du 13 Mars de l'année dernière ne dût être reçue comme une véritable déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien; et les assurances "qu'il avoit pris des mesures éventuelles avec les états unis de l'Amérique, pour soutenir la liberté d'un commerce," qui avoit tant de fois excité les plaintes légitimes de la Grande Bretagne, autorisoient le roi à considérer dès ce moment la France au nombre de ses ennemis. La cour de Versailles ne peut pas s'empêcher de reconnoître que le roi d'Angleterre après avoir rappelé "son ambassadeur, dénonça à son parlement la démarche de sa majesté comme un acte d'hostilité, comme une agression formelle et préméditée." Telle fut, il est vrai, la déclaration que l'honneur et la justice exigèrent du roi, et qu'il communiqua sans délai à tous ses ministres dans les différentes cours de l'Europe, pour justifier

justifier d'avance les effets d'un ressentiment légitime. Dès lors il est assez inutile de rechercher les ordres qui furent envoyés aux Indes Orientales, de marquer le jour précis auquel les flottes d'Angleterre ou de France sortirent de leurs ports respectifs, ou d'examiner les circonstances du combat avec la *Belle Poule*, et de la prise des deux frégates qui furent effectivement enlevées à la vue même des côtes de la France. Dès lors le reproche qu'on se permet de faire au roi d'avoir si long tems suspendu la déclaration formelle de la guerre, s'évanouit de lui même. Ces déclarations ne sont que des moïens dont les nations sont réciproquement convenues pour éviter la trahison et la surprise; mais les cérémonies qui annoncent ce changement terrible de la paix à la guerre, les hérauts, les proclamations, les manifestes, ne sont jamais nécessaires, et ne sont pas toujours les mêmes. La déclaration du marquis de Noailles fut le signal de l'infraction publique de la paix: le roi proclama sur le champ à toutes les nations qu'il acceptoit la guerre que la France lui offroit; les démarches ultérieures de sa majesté étoient du ressort de sa prudence plutôt que de sa justice, et l'Europe peut juger maintenant si la cour de Londres manquoit de "moïens pour justifier une déclaration de guerre, et si elle n'ôsoit pas accuser publiquement la France d'être l'agresseur."

Puisque l'alliance de la France avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique avoit été une infraction manifeste de la paix et le motif légitime de la guerre, la cour de Versailles devoit naturellement s'attendre qu'à la première proposition d'un accommodement entre les deux couronnes, le Roi exigeroit de sa part qu'on lui recordât une juste satisfaction sur un objet aussi important, et que la France renonçât à ces liaisons qui avoient forcé sa majesté à prendre les armes. La surprise affectée que les ministres du roi très Chrétien font paroître aujourd'hui de la fermeté de la cour de Londres est assez conforme à l'orgueil qui leur dicta des conditions de paix que les plus grands succès auroient à peine justifiées; et la proposition qu'ils hasardèrent pour engager le roi à retirer ses troupes de l'Amérique, et à reconnoître l'indépendance de ses sujets révoltés, ne pouvoit qu'exciter l'étonnement et l'indignation de sa majesté. Le peu d'ouverture que la cour de Versailles trouva à une espérance aussi vaine, l'obligea bientôt à se replier d'une autre manière; elle a proposé, par l'entremise de la cour de Madrid, un projet d'accommodement moins offensant peut-être dans la forme, mais aussi peu admissible par le fonds. Le roi Catholique, avec le consentement de la France, communiqua aux ministres du roi la proposition d'une trêve à longues années, ou bien d'une suspension générale et indéfinie de toutes hostilités, pendant laquelle

laquelle les colonies révoltées, les prétendus états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, seroient traités comme indépendans de fait. La réflexion la plus simple suffit pour découvrir l'artifice de ce projet insidieux, et pour justifier aux yeux de l'Europe le refus du roi. Entre les souverains qui se reconnoissent mais qui se combattent, les trêves à longues années, les suspensions d'hostilités sont les moïens doux et salutaires pour applanir les difficultés qui s'opposent à l'entière conclusion d'une paix qu'on renvoie sans disgrâce et sans danger à un moment plus favorable. Mais dans la querelle domestique de la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la souveraineté même, l'indépendance de droit ou de fait, est l'objet de la dispute; et la dignité du roi ne lui permettoit point d'accepter ces propositions qui accorderoient dès l'entrée de la négociation tout ce qui pouvoit contenter l'ambition des Américains rebelles, pendant qu'elles exigèrent de sa majesté que sans aucune stipulation en sa faveur, elle se desistât pendant un terme long ou indéfini des prétentions les plus légitimes. La cour de Versailles daignoit, il est vrai, consentir que celle de Londres traitât avec le Congrès soit directement, soit par l'entremise du roi d'Espagne. Sa majesté assurément ne s'abaissera point jusqu'à se plaindre de cet orgueil, qui semble lui accorder comme une grace la permission de traiter directement avec ses sujets rebelles. Mais si les Américains eux-mêmes ne sont pas aveuglés par la passion et la prévention, ils verront clairement dans le procédé de la France que leurs nouveaux alliés deviendroient bientôt leurs tyrans; et que cette indépendance prétendue, achetée par tant de malheurs et tant de sang, seroit soumise à la volonté despotique d'une cour étrangère.

Si la France pouvoit vérifier cet empressement qu'elle attribue à la cour de Londres à rechercher la médiation de l'Espagne, un pareil empressement serviroit à prouver la juste confiance du roi dans la bonté de sa cause, et son estime pour une nation généreuse qui a toujours méprisé la fraude et la perfidie. Mais la cour de Londres est forcée à convenir que la médiation lui fut offerte par les ministres du roi Catholique, et qu'elle n'a d'autre mérite que celui d'avoir fait paroître dans toutes les occasions une inclination vive et sincère de délivrer ses sujets et même ses ennemis du fléau de la guerre. La conduite de la cour de Madrid pendant cette négociation fit bientôt connoître au roi qu'un médiateur qui oublioit ses intérêts les plus chers pour se livrer à l'ambition et au ressentiment d'une puissance étrangère, seroit incapable de proposer un accommodement sûr ou honorable. L'expérience confirma ses soupçons: le projet injuste et inadmissible qu'on vient d'exposer fut le seul fruit de la médiation.

Et

Et à l'instant même que les ministres du roi Catholique offroient avec les professions les plus désintéressées sa capitale, ses bons offices, sa garantie pour faciliter la conclusion du traité, ils laissèrent entrevoir dans le fond de l'obscurité, de nouveaux sujets de discussion qui regardoient particulièrement l'Espagne, mais sur lesquels ils refusèrent toujours de s'expliquer. Le refus de sa majesté d'accéder à l'*ultimatum* de la cour de Madrid fut accompagné de tous les ménagemens et de tous les égards convenables ; et à moins que cette cour ne s'arrogeât le droit de dicter les conditions de paix à un voisin indépendant et respectable, il ne se passa rien dans cette conjoncture qui dût altérer l'harmonie des deux couronnes. Mais les démarches offensives de l'Espagne, qu'elle n'a jamais pu revêtir des plus foibles apparences de l'équité, montrèrent bientôt que sa résolution étoit déjà prise, et que cette résolution lui avoit été inspirée par le ministère François, qui n'avoit retardé la déclaration de la cour de Madrid que dans l'espérance de porter sous le masque de l'amitié un coup mortel à l'honneur et aux intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Tels sont les ennemis injustes et ambitieux qui ont méprisé la foi des traités pour violer la tranquillité publique, et contre lesquels le roi défend maintenant les droits de sa couronne et de son peuple. L'évènement est encore dans la main du Tout-puissant ; mais sa majesté, qui se confie avec une assurance ferme mais humble dans la protection Divine, se persuade que les vœux de l'Europe appuieront la justice de sa cause, et applaudiront au succès de ses armes, qui n'ont point d'autre objet que de rétablir le repos des nations sur une base solide et inébranlable.

A
V I N D I C A T I O N

OF

Some PASSAGES in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters

OF THE

History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

PERHAPS it may be necessary to inform the Public, that not long since an Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire was published by Mr. Davis. He styles himself a Bachelor of Arts, and a Member of Baliol College in the university of Oxford. His title-page is a declaration of war; and in the prosecution of his religious crusade, he assumes a privilege of disregarding the ordinary laws which are respected in the most hostile transactions between civilized men or civilized nations. Some of the harshest epithets in the English language are repeatedly applied to the historian, a part of whose work Mr. Davis has chosen for the object of his criticism. To this author Mr. Davis imputes the crime of betraying the confidence and seducing the faith of those readers, who may heedlessly stray in the flowery paths of his diction, without perceiving the poisonous snake that lurks concealed in the grass—*Latet anguis in herbâ*. The Examiner has assumed the province of reminding them of “the unfair proceedings of such an “insidious friend, who offers the deadly draught in a golden “cup, that they may be less sensible of the danger*. In “order to which Mr. Davis has selected several of the more “notorious instances of his misrepresentations and errors; “reducing them to their respective heads, and subjoining a “long list of almost incredible inaccuracies: and such “striking proofs of servile plagiarism, as the world will be “surprised to meet with in an author who puts in so bold a

* Davis, Preface, p. ii.

“claim to originality and extensive reading*?” Mr. Davis prosecutes this attack through an octavo volume of not less than two hundred and eighty-four pages with the same implacable spirit; perpetually charges his adversary with perverting the ancients, and transcribing the moderns; and, inconsistently enough, imputes to him the opposite crimes of art and carelessness, of gross ignorance and of wilful falsehood. The Examiner closes his work † with a severe reproof of those feeble critics who have allowed any share of knowledge to an odious antagonist. He presumes to pity and to condemn the first historian of the present age, for the generous approbation which he had bestowed on a writer, who is content that Mr. Davis should be his enemy, whilst he has a right to name Dr. Robertson for his friend.

When I delivered to the world the First Volume of an important History, in which I had been obliged to connect the progress of Christianity with the civil state and revolutions of the Roman Empire, I could not be ignorant that the result of my enquiries might offend the interest of some and the opinions of others. If the whole work was favourably received by the Public, I had the more reason to expect that this obnoxious part would provoke the zeal of those who consider themselves as the Watchmen of the Holy City. These expectations were not disappointed; and a fruitful crop of Answers, Apologies, Remarks, Examinations, &c. sprung up with all convenient speed. As soon as I saw the advertisement, I generally sent for them; for I have never affected, indeed I have never understood, the stoical apathy, the proud contempt of criticism, which some authors have publicly professed. Fame is the motive, it is the reward, of our labours; nor can I easily comprehend how it is possible that we should remain cold and indifferent with regard to the attempts which are made to deprive us of the most valuable object of our possessions, or at least of our hopes. Besides this strong and natural impulse of curiosity, I was prompted by the more laudable desire of applying to my own, and the public benefit, the well-grounded censures of a learned adversary; and of correcting those faults which the indulgence of vanity and friendship had suffered to escape without observation. I read with attention several criticisms which were published against the two last chapters of my History, and unless I much deceived myself, I weighed them in my own mind without prejudice and without resentment. After I was clearly satisfied that their principal objections were

* Davis, Preface, p. iii.

† Davis, p. 282, 283.

founded on misrepresentation or mistake, I declined with sincere and disinterested reluctance the odious task of controversy, and almost formed a tacit resolution of committing my intentions, my writings, and my adversaries to the judgment of the Public, of whose favourable disposition I had received the most flattering proofs.

The reasons which justified my silence were obvious and forcible: the respectable nature of the subject itself, which ought not to be rashly violated by the rude hand of controversy; the inevitable tendency of dispute, which soon degenerates into minute and personal altercation; the indifference of the Public for the discussion of such questions as neither relate to the business nor the amusement of the present age. I calculated the possible loss of temper and the certain loss of time, and considered, that while I was laboriously engaged in a humiliating task, which could add nothing to my own reputation, or to the entertainment of my readers, I must interrupt the prosecution of a work which claimed my whole attention, and which the Public, or at least my friends, seemed to require with some impatience at my hands. The judicious lines of Dr. Young sometimes offered themselves to my memory, and I felt the truth of his observation, That every author lives or dies by his own pen, and that the unerring sentence of Time assigns its proper rank to every composition and to every criticism, which it preserves from oblivion.

I should have consulted my own ease, and perhaps I should have acted in stricter conformity to the rules of prudence, if I had still persevered in patient silence. But Mr. Davis may, if he pleases, assume the merit of extorting from me the notice which I had refused to more honourable foes. I had declined the consideration of their *literary Objections*; but he has compelled me to give an answer to his *criminal Accusations*. Had he confined himself to the ordinary, and indeed obsolete charges of impious principles, and mischievous intentions, I should have acknowledged with readiness and pleasure that the religion of Mr. Davis appeared to be very different from mine. Had he contented himself with the use of that style which decency and politeness have banished from the more liberal part of mankind, I should have smiled, perhaps with some contempt, but without the least mixture of anger or resentment. Every animal employs the note, or cry, or howl, which is peculiar to its species; every man expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he

he is conversant; and while I was disposed to allow that Mr. Davis had made some proficiency in ecclesiastical studies, I should have considered the difference of our language and manners as an unsurmountable bar of separation between us. Mr. Davis has overleaped that bar, and forces me to contend with him on the very dirty ground which he has chosen for the scene of our combat. He has judged, I know not with how much propriety, that the support of a cause, which would disclaim such unworthy assistance, depended on the ruin of my moral and literary character. The different misrepresentations, of which he has drawn out the ignominious catalogue, would materially affect my credit as an historian, my reputation as a scholar, and even my honour and veracity as a gentleman. If I am indeed incapable of understanding what I read, I can no longer claim a place among those writers who merit the esteem and confidence of the Public. If I am capable of wilfully perverting what I understand, I no longer deserve to live in the society of those men, who consider a strict and inviolable adherence to truth as the foundation of every thing that is virtuous or honourable in human nature. At the same time, I am not insensible that his mode of attack has given a transient pleasure to my enemies, and a transient uneasiness to my friends. The size of his volume, the boldness of his assertions, the acrimony of his style, are contrived with tolerable skill to confound the ignorance and candour of his readers. There are few who will examine the truth or justice of his accusations; and of those persons who have been directed by their education to the study of ecclesiastical antiquity, many will believe, or will affect to believe, that the success of their champion has been equal to his zeal, and that the *serpent* pierced with an hundred wounds lies expiring at his feet. Mr. Davis's book *will* cease to be read (perhaps the grammarians may already reproach me for the use of an improper tense); but the oblivion towards which it seems to be hastening, will afford the more ample scope for the artful practices of those, who may not scruple to affirm, or rather to insinuate, that Mr. Gibbon was publickly convicted of falsehood and misrepresentation; that the evidence produced against him was unanswerable; and that his silence was the effect and the proof of conscious guilt. Under the hands of a malicious surgeon, the sting of a wasp may continue to fester and inflame, long after the vexatious little insect has left its venom and its life in the wound.

The defence of my own honour is undoubtedly the first and prevailing motive which urges me to repel with vigour an unjust and unprovoked attack; and to undertake a tedious vindication,

vindication, which, after the perpetual repetition of the vainest and most disgusting of the pronouns, will only prove that *I* am innocent, and that Mr. Davis, in his charge, has very frequently subscribed his own condemnation. And yet I may presume to affirm, that the Public have some interest in this controversy. They have some interest to know, whether the writer whom they have honoured with their favour is deserving of their confidence; whether they must content themselves with reading the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as a *tale amusing enough*, or whether they may venture to receive it as a fair and authentic history. The general persuasion of mankind, that where *much* has been positively asserted, *something* must be true, may contribute to encourage a secret suspicion, which would naturally diffuse itself over the whole body of the work. Some of those friends who may now tax me with imprudence for taking this public notice of Mr. Davis's book, have perhaps already condemned me for silently acquiescing under the weight of such serious, such direct, and such circumstantial imputations.

Mr. Davis, who in the last page of his work * appears to have recollected that modesty is an amiable and useful qualification, affirms, that his plan required only that he should consult the authors to whom he was directed by my references; and that the judgment of riper years was not so necessary to enable him to execute with success the pious labour to which he had devoted his pen. Perhaps, before we separate, a moment to which I most fervently aspire, Mr. Davis may find that a mature judgment is indispensably requisite for the successful execution of *any* work of literature, and more especially of criticism. Perhaps he will discover, that a young student, who hastily consults an unknown author, on a subject with which he is unacquainted, cannot always be guided by the most accurate reference to the knowledge of the sense, as well as to the sight of the passage which has been quoted by his adversary. Abundant proofs of these maxims will hereafter be suggested. For the present, I shall only remark, that it is my intention to pursue, in my defence, the order, or rather the course, which Mr. Davis has marked out in his Examination; and that I have numbered the several articles of my impeachment according to the most natural division of the subject. And now let me proceed on this hostile march over a dreary and barren desert, where thirst, hunger, and intolerable weariness, are much more to be dreaded than the arrows of the enemy.

* Davis, p. 284.

I.

QUOTA-
TIONS IN
GENERAL.

“ The remarkable mode of quotation which Mr. Gibbon adopts, must immediately strike every one who turns to his notes. He sometimes only mentions the author, perhaps the book; and often leaves the reader the toil of finding out, or rather guessing at the passage. The policy, however, is not without its design and use. By endeavouring to deprive us of the means of comparing him with the authorities he cites, he flattered himself, no doubt, that he might safely have recourse to *misrepresentations**.” Such is the style of Mr. Davis; who in another place † mentions this mode of quotation “ as a good artifice to escape detection;” and applauds, with an agreeable irony, his own labours in turning over a few pages of the Theodosian code.

I shall not descend to animadvert on the rude and illiberal strain of this passage, and I will frankly own that my indignation is lost in astonishment. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of my History are illustrated by three hundred and eighty-three Notes; and the nakedness of a few Notes, which are not accompanied by any quotation, is amply compensated by a much greater number, which contain two, three, or perhaps four distinct references; so that upon the whole my stock of quotations, which support and justify my facts, cannot amount to less than eight hundred or a thousand. As I had often felt the inconvenience of the loose and general method of quoting which is so falsely imputed to me, I have carefully distinguished the *books*, the *chapters*, the *sections*, the *pages* of the authors to whom I referred, with a degree of accuracy and attention, which might claim some gratitude, as it has seldom been so regularly practised by any historical writers. And here I must confess some obligation to Mr. Davis, who, by staking my credit and his own on a circumstance so obvious and palpable, has given me this early opportunity of submitting the merits of our cause, or at least of our characters, to the judgment of the Public. Hereafter, when I am summoned to defend myself against the imputation of misquoting the text, or misrepresenting the sense of a Greek or Latin author, it will not be in my power to communicate the knowledge of the languages, or the possession of the books, to those readers who may be destitute either of one or of the other; and the part which *they* are obliged to take between assertions equally strong and peremptory, may sometimes be attended with

* Davis, Preface, p. ii.

† Id. p. 230.

doubt and hesitation. But, in the present instance, every reader who will give himself the trouble of consulting the first volume of my History, is a competent judge of the question. I exhort, I solicit him to run his eye down the columns of Notes, and to count *how many* of the quotations are minute and particular, *how few* are vague and general. When he has satisfied himself by this easy computation, there *is* a word which may naturally suggest itself; an epithet, which I should be sorry either to deserve or use; the boldness of Mr. Davis's assertion, and the confidence of my appeal, will tempt, nay, perhaps, will force him to apply that epithet either to one or to the other of the adverse parties.

I have confessed that a critical eye may discover *some* loose and general references; but as they bear a very *inconsiderable* proportion to the whole mass, they cannot support, or even excuse, a false and ungenerous accusation, which must reflect dishonour either on the object or on the author of it. If the examples in which I have occasionally deviated from my ordinary practice were specified and examined, I am persuaded that they might always be fairly attributed to one of the following reasons. 1. In some *rare* instances, which I have never attempted to conceal, I have been obliged to adopt quotations, which were expressed with less accuracy than I could have wished. 2. I may have accidentally recollected the sense of a passage which I had formerly read, without being able to find the place, or even to transcribe from memory the precise words. 3. The whole tract (as in a remarkable instance of the second apology of Justin Martyr) was so short, that a more particular description was not required. 4. The form of the composition supplied the want of a local reference; the preceding mention of the *year* fixed the passage of the annalist; and the reader was guided to the proper spot in the commentaries of Grotius, Valesius, or Godefroy, by the more accurate citation of their original author. 5. The idea which I was desirous of communicating to the reader, was sometimes the general result of the author or treatise that I had quoted; nor was it possible to confine, within the narrow limits of a particular reference, the sense or spirit which was mingled with the whole mass. These motives are either laudable, or at least innocent. In two of these exceptions, my ordinary mode of citation was superfluous; in the other three, it was impracticable.

In quoting a comparison which Tertullian had used to express the rapid increase of the Marcionites, I expressly declared

declared that I was obliged to quote it from memory*. If I have been guilty of comparing them to *bees* instead of *wasps*, I can however most sincerely disclaim the sagacious suspicion of Mr. Davis†, who imagines that I was tempted to amend the simile of Tertullian, from an improper partiality for those odious heretics.

A rescript of Diocletian, which declared *the* old law (not *an* old law‡) had been alleged by me on the respectable authority of Fra-Paolo. The Examiner, who thinks that he has turned over the pages of the Theodosian code, informs|| his reader that it may be found, l. vi. tit. xxiv. leg. 8.; he will be surprised to learn that this rescript could not be *found* in a code where it does not exist, but that it may distinctly be read in the same number, the same title, and the same book of the CODE OF JUSTINIAN. He who is severe should at least be just: yet I should probably have disdained this minute animadversion, unless it had served to display the general ignorance of the critic in the history of the Roman jurisprudence. If Mr. Davis had not been an absolute stranger, the most treacherous guide could not have persuaded him that a rescript of Diocletian was to be found in the Theodosian code, which was designed only to preserve the laws of Constantine and his successors. “Compendiosam (says Theodosius himself) Divalium Constitutionum scientiam, ex D. Constantini temporibus roboramus.” (Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. L. i. tit. i. leg. 1.)

ERRORS OF
THE PRESS.

II. Few objects are below the notice of Mr. Davis, and his criticism is never so formidable as when it is directed against the guilty corrector of the press, who on some occasions has shewn himself negligent of my fame and of his own. Some errors have arisen from the omission of letters; from the confusion of cyphers, which perhaps were not very distinctly marked in the original manuscript. The *two* of the Roman, and the *eleven* of the Arabic numerals, have been unfortunately mistaken for each other; the similar forms of a 2 and a 3, a 5 and a 6, a 3 and an 8, have improperly been transposed; Antolycus for Autolycus, Idolatria for Idololatria, Holsterius for Holstenius, had escaped my own observation, as well as the diligence of the person who was employed to revise the sheets of my History. These important errors, from the indulgence of a deluded Public, have been multiplied in the numerous impressions of three different editions; and for the present I can only lament

* Gibbon's History, p. 551. I shall usually refer to the third edition, unless there are any various readings.

† Davis, p. 144.

‡ Gibbon, p. 593.

|| Davis, p. 230.

my own defects, while I deprecate the wrath of Mr. Davis, who seems ready to infer that I cannot either read or write. I sincerely admire his patient industry, which I despair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition should ever be required, I could wish to obtain, on any reasonable terms, the services of so useful a corrector.

III. Mr. Davis has been directed by my references to several passages of Optatus Milevitanus*, and of the Bibliothéque Ecclesiastique of M. Dupin†. He eagerly consults those places, is unsuccessful, and is happy. Sometimes the place which I have quoted does not offer any of the circumstances which I had alleged, sometimes only a few; and sometimes the same passages exhibit a sense totally adverse and repugnant to mine. These shameful misrepresentations incline Mr. Davis to suspect that I have never consulted the original, (not even of a common French book!) and he asserts his right to censure my presumption. These important charges form two distinct articles in the list of *misrepresentations*; but Mr. Davis has amused himself with adding to the slips of the pen or of the press, some complaints of his ill success, when he attempted to verify my quotations from Cyprian and from Shaw's Travels‡.

The success of Mr. Davis would indeed have been somewhat extraordinary, unless he had consulted the same editions, as well as the same places. I shall content myself with mentioning the editions which I have used, and with assuring him, that if he renews his research, he will not, or rather that he will, be disappointed.

Mr. Gibbon's Editions.	Mr. Davis's Editions.
Optatus Milevitanus, by Dupin, fol. Paris, 1700.	Fol. Antwerp, 1702.
Dupin. Bibliothéque Ecclesiastique, 4to. Paris, 1690.	8vo. Paris, 1687.
Cypriani Opera, Edit. Fell. fol. Amsterdam, 1700.	Most probably Oxon, 1682.
Shaw's Travels, 4to. London, 1757.	The Folio Edition.

IV. The nature of my subject had led me to mention, not the real origin of the Jews, but their first *appearance* to the eyes of other nations; and I cannot avoid transcribing the short passage in which I had introduced them. "The Jews, who under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their

* Davis, p. 73.

† Id. p. 132—136.

‡ Id. p. 151—155.

“ slaves, emerged from their obscurity under the successors
 “ of Alexander. And as they multiplied to a surprising
 “ degree in the east, and afterwards in the west, they soon
 “ excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations*.”
 This simple abridgment seems in its turn to have excited the
 wonder of Mr. Davis, whose surprise almost renders him
 eloquent. “ What a strange assemblage,” says he, “ is
 “ here? It is like Milton’s chaos, without bound, without
 “ dimension, where time and place is lost. In short, what
 “ does this display afford us, but a deal of boyish colouring
 “ to the prejudice of much good history†?” If I rightly
 understand Mr. Davis’s language, he censures, as a piece of
 confused declamation, the passage which he has produced
 from my History; and if I collect the angry criticisms which
 he has scattered over twenty pages of controversy‡, I think
 I can discover that there is hardly a period, or even a word,
 in this unfortunate passage, which has obtained the appro-
 bation of the Examiner.

As nothing can escape his vigilance, he censures me for
 including the twelve tribes of Israel under the common ap-
 pellation of *Jews*§, and for extending the name of *Assy-
 RIANS* to the subjects of the kings of Babylon||; and again
 censures me, because some facts which are affirmed or insi-
 nuated in my text, do not agree with the strict and proper
 limits which he has assigned to those national denominations.
 The name of *Jews* has indeed been established by the sceptre
 of the tribe of *Judah*, and, in the times which precede the
 captivity, it is used in the more general sense with some sort
 of impropriety; but surely I am not peculiarly charged with
 a fault which has been consecrated with the consent of twenty
 centuries, the practice of the best writers, ancient as well
 as modern, (see Josephus and Prideaux, even in the titles of
 their respective works,) and by the usage of modern lan-
 guages, of the Latin, the Greek, and if I may credit Re-
 land, of the Hebrew itself (see *Palestin*, L. i. c. 6.) With
 regard to the other word, that of *Assyrians*, most assuredly
 I will not lose myself in the labyrinth of the Asiatic monar-
 chies before the age of Cyrus; nor indeed is any more
 required for my justification, than to prove that Babylon was
 considered as the capital and royal seat of Assyria. If Mr.
 Davis were a man of learning, I might be morose enough
 to censure his ignorance of ancient geography, and to over-
 whelm him under a load of quotations, which might be col-
 lected and transcribed with very little trouble: but as I *must*

* Gibbon, p. 537.

† Davis, p. 5.

‡ Id. p. 2—22.

§ Id. p. 3.

|| Id. p. 2.

suppose that he has received a classical education, I might have expected him to have read the first book of Herodotus, where that historian describes, in the clearest and most elegant terms, the situation and greatness of Babylon: Της δε Ασσυρης τα μεν και αλλα πολισματα μεγαλα πολλα, το δε ονομασσοτατον και ισχυροτατον και ενθα σφι, Νινου αναστατου γενομενης, τα βασιλεια κατεστηκες, ην Βαβυλων. (Clio. c. 178.) I may be surprised that he should be so little conversant with the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, in the whole course of which the King of Babylon, the adversary of the Medes and Persians, is repeatedly mentioned by the style and title of THE ASSYRIAN, Ὁ δὴ Ασσυριος, ὁ Βαβυλωνια τε εχων και την αλλην Ασσυριαν. (L ii. p. 102, 103, edit. Hutchinson.) But there remains something more: and Mr. Davis must apply the same reproaches of *inaccuracy*, if not *ignorance*, to the prophet Isaiah, who, in the name of Jehovah, announcing the downfall of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel, declares with an oath, "And as I have purposed the thing shall stand: to crush the ASSYRIAN in my land, and to trample him on my mountains. Then shall his yoke depart from off them; and his burthen shall be removed from off their shoulders." (Isaiah, xiv. 24, 25. Lowth's new translation. See likewise the Bishop's note, p. 98.) Our old translation expresses, with less elegance, the same meaning; but I mention with pleasure the labours of a respectable Prelate, who in this, as well as in a former work, has very happily united the most critical judgment, with the taste and spirit of poetry.

The jealousy which Mr. Davis affects for the honour of the Jewish people will not suffer him to allow that they were *slaves* to the conquerors of the East: and while he acknowledges that they were tributary and dependent, he seems desirous of introducing, or even inventing, some milder expression of the state of vassalage and *subservience**; from whence Tacitus assumed the words of *despectissima pars servientium*. Has Mr. Davis never heard of the distinction of civil and political slavery? Is he ignorant that even the natural and victorious subjects of an Asiatic despot have been deservedly marked with the opprobrious epithet of slaves by every writer acquainted with the name and advantage of freedom? Does he not know that, under such a government, the yoke is imposed with double weight on the necks of the vanquished, as the rigour of tyranny is aggravated by the abuse of conquest? From the first invasion of Judæa by the arms of the

* Davis, p. 6.

Assyrians, to the subversion of the Persian monarchy by Alexander, there elapsed a period of above four hundred years, which included about twelve ages or generations of the human race. As long as the Jews asserted their independence, they repeatedly suffered every calamity which the rage and insolence of a victorious enemy could inflict: the throne of David was overturned, the temple and city were reduced to ashes, and the whole land, a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in history, remained threescore and ten years without inhabitants, and without cultivation. (Chronicles, xxxvi. 21.) According to an institution which has long prevailed in Asia, and particularly in the Turkish government, the most beautiful and ingenious youths were carefully educated in the palace, where superior merit sometimes introduced these fortunate *slaves* to the favour of the conqueror, and to the honours of the state. (See the book and example of Daniel.) The rest of the unhappy Jews experienced the hardships of captivity and exile in distant lands; and while individuals were oppressed, the nation seemed to be dissolved or annihilated. The gracious edict of Cyrus was offered to all those who worshipped the God of Israel in the temple of Jerusalem; but it was accepted by no more than forty-two thousand persons of either sex and of every age, and of these about thirty thousand derived their origin from the tribes of Judah, of Benjamin, and of Levi. (See Ezra, i. Nehemiah, vii. and Prideaux's Connections, vol. i. p. 107. fol. edit. London, 1718.) The inconsiderable band of exiles, who returned to inhabit the land of their fathers, cannot be computed as the hundred and fiftieth part of the mighty people that had been numbered by the impious rashness of David. After a survey, which did not comprehend the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the monarch was assured that he reigned over *one million five hundred and seventy thousand men* that drew the sword (1 Chronicles, xxi. 1—6), and the country of Judæa must have contained near seven millions of free inhabitants. The progress of restoration is always less rapid than that of destruction; Jerusalem, which had been ruined in a few months, was rebuilt by the slow and interrupted labours of a whole century; and the Jews, who gradually multiplied in their native seats, enjoyed a servile and precarious existence, which depended on the capricious will of their master. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not afford a very pleasing view of their situation under the Persian empire; and the book of Esther exhibits a most extraordinary instance of the degree of estimation in which they were held at the court of Susa. A minister addressed his king in the following words, which may

may be considered as a commentary on the *despectissima pars servientium* of the Roman historian: "And Haman said to king Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the King's laws; therefore it is not for the King's profit to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be written that they may be destroyed; and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business, to bring it to the King's treasuries. And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it to Haman, the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the king said unto Haman, The silver is given unto thee; the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee." (*Esther*, iii. 8—11.) This trifling favour was asked by the Minister, and granted by the Monarch, with an easy indifference, which expressed their contempt for the lives and fortunes of the Jews; the business passed without difficulty through the forms of office; and had Esther been less lovely, or less beloved, a single day would have consummated the universal slaughter of a submissive people, to whom no legal defence was allowed, and from whom no resistance seems to have been dreaded. I am a stranger to Mr. Davis's political principles; but I should think that the epithet of *slaves*, and of *despised* slaves, may, without injustice, be applied to a captive nation, over whose head the sword of tyranny was suspended by so slender a thread.

The policy of the Macedonians was very different from that of the Persians; and yet Mr. Davis, who reluctantly confesses that the Jews were oppressed by the former, does not understand how long they were favoured and protected by the latter*. In the shock of those revolutions which divided the empire of Alexander, Judæa, like the other provinces, experienced the transient ravages of an advancing or retreating enemy, who led away a multitude of captives. But, in the age of Josephus, the Jews still enjoyed the privileges granted by the kings of Asia and Egypt, who had fixed numerous colonies of that nation in the new cities of Alexandria, Antioch, &c. and placed them in the same honourable condition (*ισοπολίτας, ισότητες*) as the Greeks and Macedonians themselves. (*Joseph. Antiquitat. L. xii. c. 1. 3. p. 585. 596. vol. i. edit. Havercamp.*) Had they been treated with less indulgence, their settlement in those celebrated cities, the seats of commerce and learning, was

* Davis, p. 4.

enough to introduce them to the knowledge of the world, and to justify my *absurd* proposition, that they emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander.

The Jews remained and flourished under the mild dominion of the Macedonian princes, till they were compelled to assert their civil and religious rights against Antiochus Epiphanes, who had adopted new maxims of tyranny; and the age of the Maccabees is perhaps the most glorious period of the Hebrew annals. Mr. Davis, who on this occasion is bewildered by the subtlety of Tacitus, does not comprehend why the historian should ascribe the independence of the Jews to three *negative* causes, "*Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis, et Romani procul aberant.*" To the understanding of the critic, Tacitus might as well have observed, that the Jews were not destroyed by a plague, a famine, or an earthquake; and Mr. Davis cannot see, for his own part, any reason why they may not have elected kings of their own two or three hundred years before*. Such indeed was not the reason of Tacitus: he probably considered that every nation, depressed by the weight of a foreign power, naturally rises towards the surface, as soon as the pressure is removed; and he might think that, in a short and rapid history of the independence of the Jews, it was sufficient for him to shew that the obstacles did not exist, which, in an earlier or in a later period, would have checked their efforts. The curious reader, who has leisure to study the Jewish and Syrian history, will discover, that the throne of the Asmonæan princes was confirmed by the two great victories of the Parthians over Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes (see Joseph. Antiquitat. Jud. L. xiii. c. 5, 6, 8, 9. Justin. xxxvi. 1. xxxvii. 10. with Usher and Prideaux, before Christ 141 and 130;) and the expression of Tacitus, the more closely it is examined, will be the more rationally admired.

My quotations † are the object of Mr. Davis's criticism ‡, as well as the text of this short, but obnoxious passage. He corrects the error of my memory, which had suggested *servitutis* instead of *servientium*; and so natural is the alliance between truth and moderation, that on this occasion he forgets his character, and candidly acquits me of any malicious design to misrepresent the words of Tacitus. The other references, which are contained in the first and second Notes of my Fifteenth Chapter, are connected with each other,

* Davis, p. 8. † Gibbon, p. 537. Note 1, 2. ‡ Davis, p. 10, 11. 20.

and can only be mistaken after they have been forcibly separated. The silence of Herodotus is a fair evidence of the obscurity of the Jews, who had escaped the eyes of so curious a traveller. The Jews are first mentioned by Justin, when he relates the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes; and the conquest of Judæa, by the arms of Pompey, engaged Diodorus and Dion to introduce that singular nation to the acquaintance of their readers. These epochs, which are within seventy years of each other, mark the age in which the Jewish people, emerging from their obscurity, began to act a part in the society of nations, and to excite the curiosity of the Greek and Roman historians. For that purpose only, I had appealed to the authority of Diodorus Siculus, of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, and of Dion Cassius. If I had designed to investigate the Jewish antiquities, reason, as well as faith, must have directed my inquiries to the Sacred Books, which, even as human productions, would deserve to be studied as one of the most curious and original monuments of the East.

I stand accused, though not indeed by Mr. Davis, for profanely depreciating the *promised Land*, as well as the *chosen People*. The Gentleman without a name has placed this charge in the front of his battle*, and if my memory does not deceive me, it is one of the few remarks in Mr. Apthorpe's book, which have any immediate relation to my History. They seem to consider in the light of a reproach, and of an unjust reproach, the idea which I had given of Palestine, as of a territory scarcely superior to Wales in extent and fertility†; and they strangely convert a geographical observation into a theological error. When I recollect that the imputation of a similar error was employed by the implacable Calvin, to precipitate and to justify the execution of Servetus, I must applaud the felicity of this country, and of this age, which has disarmed, if it could not mollify, the fierceness of ecclesiastical criticism. (See Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepie, tom. iv. p. 223.)

As I had compared the narrow extent of Phœnicia and Palestine with the important blessings which those celebrated countries had diffused over the rest of the earth, their minute size became an object not of censure but of praise.

Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant.

* Remarks, p. 1.

† Gibbon, p. 30.

The precise measure of Palestine was taken from Templeman's Survey of the Globe: he allows to Wales 7011 square English miles, to the Morea or Peloponnesus 7220, to the seven United Provinces 7546, and to Judæa or Palestine 7600. The difference is not very considerable, and if any of these countries has been magnified beyond its real size, Asia is more liable than Europe to have been affected by the inaccuracy of Mr. Templeman's maps. To the authority of this modern survey, I shall only add the ancient and weighty testimony of Jerom, who passed in Palestine above thirty years of his life. From Dan to Bershebah, the two fixed and proverbial boundaries of the Holy Land, he reckons no more than one hundred and sixty miles (Hieronym. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 66), and the breadth of Palestine cannot by any expedient be stretched to one half of its length. (See Reland, Palestin. L. ii. c. 5. p. 421.)

The degrees and limits of fertility cannot be ascertained with the strict simplicity of geographical measures. Whenever we speak of the productions of the earth, in different climates, our ideas must be relative, our expressions vague and doubtful; nor can we always distinguish between the gifts of Nature and the rewards of industry. The emperor Frederick II., the enemy and the victim of the Clergy, is accused of saying, after his return from his Crusade, that the God of the Jews would have despised his promised land, if he had once seen the fruitful realms of Sicily and Naples. (See Giannone Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 245.) This raillery, which malice has perhaps falsely imputed to Frederick, is inconsistent with truth and piety; yet it must be confessed, that the soil of Palestine does not contain that inexhaustible, and as it were spontaneous principle of fecundity, which, under the most unfavourable circumstance, has covered with rich harvests the banks of the Nile, the fields of Sicily, or the plains of Poland. The Jordan is the only navigable river of Palestine: a considerable part of the narrow space is occupied, or rather lost, in the *Dead Sea*, whose horrid aspect inspires every sensation of disgust, and countenances every tale of horror. The districts which border on Arabia partake of the sandy quality of the adjacent desert. The face of the country, except the sea-coast and the valley of the Jordan, is covered with mountains, which appear for the most part as naked and barren rocks; and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem there is a real scarcity of the two elements of earth and water. (See Maundrel's

drel's Travels, p. 65, and Reland Palestin. tom. i. p. 238—395.) These disadvantages, which now operate in their fullest extent, were formerly corrected by the labours of a numerous people, and the active protection of a wise government. The hills were cloathed with rich beds of artificial mould, the rain was collected in vast cisterns, a supply of fresh water was conveyed by pipes and aqueducts to the dry lands, the breed of cattle was encouraged in those parts which were not adapted for tillage, and almost every spot was compelled to yield some productions for the use of the inhabitants. (See the same testimonies and observations of Maundrel and Reland.)

——— *Pater ipse colendi*

*Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
Movit agros; curis acuens mortalia corda,
Nec torpere gravi passus SUA REGNA veterno.*

Such are the useful victories which have been atchieved by MAN on the lofty mountains of Switzerland, along the rocky coast of Genoa, and upon the barren hills of Palestine; and since Wales has flourished under the influence of English freedom, that rugged country has surely acquired some share of the same industrious merit and the same artificial fertility. Those Critics who interpret the comparison of Palestine and Wales as a tacit libel on the former, are themselves guilty of an unjust satire against the latter of these countries. Such is the injustice of Mr. Apthorpe and of the anonymous *Gentleman*: but if Mr. Davis (as we may suspect from his name) is himself of Cambrian origin, his patriotism on this occasion has protected me from his zeal.

V. I shall begin this article by the confession of an error which candour might perhaps excuse, but which my Adversary magnifies by a pathetic interrogation. “When he tells us, that he has carefully examined all the original materials, are we to believe him? or is it his design to try how far the credulity and easy disposition of the age will suffer him to proceed unsuspected and undiscovered*?” *Quosque tandem abuteris Catilina patientiâ nostrâ?*

In speaking of the danger of idolatry, I had quoted the picturesque expression of Tertullian, “*Recogita sylvam et quantæ latitant spinæ,*” and finding it marked c. 10. in my Notes, I hastily, though naturally, added *de Idololatria,*

* Davis, p. 25.

instead of *de Corona Militis*, and referred to one Treatise of Tertullian instead of another*. And now let me ask in my turn, whether Mr. Davis had any real knowledge of the passage which I had misplaced, or whether he made an ungenerous use of his advantage, to insinuate that I had invented or perverted the words of Tertullian? Ignorance is less criminal than malice, and I shall be satisfied if he will plead guilty to the milder charge.

The same observation may be extended to a passage of Le Clerc, which asserts, in the clearest terms, the ignorance of the more ancient Jews with regard to a future state. Le Clerc lay open before me, but while my eye moved from the book to the paper, I transcribed the reference c. 1. sect. 8. instead of sect. 1. c. 8. from the natural, but erroneous persuasion, that *Chapter* expressed the larger, and *Section* the smaller division†: and this difference, of such trifling moment and so easily rectified, holds a distinguished place in the list of Misrepresentations which adorn Mr. Davis's Table of Contents‡. But to return to Tertullian.

The *infernal* picture, which I had produced § from that vehement writer, which excited the horror of every humane reader, and which even Mr. Davis will not explicitly defend, has furnished him with a few critical cavils||. Happy should I think myself, if the materials of my History could be always exposed to the Examination of the Public; and I shall be content with appealing to the impartial Reader, whether my Version of this Passage is not as fair and as faithful, as the more literal translation which Mr. Davis has exhibited in an opposite column. I shall only justify two expressions which have provoked his indignation. 1. I had observed that the zealous African pursues the infernal description in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms; the instances of Gods, of Kings, of Magistrates, of Philosophers, of Poets, of Tragedians, were introduced into my Translation. Those which I had omitted, relate to the Dancers, the Charioteers, and the Wrestlers; and it is almost impossible to express those conceits which are connected with the language and manners of the Romans. But the reader will be sufficiently shocked, when he is informed that Tertullian alludes to the improvement which the agility of the Dancers, the red livery of the Charioteers, and the

* Gibbon, p. 553. Note 40.

† Gibbon, p. 560. Note 58.

‡ Davis, p. 39.

§ Gibbon, p. 566.

|| Davis, p. 29—33.

attitudes of the Wrestlers, would derive from the effects of fire. “Tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per ignem; tunc spectandus Auriga in flammea rota totus ruber. Tunc Xystici contemplandi, non in Gymnasiis, sed in igne jaculati.” 2. I cannot refuse to answer Mr. Davis’s very particular question, Why I appeal to Tertullian for the condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans? *Because* I am inclined to bestow that epithet on Trajan and the Antonines, Homer and Euripides, Plato and Aristotle, who are all manifestly included within the fiery description which I had produced.

I am accused of misquoting Tertullian and Scapulam*, as an evidence that Martyrdoms were lately introduced into Africa†. Besides Tertullian, I had quoted from Ruinart (*Acta Sincera*, p. 84.) the acts of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and a very moderate knowledge of Ecclesiastical History would have informed Mr. Davis, that the two authorities thus connected establish the proposition asserted in my Text. Tertullian, in the above-mentioned Chapter, speaks of one of the Proconsuls of Africa, Vigellius Saturninus, “qui *primus hic gladium in nos egit*,” the *Acta Sincera* represent the same Magistrate as the Judge of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and Ruinart, with the consent of the best critics, ascribes their sufferings to the persecution of Severus. Was it my fault if Mr. Davis was incapable of supplying the intermediate ideas?

Is it likewise necessary that I should justify the frequent use which I have made of Tertullian? His copious writings display a lively and interesting picture of the primitive Church, and the scantiness of original materials scarcely left me the liberty of choice. Yet as I was sensible, that the Montanism of Tertullian is the convenient screen which our orthodox Divines have placed before his errors, I have, with peculiar caution, confined myself to those works which were composed in the more early and sounder part of his life.

As a collateral justification of my frequent appeals to this African Presbyter, I had introduced, in the third edition of my History, two passages of Jerom and Prudentius, which prove that Tertullian was the master of Cyprian, and that Cyprian was the master of the Latin Church‡. Mr. Davis assures me, however, that I should have done better not to have “added this note§, as I have only accu-

* Davis, p. 35, 36.

† Gibbon, p. 609. N. 172.

‡ Gibbon, p. 566. N. 72.

§ Davis, p. 145.

“mulated my inaccuracies.” One inaccuracy he has indeed detected, an error of the press, Hieronym. de Viris illustribus, c. 53 for 63; but this advantage is dearly purchased by Mr. Davis. *Επιδοξ τον διδασκαλον*, which he produces as the original words of Cyprian, has a braver and more learned sound, than *Da magistrum*; but the quoting in Greek, a sentence which was pronounced, and is recorded, in Latin, seems to bear the mark of the most ridiculous pedantry; unless Mr. Davis, consulting for the first time the Works of Jerom, mistook the Version of Sophronius, which is printed in the opposite column, for the Text of his original Author. My reference to Prudentius, Hymn. xiii. 100. cannot so easily be justified, as I presumptuously believed that my critics would continue to read till they came to a full stop. I shall now place before them, not only the first verse only, but the entire period, which they will find full, express, and satisfactory. The poet says of St. Cyprian, whom he places in Heaven,

*Nec minus involitat terris, nec ab hoc recedit orbe :
Differit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit, prophetat;
Nec Libyæ populos tantum reget, exit usque in ortum
Solis, et usque obitum; Gallos fovet, imbuit Britannos,
Presidet Hesperix, Christum serit ultimis Hibernis.*

SULPICIUS
SEVERUS
AND FRA-
PAOLO.

VI. On the subject of the imminent dangers which the Apocalypse has so narrowly escaped*, Mr. Davis accuses me of misrepresenting the sentiments of Sulpicius Severus and Fra-Paolo†, with this difference, however, that I was incapable of reading or understanding the text of the Latin author; but that I wilfully perverted the sense of the Italian historian. These imputations I shall easily wipe away, by shewing that, in the first instance, I am probably in the right; and that, in the second, he is certainly in the wrong.

I. The concise and elegant Sulpicius, who has been justly styled the Christian Sallust, after mentioning the exile and Revelations of St. John in the isle of Patmos, observes (and surely the observation is in the language of complaint), “*Librum sacræ Apocalypsis, qui quidem a plerisque aut*” “*stulte aut impie non recipitur, conscriptum edidit.*” I am found guilty of supposing *plerique* to signify *the greater number*; whereas Mr. Davis, with Stephens’s Dictionary in his hand, is able to prove that *plerique* has not *always* that extensive meaning, and that a classic of good authority has

* Gibbon, p. 563, 564. No. 67.

† Davis, p. 40—44.

used the word in a much more limited and qualified sense. Let the Examiner therefore try to apply his exception to this particular case. For my part, I stand under the protection of the general usage of the Latin language, and with a strong presumption in favour of the justice of my cause, or at least of the innocence and fairness of my intentions; since I have translated a familiar word, according to its acknowledged and ordinary acceptation.

But, "if I had looked into the passage, and found that Sulpicius Severus there expressly tells us, that the Apocalypse was the work of St. John, I could not have committed so unfortunate a *blunder*, as to cite this Father as saying, That the greater number of Christians denied its Canonical authority*." Unfortunate indeed would have been my blunder, had I asserted that the same Christians who denied its Canonical authority, admitted it to be the work of an Apostle. Such indeed was the opinion of Severus himself, and his opinion has obtained the sanction of the Church; but the Christians whom he taxes with folly or impiety for rejecting this sacred book, must have supported their error by attributing the Apocalypse to some uninspired writer; to John the Presbyter, or to Cerinthus the Heretic.

If the rules of grammar and of logic authorise, or at least allow me to translate *plerique* by the *greater number*, the Ecclesiastical History of the fourth century illustrates and justifies this obvious interpretation. From a fair comparison of the populousness and learning of the Greek and Latin Churches, may I not conclude that the former contained the *greater number* of Christians qualified to pass sentence on a mysterious prophecy composed in the Greek language? May I not affirm, on the authority of St. Jerom, that the Apocalypse was generally rejected by the Greek Churches? "Quod si eam (the Epistle to the Hebrews) Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas; nec Græcorum Ecclesiæ Apocalypsim Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem sequentes." Epistol. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 68.

It is not my design to enter any farther into the controverted history of that famous book; but I am called upon † to defend my Remark that the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon by the council of Laodicea. (Canon LX.) To defend my Remark, I need only state

* Davis, p. 270.
Remarks, p. 57.

† By Mr. Davis, p. 41. and by Dr. Chelsum,

the fact in a simple but more particular manner. The assembled Bishops of Asia, after enumerating all the books of the Old and New Testament which should be read in churches, omit the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse alone; at a time when it was rejected or questioned by many pious and learned Christians, who might deduce a very plausible argument from the silence of the Synod.

2. When the Council of Trent resolved to pronounce sentence on the Canon of Scripture, the opinion which prevailed, after some debate, was to declare the Latin Vulgate authentic and *almost* infallible; and this sentence, which was guarded by formidable anathemas, secured all the books of the Old and New Testament which composed that ancient version, “che si dichiarassero tutti in tutte le parte come si trovano nella Biblia Latina, esser di Divina è ugal autorità.” (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 147. Helmstadt (*Vicenza*) 1761.) When the merit of that version was discussed, the majority of the theologians urged, with confidence and success, that it was absolutely necessary to receive the Vulgate as authentic and inspired, unless they wished to abandon the victory to the Lutherans, and the honours of the church to the Grammarians. “In contrario della maggior parte de teologi era detto . . . che-questi nuovi Grammatici confonderanno ogni cosa, e farà fargli giudici e arbitri della fede; e in luogo de teologi e canonisti, converrà tener il primo conto nell’assumere a Vescovati e Cardinalati de pedanti.” (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 149.) The sagacious historian, who had studied the Council, and the judicious Le Courayer, who had studied his author (Histoire du Concile de Trente, tom. i. p. 245. Londres 1736.), consider this *ridiculous* reason as the most powerful argument which influenced the debates of the Council: but Mr. Davis, jealous of the honour of a synod which placed tradition on a level with the Bible, affirms that Fra-Paolo has given another more substantial reason on which these Popish bishops built their determination, That after dividing the books under their consideration into three classes; of those which had been always held for divine; of those whose authenticity had formerly been doubted, but which by use and custom had acquired canonical authority; and of those which had never been properly certified; the Apocalypse was judiciously placed by the Fathers of the Council in the second of these classes.

The Italian passage, which, for that purpose, Mr. Davis has alleged at the bottom of his page, is indeed taken from the text of Fra-Paolo; but the reader, who will give himself the

the trouble, or rather the pleasure, of perusing that incomparable historian, will discover that Mr. Davis has *only* mistaken a motion of the opposition, for a measure of the administration. He will find, that this critical division, which is so erroneously ascribed to the public reason of the council, was no more than the ineffectual proposal of a temperate majority, which was soon over-ruled by a majority of artful statesmen, bigotted monks, and dependent bishops.

“ We have here an evident proof that Mr. Gibbon is
“ equally expert in misrepresenting a modern as an ancient
“ writer, or that he wilfully conceals the most material
“ reason, with a design, no doubt, to instil into his reader a
“ notion, that the authenticity of the Apocalypse is built on
“ the slightest foundation*.”

VII. I had cautiously observed (for I was apprized of the CLEMENS. obscurity of the subject) that the Epistle of Clemens does not lead us to discover any traces of Episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome †. In this observation I particularly alluded to the republican form of salutation, “ The church of God
“ inhabiting Rome, to the church of God inhabiting Co-
“ rinth;” without the least mention of a Bishop or President in either of those ecclesiastical assemblies.

Yet the piercing eye of Mr. Davis † can discover not only traces, but evident proofs, of Episcopacy, in this Epistle of Clemens; and he actually quotes two passages, in which he distinguishes by capital letters the word BISHOPS, whose institution Clemens refers to the Apostles themselves. But can Mr. Davis hope to gain credit by such egregious trifling? While we are searching for the origin of bishops, not merely as an ecclesiastical title, but as the peculiar name of an order distinct from that of presbyters, he idly produces a passage, which, by declaring that the Apostles established in every place *bishops* and *deacons*, evidently confounds the *presbyters* with one or other of those two ranks. I have neither inclination nor interest to engage in a controversy which I had considered only in an historical light; but I have already said enough to shew, that there are more traces of a disingenuous mind in Mr. Davis, than of an episcopal order in the Epistle of Clemens.

VIII. Perhaps, on some future occasion, I may examine EUSEBIUS. the historical character of Eusebius; perhaps I may enquire, how far it appears from his words and actions, that the learned Bishop of Cæsarea was averse to the use of fraud,

* Davis, p. 44. † Gibbon, p. 592. N. 110. ‡ Davis, p. 44, 45.

when it was employed in the service of religion. At present, I am only concerned to defend my own truth and honour, from the reproach of misrepresenting the sense of the ecclesiastical historian. Some of the charges of Mr. Davis on this head are so strong, so pointed, so vehemently urged, that he seems to have staked, on the event of the trial, the merits of our respective characters. If his assertions are true, I deserve the contempt of learned, and the abhorrence of good men. If they are false, * * * * *

1. I had remarked, without any malicious intention, that one of the seventeen Christians who suffered at Alexandria was likewise *accused* of robbery*. Mr. Davis † seems enraged because I did not add that he was *falsely* accused, takes some unnecessary pains to convince me that the Greek word *εὐνοφάριστος* signifies *false accusatus*, and “can hardly think “that any one who had looked into the original, would dare “thus absolutely to contradict the plain testimony of the “author he *pretends* to follow.” A simple narrative of this fact, in the relation of which Mr. Davis has *really* suppressed several material circumstances, will afford the clearest justification.

Eusebius has preserved an original letter from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, in which the former relates the circumstances of the persecution which had lately afflicted the capital of Egypt. He allows a rank among the martyrs to one Nemesion, an Egyptian, who was falsely or maliciously accused as a companion of robbers. Before the Centurion he justified himself from this calumny, which did not relate to him; but being charged as a Christian, he was brought in chains before the governor. That unjust magistrate, after inflicting on Nemesion *a double measure of stripes and tortures*, gave orders that he should be *burnt with the robbers*. (Dionys. apud Euseb. L. vi. c. 41.)

It is evident that Dionysius represents the religious sufferer as innocent of the criminal accusation which had been falsely brought against him. It is no less evident, that whatever might be the opinion of the Centurion, the supreme magistrate considered Nemesion as guilty, and that he affected to shew, by the measure of his tortures, and by the companions of his execution, that he punished him, not only as a Christian, but as a robber. The evidence against Nemesion, and that which might be produced in his favour,

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 75.

† Davis, p. 61, 62, 63. This ridiculous charge is repeated by another *fycophant*, (in the Greek sense of the word,) and forms one of the *valuable* communications, which the learning of a Rodolph suggested to the candour of a Chelsum. See Remarks, p. 209.

are equally lost; and the question (which fortunately is of little moment) of his guilt or innocence rests solely on the opposite judgments of his ecclesiastical and civil superiors. I could easily perceive that both the bishop and the governor were actuated by different passions and prejudices towards the unhappy sufferer; but it was impossible for me to decide which of the two was the most likely to indulge his prejudices and passions at the expence of truth. In this doubtful situation I conceived that I had acted with the most unexceptionable caution, when I contented myself with observing that Nemeseion was *accused*; a circumstance of a public and authentic nature, in which both parties were agreed.

Mr. Davis will no longer ask, "What possible evasion then can Mr. Gibbon have recourse to, to convince the world that I have *falsely* accused *him* of a gross misrepresentation of Eusebius?"

2. Mr. Davis* charges me with falsifying (*falsifying* is a very serious word) the testimony of Eusebius; because it suited my purpose to magnify the humanity and even kindness of Maxentius towards the afflicted Christians†. To support this charge, he produces some part of a chapter of Eusebius, the English in his text, the Greek in his notes, and makes the ecclesiastical historian express himself in the following terms: "Although Maxentius at first favoured the Christians with a view of popularity, yet afterwards, being addicted to magic, and every other impiety, HE exerted himself in persecuting the Christians, in a more severe and destructive manner than his predecessors had done before him."

If it were in my power to place the volume and chapter of Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. L. viii. c. 14.) before the eyes of every reader, I should be satisfied and silent. I should not be under the necessity of protesting, that in the passage quoted, or rather abridged, by my adversary, the second member of the period, which alone contradicts my account of Maxentius, has not the most distant reference to that odious tyrant. After distinguishing the mild conduct which *he* affected towards the Christians, Eusebius proceeds to animadvert with becoming severity on the general vices of his reign; the rapes, the murders, the oppression, the promiscuous massacres, which I had faithfully related in their proper place, and in which the Christians, not in their religious, but in their civil capacity, must occasionally have shared with the rest of his unhappy subjects. The ecclesiastical historian then makes a transition to *another tyrant*,

* Davis, p. 64, 65.

† Gibbon, p. 693. N. 168.

the cruel Maximin, who carried away from his friend and ally Maxentius the prize of superior wickedness; for HE was addicted to magic arts. and was a cruel persecutor of the Christians. The evidence of words and facts, the plain meaning of Eusebius, the concurring testimony of Cæcilius or Lactantius, and the superfluous authority of versions and commentators, establish beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, that Maximin, and not Maxentius, is stigmatized as a persecutor, and that Mr. Davis alone has deserved the reproach of *falsifying* the testimony Eusebius.

Let him examine the chapter on which he founds his accusation. If in that moment his feelings are not of the most painful and humiliating kind, he must indeed be an object of pity!

2. *A gross blunder* is imputed to me by this polite antagonist*, for quoting under the name of Jerom, the Chronicle which I ought to have described as the work and property of Eusebius†; and Mr. Davis kindly points out the occasion of my blunder, That it was in consequence of my looking no farther than Dodwell for this remark, and of not rightly understanding his reference. Perhaps the Historian of the Roman Empire may be credited, when he affirms that he frequently consulted a Latin Chronicle of the affairs of the empire; and he may the sooner be credited, if he shews that he knows something more of this Chronicle besides the name and the title-page.

Mr. Davis, who talks so familiarly of the Chronicle of Eusebius, will be surprised to hear that the Greek original no longer exists. Some chronological fragments, which had successively passed through the hands of Africanus and Eusebius, are still extant, though in a very corrupt and mutilated state, in the compilations of Syncellus and Cedrenus. They have been collected, and disposed by the labour and ingenuity of Joseph Scaliger; but that proud critic, always ready to applaud his own success, did not flatter himself that he had restored the hundredth part of the genuine Chronicle of Eusebius. “Ex eo (*Syncello*) omnia Eusebiana excerptimus quæ quidem deprehendere potuimus; quæ, quanquam ne centesima quidem pars eorum esse videtur quæ ab Eusebio relicta sunt, aliquod tamen justum volumen explere possunt.” (Jof. Scaliger Animadversiones in Græca Eusebii in Thesaurο Temporum, p. 401. Amstelod. 1658.) While the Chronicle of Eusebius was perfect and entire, the second book was translated into Latin by Jerom, with the freedom, or rather li-

* Davis, p. 66.

† Gibbon, p. 673. N. 125.

cence, which that voluminous author, as well as his friend or enemy Rufinus, always assumed. “Plurima in ver-
tendo mutat, infulcit, præerit,” says Scaliger himself, in the Prolegomena, p. 22. In the persecution of Aure-
lian, which has so much offended Mr. Davis, we are able to distinguish the work of Eusebius from that of Jerom, by comparing the expressions of the Ecclesiastical History with those of the Chronicle. The former affirms, that towards the end of his reign, Aurelian was moved by some councils to excite a persecution against the Christians; that his design occasioned a great and general rumour; but that when the letters were prepared, and as it were signed, divine justice dismissed him from the world. Ἡδὴ τισὶ βεβαίως ὡς αὐτὸν διωγμὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐγείρειν ἀνεκίνητο· πολὺς τε ἦν ὁ παρὰ πᾶσι περὶ τούτου λόγος. μέλλοντα δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμῶν γραμμασὶν ὑποσχεμισμῶν, θεία μετέειπεν δίκη. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. vii. c. 30. Whereas the Chronicle relates, that Aurelian was killed after he had excited or moved a persecution against the Christians, “cum adversum nos persecutionem movisset.”

From this manifest difference I assume a right to assert; first, that the expression of the Chronicle of *Jerom*, which is always proper, became in this instance necessary; and secondly, that the language of the fathers is so ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intention before he was assassinated. I have neither perverted the *fact*, nor have I been guilty of a gross blunder.

IX. “The persons accused of Christianity had a convenient time allowed them to settle their domestic concerns, and to prepare their answer*.” This observation had been suggested, partly by a general expression of Cyprian (de Lapsis, p. 88. Edit. Fell. Amstælod. 1700.), and more especially by the second Apology of Justin Martyr, who gives a particular and curious example of this legal delay.

The expressions of Cyprian, “dies negantibus præstitus, &c.” which Mr. Davis most prudently suppresses, are illustrated by Mosheim in the following words: “Primum qui delati erant aut suspecti, illis certum dierum spatium iudex definiebat, quo decurrente, secum deliberare poterant, utrum profiteri Christum an negare malent; explorandæ fidei præfiniebantur dies, per hoc tempus liberi manebant in domibus suis; nec impendebat

* Gibbon, p. 663.

“ aliquis quod ex consequentibus apparet, ne fugâ sibi confulerent. Satis hoc erat humanum.” (De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum, p. 480.) The practice of Egypt was sometimes more expeditious and severe; but this humane indulgence was still allowed in Africa during the persecution of Decius.

But my appeal to Justin Martyr is encountered by Mr. Davis with the following declaration*: “ The reader will observe, that Mr. Gibbon does not make any reference to any section or division of this part of Justin’s work; with what view we may threwdly suspect, when I tell him, that after an accurate perusal of the whole second Apology, I can boldly affirm, that the following instance is the only one that bears the most distant similitude to what Mr. Gibbon relates as above on the authority of Justin.” What I find in Justin is as follows: “ A woman being converted to Christianity, is afraid to associate with her husband, because he is an abandoned reprobate, lest she should partake of his sins. Her husband, not being able to accuse *her*, vents his rage in this manner on one Ptolemæus, a teacher of Christianity, who had converted her, &c.” Mr. Davis then proceeds to relate the severities inflicted on Ptolemæus, who made a frank and instant profession of his faith; and he sternly exclaims, that if I take every opportunity of passing encomiums on the humanity of Roman magistrates, it is incumbent on me to produce better evidence than this.

His demand may be easily satisfied, and I need only for that purpose transcribe and translate the words of Justin, which *immediately* precede the Greek quotation alleged at the bottom of my adversary’s page. I am possessed of two editions of Justin Martyr, that of Cambridge, 1768, in 8vo. by Dr. Ashton, who only published the two Apologies; and that of all his works, published in fol. Paris, 1742, by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maar: the following curious passage may be found, p. 164, of the former, and p. 89, of the latter edition: Κατηγοριαν πεποιται, λεγων αυτην χριστιανην ειναι, και η μεν βιβλιδιον σοι τω αυτοκρατορι αναδεδωκε, προτερον συγχωρηθησαι αυτη διοικησασθαι τα εαυτης αξιουσα. επειτα απολογησασθαι περι τη κατηγοριας, μετα την των πραγµατων αυτης διοικησιν και συνεχωρησας τετο. “ He brought an accusation against her, saying, that she was a Christian. But she presented a petition to the emperor, praying that she might be allowed to settle her domestic con-

* Davis, p. 71, 72.

“cerns; and promising, that after she had settled them, she would then put in her answer to the accusation. “This you granted.”

I disdain to add a single reflection; nor shall I qualify the conduct of my adversary with any of those harsh epithets, which might be interpreted as the expressions of resentment, though I should be constrained to use them as the only words in the English language which could accurately represent my cool and unprejudiced sentiments.

X. In stating the toleration of Christianity during the greatest part of the reign of Diocletian, I had observed*, LACTANTIUS. that the principal officers of the palace, whose names and functions were particularly specified, enjoyed, with their wives and children, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Mr. Davis twice affirms†, in the most deliberate manner, that this pretended fact, which is asserted on the sole authority, is contradicted by the positive evidence, of Lactantius. In both these affirmations Mr. Davis is inex- cusablely mistaken.

1. When the storms of persecution arose, the priests, who were offended by the sign of the Cross, obtained an order from the Emperor, that the profane, the Christians, who accompanied him to the Temple, should be compelled to offer sacrifice; and this incident is mentioned by the rhetorician, to whom I shall not at present refuse the name of Lactantius. The act of idolatry, which, at the expiration of eighteen years, was required of the officers of Diocletian, is a manifest proof that their religious freedom had hitherto been inviolate, except in the single instance of waiting on their master to the Temple; a service less criminal than the profane compliance for which the minister of the King of Syria solicited the permission of the prophet of Israel.

2. The reference which I made to Lactantius expressly pointed out this exception to their freedom. But the proof of the toleration was built on a different testimony, which my disingenuous adversary has concealed; an ancient and curious instruction composed by Bishop Theonas, for the use of Lucian, and the other Christian eunuchs of the palace of Diocletian. This authentic piece was published in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc d'Acheri; as I had not the opportunity of consulting the original, I was contented with

* Gibbon, p. 676. N. 133, 134.

† Davis, p. 75, 76.

quoting it on the faith of Tillemont, and the reference to it immediately precedes (ch. xvi. note 133.) the citation of Lactantius (note 134).

DION CAS-
SIUS.

Mr. Davis may now answer his own question, "What apology can be made for thus asserting, on the sole authority of Lactantius, facts which Lactantius so expressly denies?"

XI. "I have already given a curious instance of our author's asserting, on the authority of Dion Cassius, a fact not mentioned by that historian. I shall now produce a very singular proof of his endeavouring to conceal from us a passage really contained in him*." Nothing but the angry vehemence with which these charges are urged, could engage me to take the least notice of them. In themselves they are doubly contemptible; they are trifling, and they are false.

1. Mr. Davis† had imputed to me as a crime, that I had mentioned, on the sole testimony of Dion (L. lxxviii. p. 1145), the spirit of rebellion which inflamed the Jews, from the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius‡, whilst the passage of that historian is confined to an insurrection in Cyprus and Cyrene, which broke out within that period. The reader who will cast his eye on the note (ch. xvi. note 1.), which is supported by that quotation from Dion, will discover that it related only to *this* particular fact. The general position, which is indeed too notorious to require any proof, I had carefully justified in the course of the same paragraph; partly by another reference to Dion Cassius, partly by an allusion to the well-known history of Josephus, and partly by *several* quotations from the learned and judicious Basnage, who has explained, in the most satisfactory manner, the principles and conduct of the rebellious Jews.

2. The passage of Dion, which I am accused of endeavouring to conceal, might perhaps have remained invisible, even to the piercing eye of Mr. Davis, if I had not carefully reported it in its proper place||: and it was in my power to report it, without being guilty of any *inconsiderate contradiction*. I had observed, that, in the large history of Dion Cassius, Xiphilin had not been able to discover the name of *Christians*: yet I afterwards quote a passage, in which Marcia, the favourite concubine of Commodus, is celebrated as the patroness of the *Christians*. Mr. Davis

* Davis, p. 83.

† Id. p. 11.

‡ Gibbon, p. 623.

|| Id. p. 667. N. 107.

has transcribed my quotation, but *he* has concealed the important words which I distinguish by Italics. (Ch. xvi note 106. Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin, L. lxxii. p. 1206.) The reference is fairly made and cautiously qualified: I am already secure from the imputations of fraud or inconsistency; and the opinion which attributes the last-mentioned passage to the abbreviator, rather than to the original historian, may be supported by the most unexceptionable authorities. I shall protect myself by those of Reimer (in his edition of Dion Cassius, tom. ii. p. 1207, note 34.), and of Dr. Lardner; and shall only transcribe the words of the latter, in his Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 57.

“ This paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilin’s than “ Dion’s. The style at least is Xiphilin’s. In the other “ passages before quoted, Dion speaks of *impiety*, or *athe-* “ *ism*, or *Judaism*; but never useth the word *Christians*. “ Another thing that may make us doubt whether this ob- “ servation be entirely Dion’s, is the phrase, “ it is related “ (*ιστορεται*).” For the beginning of the reign of Commodus, “ These things, and what follows, I write not “ from the report of others, but from my knowledge and “ observation.” However, the sense may be Dion’s; but “ I wish we had also his style, without any adulteration.” For my own part, I must, in my private opinion, ascribe even the sense of this passage to Xiphilin. The *Monk* might eagerly collect and insert an anecdote which related to the domestic history of the church: but the religion of a courtesan must have appeared an object of very little moment to the eyes of a *Roman consul*, who, at least in every other part of his history, disdained or neglected to mention the name of the Christians.

“ What shall we say now? Do we not discover the “ name of Christians in the History of Dion? With what “ assurance then can Mr. Gibbon, after asserting a fact “ manifestly *untrue*, lay claim to the merits of diligence “ and accuracy, the indispensable duty of an historian? “ Or can he expect us to credit his assertion, that he has “ carefully examined all the original materials*?”

Mr. Gibbon may still maintain the character of an historian; but it is difficult to conceive how Mr. Davis will support his pretensions, if he aspires to that of a gentleman.

* Davis, p. 83.

I almost hesitate whether I should take any notice of another ridiculous charge which Mr. Davis includes in the article of Dion Cassius. My adversary owns, that I have occasionally produced the several passages of the Augustan History which relate to the Christians; but he fiercely contends that they amount to more than *six lines**. I really have not measured them: nor did I mean that loose expression as a precise and definite number. If, on a nicer survey, those short hints, when they are brought together, should be found to exceed six of the long lines of my folio edition, I am content that my critical antagonist should substitute eight, or ten, or twelve, lines; nor shall I think either my learning or veracity much interested in this important alteration.

PLINY, &c. XII. After a short description of the unworthy conduct of those Apostates who, in a time of persecution, deserted the Faith of Christ, I produced the evidence of a Pagan Proconsul†, and of two Christian Bishops, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian. And here the unforgiving Critic remarks, "That Pliny has not particularized that difference of conduct (in the different Apostates) which Mr. Gibbon here describes: yet his name stands at the head of those Authors whom he has cited on the occasion. It is allowed indeed that this distinction is made by the other Authors; but as Pliny, the first referred to by Mr. Gibbon, gives him no cause or reason to use *them*," (I cannot help Mr. Davis's bad English) "it is certainly very reprehensible in our Author, thus to confound their testimony, and to make a needless and improper reference‡."

A criticism of this sort can only tend to expose Mr. Davis's total ignorance of historical composition. The Writer who aspires to the name of Historian, is obliged to consult a variety of original testimonies, each of which, taken separately, is perhaps imperfect and partial. By a judicious re-union and arrangement of these dispersed materials, he endeavours to form a consistent and interesting narrative. Nothing ought to be inserted which is not proved by some of the witnesses; but their evidence must be so intimately blended together, that as it is unreasonable to expect that each of them should vouch for the whole, so it would be impossible to define the boundaries of their respective property. Neither Pliny, nor Dionysius, nor Cyprian, mention *all* the circumstances and *distinctions* of

* Gibbon, p. 634. N. 24. † Id. p. 664. N. 102. ‡ Davis, p. 87, 88.

the conduct of the Christian Apostates; but if any of them was withdrawn, the account which I have given would, in some instance, be defective.

Thus much I thought necessary to say, as several of the subsequent *misrepresentations* of Orosius, of Bayle, of Fabricius, of Gregory of Tours, &c.*, which provoked the fury of Mr. Davis, are derived only from the ignorance of this common historical principle.

Another class of misrepresentations, which my Adversary urges with the same degree of vehemence (see in particular those of Justin, Diodorus Siculus, and even Tacitus), requires the support of another principle, which has not yet been introduced into the art of criticism; *that* when a modern historian appeals to the authority of the ancients for the truth of any particular fact, he makes himself answerable, I know not to what extent, for all the circumjacent errors or inconsistencies of the authors whom he has quoted.

XIII. I am accused of throwing out a false accusation IGNATIUS- against this Father†, because I had observed‡ that Ignatius, defending against the Gnostics the resurrection of Christ, employs a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the Evangelists: and this observation was justified by a remarkable passage of Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, which I cited according to the volume and the page of the best edition of the Apostolical Father, published at Amsterdam, 1724, in two volumes in folio. The Criticism of Mr. Davis is announced by one of those solemn declarations which leave not any passage that bears the least affinity to what “Mr. Gibbon observes, in the whole Epistle, which I have read over more than once.”

I had already marked the *situation*; nor is it in my power to prove the *existence*, of this passage, by any other means than by producing the words of the original. Εγω γαρ και μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτον οίδα και πιστευω οντα, και οτε προς της περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε, ψυλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ’ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. και ευθυς αυτε ἤψαντο, και επιστευσαν. “I have known, and I believe, that after his resurrection likewise he existed in the flesh: And when he came to Peter, and to the rest, he said unto them, Take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal dæmon or spirit. And they touched him, and believed.” The faith of the

* Davis, p. 88. 90. 137. † Id. p. 100, 101. ‡ Gibbon, p. 551. N. 35.

Apostles confuted the impious error of the Gnostics, which attributed only the *appearances* of a human body to the Son of God: and it was the great object of Ignatius, in the last moments of his life, to secure the Christians of Asia from the snares of those dangerous Heretics. According to the tradition of the modern Greeks, Ignatius was the child whom Jesus received into his arms (see Tillemont Mem. Eccles. tom. ii. part ii. p. 43.); yet as he could scarcely be old enough to remember the resurrection of the Son of God, he must have derived his knowledge *either* from our present Evangelists, *or* from some Apocryphal Gospel, *or* from some unwritten tradition.

1. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John would undoubtedly have supplied Ignatius with the most invincible proofs of the reality of the body of Christ, when he appeared to the Apostles after his resurrection; but neither of those Gospels contain the characteristic words of *ἐν δαιμονίων σώματι*, and the important circumstance that either Peter, or *those* who were with Peter, touched the body of Christ and believed. Had the saint designed to quote the Evangelist on a very nice subject of controversy, he would not surely have exposed himself, by an inaccurate, or rather by a false, reference, to the just reproaches of the Gnostics. On this occasion, therefore, Ignatius did not employ, as he might have done, against the Heretics, the certain testimony of the Evangelists.

2. Jerom, who cites this remarkable passage from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (see Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Ignatio, tom. i. p. 273. edit. Erasmi. Basil. 1537.), is of opinion that it was taken from the Gospel which he himself had lately translated: and *this*, from the comparison of two other passages in the same work (in Jacob. et in Matthæo, p. 264.), appears to have been the Hebrew Gospel, which was used by the Nazarenes of Beræa, as the genuine composition of St. Matthew. Yet Jerom mentions another Copy of this Hebrew Gospel (so different from the Greek text), which was extant in the library formed at Cæsarea, by the care of Pamphilus: whilst the learned Eusebius, the friend of Pamphilus and the Bishop of Cæsarea, very frankly declares (Hist. Eccles. L. iii. c. 36.), that *he* is ignorant from whence Ignatius borrowed those words, which are the subject of the present inquiry.

3. The doubt which remains, is only whether he took them from an Apocryphal Book, or from *unwritten tradition*: and I thought myself safe from every species of Critics, when I embraced the rational sentiment of Causaubon and Pearson. I shall produce the words of the
Bishop

Bishop: "Præterea iterum observandum est, quod de hac re scripsit Isaacus Casaubonus, *Quinetiam fortasse verius, non ex Evangelio Hebraico, Ignatium illa verba descripsisse, verum traditionem allegasse non scriptam, quæ postea in literas fuerit relata, et Hebraico Evangelio, quod Matthæo tribuebant, inserta.* Et hoc quidem mihi multo verisimilius videtur." (Pearson. Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part ii. c. ix. p. 396. in tom. ii. Patr. Apostol.)

I may now submit to the judgment of the Public, whether I have looked into the Epistle which I cite with such a parade of learning, and *how profitably* Mr. Davis has read it over more than once.

XIV. The learning and judgment of Mosheim had MOSHEIM been of frequent use in the course of my Historical Inquiry, and I had not been wanting in proper expressions of gratitude. My vexatious adversary is always ready to start from his ambuscade, and to harass my march by a mode of attack which cannot easily be reconciled with the laws of honourable war. The greatest part of the Misrepresentations of Mosheim, which Mr. Davis has imputed to me*, are of such a nature, that I must indeed be humble, if I could persuade myself to bestow a moment of serious attention on them. *Whether* Mosheim could prove that an absolute community of goods was not established among the first Christians of Jerusalem; *whether* he suspected the purity of the Epistles of Ignatius; *whether* he censured Dr. Middleton with temper or indignation (in this cause I must challenge Mr. Davis as an incompetent judge); *whether* he corroborates the *whole* of my description of the prophetic office; *whether* he speaks with approbation of the humanity of Pliny; and *whether* he attributed the same sense to the *malefica* of Suetonius, and the *exitibilis* of Tacitus? These questions, even as Mr. Davis has stated them, lie open to the judgment of every reader, and the superfluous observations which I could make, would be an abuse of their time and of my own. As little shall I think of consuming their patience, by examining whether Le Clerc and Mosheim *labour* in the interpretation of some texts of the Fathers, and particularly of a passage of Irenæus, which seem to favour the pretensions of the Roman Bishop. The material part of the passage of Irenæus consists of about *four lines*; and in order to shew that the interpretations of Le Clerc and Mosheim are not *laboured*, Mr. Davis abridges them as much as possible in the space of *twelve pages*. I know not whether the perusal of my History will justify the suspicion of Mr. Davis,

* Davis, p. 95—97. 104—107. 114—139.

that I am secretly inclined to the interest of the Pope: but I cannot discover how the Protestant cause can be affected, if Irenæus in the second, or Palavicini in the seventeenth century, were tempted, by any private views, to countenance in their writings the system of ecclesiastical dominion, which has been pursued in every age by the aspiring Bishops of the Imperial city. Their conduct was adapted to the revolutions of the Christian Republic, but the same spirit animated the haughty breasts of Victor the First, and of Paul the Fifth.

There still remain one or two of these imputed Misrepresentations, which appear, and indeed only appear, to merit a little more attention. In stating the opinion of Mosheim with regard to the progress of the Gospel, Mr. Davis boldly declares, “ that I have *altered the truth* of “ Mosheim’s history that I might have an opportunity of “ contradicting the belief and wishes of the Fathers*.” In other words, I have been guilty of uttering a malicious falsehood.

I had endeavoured to mitigate the sanguine expression of the Fathers of the second century, who had too hastily diffused the light of Christianity over every part of the globe, by observing, as an undoubted fact, “ that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the “ Roman Monarchy, were involved in the errors of Paganism; and that even the conquest of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not attempted with any “ degree of success, till the sceptre was in the hands of an “ orthodox Emperor †.” I had referred the curious reader to the fourth century of Mosheim’s General History of the Church: now Mr. Davis had discovered and can prove, from that excellent work, “ that Christianity, not “ long after its first rise, had been introduced into the less “ as well as greater Armenia; that part of the Goths, “ who inhabited Thracia, Mæsia, and Dacia, had received the Christian religion long before this century; “ and that Theophilus, their Bishop, was present at the “ Council of Nice ‡.”

On this occasion, the reference was made to a popular work of Mosheim, for the satisfaction of the reader, that he might obtain the general view of the progress of Christianity in the fourth century, which I had gradually acquired by studying with some care the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Nations beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. If I had reasonably supposed that the result of our common inquiries must be the same, should I have deserved a very

* Davis, p. 127. † Gibbon, p. 611, 612. ‡ Davis, p. 126, 127.

harsh censure for my unsuspecting confidence? Or if I had declined the invidious task of separating a few immaterial errors, from a just and judicious representation, might not my respect for the name and merit of Mosheim have claimed some indulgence? But I disdain those excuses, which only a candid adversary would allow. I can meet Mr. Davis on the hard ground of controversy, and retort on his own head the charge of concealing a part of the truth. He himself has dared to suppress the words of my text, which immediately followed his quotation. “Before
“that time the various accidents of war and commerce
“might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge of the
“Gospel among the tribes of Caledonia, and among the
“borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates;” and Mr. Davis has likewise suppressed one of the justificatory Notes on this passage, which expressly points out the time and circumstances of the first Gothic conversions. These exceptions, which I had cautiously inserted, and Mr. Davis has cautiously concealed, are superfluous for the provinces of Thrace, Mæsia, and the Lesser Armenia, which were contained within the precincts of the Roman Empire. They allow an ample scope for the more early conversion of some independent districts of Dacia and the Greater Armenia, which bordered on the Danube and Euphrates; and the entire sense of this passage, which Mr. Davis first mutilates and then attacks, is perfectly consistent with the original text of the learned Mosheim.

And yet I will fairly confess that, after a nicer inquiry into the epoch of the Armenian Church, I am not satisfied with the accuracy of my own expression. The assurance that the first Christian King, and the first Archbishop, Tiridates, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, were still alive several years after the death of Constantine, inclined me to believe, that the conversion of Armenia was posterior to the auspicious Revolution, which had given the sceptre of Rome to the hands of an orthodox Emperor. But I had not enough considered the two following circumstances. 1. I might have recollected the dates assigned by Moses of Chorene, who, on this occasion, may be regarded as a competent witness. Tiridates ascended the throne of Armenia in the third year of Diocletian (*Hist. Armeniæ*, L. ii. c. 79. p. 207.), and St. Gregory, who was invested with the Episcopal character in the seventeenth year of Tiridates, governed almost thirty years the Church of Armenia, and disappeared from the world in the forty-sixth year of the reign of the same Prince. (*Hist. Armeniæ*, L. ii. c. 88. p. 224, 225.) The consecration of St. Gregory

Gregory must therefore be placed A. D. 303, and the conversion of the King and kingdom was soon achieved by that successful missionary. 2. The unjust and inglorious war which Maximin undertook against the Armenians, the ancient faithful allies of the Republic, was evidently derived from a motive of superstitious zeal. The historian Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. L. ix. c. 8. p. 448. edit Cantab.) considers the pious Armenians as a nation of Christians, who bravely defended themselves from the hostile oppression of an idolatrous tyrant. Instead of maintaining "that the conversion of Armenia was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox Emperor," I ought to have observed, that the seeds of the faith were deeply sown during the season of the last and greatest persecution, that many Roman exiles might assist the labours of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the East, may dispute with Constantine the honour of being the first Sovereign who embraced the Christian religion.

In a future edition, I shall rectify an expression which, in strictness, can only be applied to the kingdoms of Iberia and Æthiopia. Had the error been exposed by Mr. Davis himself, I should not have been ashamed to correct it; but *I am* ashamed at being reduced to contend with an adversary who is unable to discover, or to improve, his own advantages.

But, instead of prosecuting any inquiry from whence the Public might have gained instruction, and himself credit, Mr. Davis chooses to perplex his readers with some angry cavils about the progress of the Gospel in the second century. What does he mean to establish or to refute? Have I denied, that before the end of that period Christianity was very widely diffused both in the East and in the West? Has not Justin Martyr affirmed, without exception or limitation, that it was already preached to *every* nation on the face of the earth? Is that proposition true at present? Could it be true in the time of Justin? Does not Mosheim acknowledge the exaggeration? "*Demus, nec enim quæ in oculos incurrunt infitiri audemus, esse in his verbis exaggerationis nonnihil. Certum enim est diu post Justinæ ætatem, multas orbis terrarum gentes cognitione Christi caruisse.*" (Mosheim de Rebus Christianis, p. 203) Does he not expose (p. 205.), with becoming scorn and indignation, the falsehood and vanity of the hyperboles of Tertullian? "*bonum hominem æstu imaginationis elatum non satis attendisse ad ea quæ literis consignabat.*"

The high esteem which Mr. Davis expresses for the writings of Mosheim, would alone convince me how little he has read them, since he must have been perpetually offended and disgusted by a train of thinking, the most repugnant to his own. His jealousy, however, for the honour of Mosheim, provokes him to arraign the boldness of Mr. Gibbon who presumes *falsely* to charge such an eminent man with *unjustifiable assertions* *. I might observe, that my style, which on this occasion was more modest and moderate, has acquired, perhaps undesignedly, an illiberal cast from the rough hand of Mr. Davis. But as my veracity is impeached, I may be less solicitous about my politeness; and though I have repeatedly declined the fairest opportunities of correcting the errors of my predecessors, yet, as long as I have truth on my side, I am not easily daunted by the names of the most eminent men.

The assertion of Mosheim, which did not seem to be justified † by the authority of Lactantius, was, that the wife and daughter of Diocletian, Prisca and *Valeria*, had been privately *baptized*. Mr. Davis is sure that the words of Mosheim, “*Christianis sacris clam initiata*,” need not be confined to the rite of baptism; and he is equally sure, that the reference to Mosheim does not lead us to discover even the name of Valeria. In both these assurances he is grossly mistaken; but it is the misfortune of controversy, that an error may be committed in three or four words, which cannot be rectified in less than thirty or forty lines.

1. The true and the sole meaning of the Christian initiation, one of the familiar and favourite allusions of the Fathers of the fourth century, is clearly explained by the exact and laborious Bingham. “The baptized were also styled *οἱ μεμνημένοι*, which the Latins call *initiati*, the initiated, that is, admitted to the use of the *sacred* offices, and knowledge of the *sacred* mysteries of the Christian Religion. Hence came that form of speaking so frequently used by St. Chrysostom, and other ancient writers, when they touched upon any doctrines or mysteries which the Catechumens understood not, *ισαωσιν οἱ μεμνημένοι*, the initiated know what is spoken. St. Ambrose writes a book to these *initiati*; Isidore of Pelusium and Hesychius call them *μυσταί* and *μυσταγωγοί*. Whence the Catechumens have the contrary names, *ἀμυστοί*, *ἀμνητοί*, *ἀμυσταγωγοί*, the uninitiated or unbaptized.” (Antiquities of the Christian Church, L. i. c. 4. No. 2. vol. i. p. 11. fol. edit.) Had I presumed to sup-

* Davis, p. 131.

† Gibbon, p. 676. N. 132.

pose that Mosheim was capable of employing a technical expression in a loose and equivocal sense, I should have violated the respect which I have always entertained for his learning and abilities.

2. But Mr. Davis cannot discover in the text of Mosheim the name of Valeria. In that case Mosheim would have suffered another slight inaccuracy to drop from his pen, as the passage of Lactantius, “*sacrificio pollui cœgit*,” on which he founds his assertion, includes the names both of Prisca and Valeria. But I am not reduced to the necessity of accusing another in my own defence. Mosheim has properly and expressly declared that Valeria imitated the pious example of her mother Prisca, “*Gener Diocletiani uxorem habebat Valeriam matris exemplum pietate erga Deum imitantem et a cultu fictorum Numinum alienam.*” (Mosheim, p. 913.) Mr. Davis has a bad habit of greedily snapping at the first words of a reference, without giving himself the trouble of going to the end of the page or paragraph.

These trifling and peevish cavils would, perhaps, have been confounded with some criticism of the same stamp, on which I had bestowed a slight, though sufficient notice, in the beginning of this article of Mosheim; had not my attention been awakened by a peroration worthy of Tertullian himself, if Tertullian had been devoid of eloquence as well as of moderation—“*Much less does the Christian Mosheim give our infidel Historian any pretext for inserting that illiberal malignant insinuation, That Christianity has, in every age, acknowledged its important obligation to FEMALE devotion;*” the remark is truly *contemptible**.”

It is not my design to fill whole pages with a tedious enumeration of the many illustrious examples of female Saints, who, in every age, and almost in every country, have promoted the interest of Christianity. Such instances will readily offer themselves to those who have the slightest knowledge of Ecclesiastical History; nor is it necessary that I should remind them how much the charms, the influence, the devotion of Clotilda, and of her great granddaughter Bertha, contributed to the conversion of France and England. Religion may accept, without a blush, the services of the purest and most gentle portion of the human species: but there are some advocates would disgrace Christianity, if Christianity could be disgraced, by the manner in which they defend her cause.

* Davis, p. 132.

XV. As I could not readily procure the works of Gregory of Nyssa, I borrowed* from the accurate and indefatigable Tillemont, a passage in the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker, which affirmed, that when the Saint took possession of his episcopal see, he found only SEVENTEEN *Christians* in the city of Neo-Cæsarea, and the adjacent country, “Les environs, la campagne, le pays d’alentour.” (Mem. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 677. 691. Edit. Bruffelles, 1706.) These expressions of Tillemont, to whom I explicitly acknowledged my obligation, appeared synonymous to the word *diocese*, the whole territory entrusted to the pastoral care of the Wonder-worker, and I added the epithet of *extensive*; because I was apprised that Neo-Cæsarea was the capital of the Polemoniac Pontus, and that the whole kingdom of Pontus, which stretched above five hundred miles along the coast of the Euxine, was divided between sixteen or seventeen bishops. (See the Geographia Ecclesiastica of Charles de St. Paul, and Lucas Holstenius, p. 249, 250, 251.) Thus far I may not be thought to have deserved any censure; but the omission of the subsequent part of the same passage, which imports, that at his death the Wonder-worker left no more than *seventeen Pagans*, may seem to wear a partial and suspicious aspect.

Let me therefore first observe, as some evidence of an impartial disposition, that I *easily* admitted, as the cool observation of the philosophic Lucian, the angry and interested complaint of the false prophet Alexander, that Pontus was filled with Christians. This complaint was made under the reigns of Marcus or of Commodus, with whom the impostor so admirably exposed by Lucian was contemporary: and I had contented myself with remarking, that the numbers of Christians must have been very unequally distributed in the several parts of Pontus, since the diocese of Neo-Cæsarea contained, above sixty years afterwards, only seventeen Christians. Such was the inconsiderable flock which Gregory began to feed about the year two hundred and forty; and the real or fabulous conversions ascribed to that Wonder-working Bishop, during a reign of thirty years, are totally foreign to the state of Christianity in the preceding century. This obvious reflection may serve to answer the objection of Mr. Davis†, and of another adversary‡, who on this occasion is more liberal than Mr. Davis of those harsh epithets so familiar to the tribe of poleemics.

* Gibbon, p. 605. N. 156.

† Davis, p. 136, 137.

‡ Dr. Randolph, in Chelsum’s Remarks, p. 159, 160.

PAGI.

XVI. " Mr. Gibbon says*, " Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110."

" Now that accurate chronologer places it in the year 102. See the fact recorded in his Critico-Historico Chronologica in Annales C. Baronii, A. D. 102. p. 99 fac. 2. § 3."

" I appeal to my reader, whether this anachronism does not plainly prove that our historian never looked into Pagi's Chronology, though he has not hesitated to make a pompous reference to him in his note†?"

I cannot help observing that either Mr. Davis's dictionary is extremely confined, or that in his philosophy all sins are of equal magnitude. Every error of fact or language, every instance where he does not know how to reconcile the original and the reference, he expresses by the gentle word of *misrepresentation*. An inaccurate appeal to the sentiment of Pagi, on a subject where I must have been perfectly disinterested, might have been styled a lapse of memory, instead of being censured as the effect of vanity and ignorance. Pagi is neither a difficult nor an uncommon writer, nor could I hope to derive much additional fame from a *pompous* quotation of his writings, which I had never seen.

The words employed by Mr. Davis, of *fact*, of *record*, of *anachronism*, are unskilfully chosen, and so unhappily applied, as to betray a shameful ignorance, either of the English language, or of the nature of this chronological question. The date of Pliny's government of Bithynia is not a fact recorded by any ancient writer, but an opinion which modern critics have variously formed, from the consideration of presumptive and collateral evidence. Cardinal Baronius placed the consulship of Pliny one year too late; and, as he was persuaded that the old practice of the republic still subsisted, he naturally supposed that Pliny obtained his province immediately after the expiration of his consulship. He therefore sends him into Bithynia in the year which, according to his erroneous computation, coincided with the year one hundred and four (Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 103. No. 1. 104 No. 1.), or according to the true chronology, with the year one hundred and two, of the Christian æra. This mistake of Baronius, Pagi, with the assistance of his friend Cardinal Noris, undertakes to correct. From an accurate parallel of the Annals of Trajan and the Epistles of Pliny, he deduces his proofs, that Pliny remained at Rome several years after his consulship, by

* Gibbon, p. 605. N. 157.

† Davis, p. 140.

his own ingenious, though sometimes fanciful theory, of the imperial Quinquennalia, &c. Pagi at last discovers that Pliny made his entrance into Bithynia in the year one hundred and ten. “Plinius igitur anno Christi CENTESIMO “DECIMO Bithyniam intravit.” Pagi, tom. i. p. 100.

I will be more indulgent to my adversary than he has been to me: I will admit that he has *looked into Pagi*; but I must add, that he has only looked into that accurate chronologer. To rectify the errors, which, in the course of a laborious and original work, had escaped the diligence of the Cardinal, was the arduous task which Pagi proposed to execute: and for the sake of perspicuity, he distributes his criticisms according to the particular dates, whether just or faulty, of the Chronology of Baronius himself. Under the year 102, Mr. Davis confusedly saw a long argument about Pliny and Bithynia, and without condescending to read the author whom he *pompously* quotes, this hasty critic imputes to him the opinion which he had so laboriously destroyed.

My readers, if any readers have accompanied me thus far, must be satisfied, and indeed satiated, with the repeated proofs which I have made of the weight and temper of my adversary's weapons. They have, in every assault, fallen dead and lifeless to the ground: they have more than once recoiled, and dangerously wounded the unskilful hand that had presumed to use them. I have now examined all the *misrepresentations* and *inaccuracies*, which even for a moment could perplex the ignorant or deceive the credulous: the *few* imputations which I have neglected are still more palpably false, or still more evidently trifling, and even the friends of Mr. Davis will scarcely continue to ascribe my contempt to my fear.

The first part of his critical volume might admit, though it did not deserve, a particular reply. But the easy, though tedious compilation, which fills the remainder*, and which Mr. Davis has produced as the evidence of my shameful *plagiarisms*, may be set in its true light by three or four short and general reflections.

I. Mr. Davis has disposed, in two volumes, the passages which he thinks proper to select from my two last chapters, and the corresponding passages from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Beaufobre, Dodwell, &c. to the most important of which he had been regularly guided by my own quotations. According to the opinion which he has conceived of literary property, to *agree* is to *follow*, and to *follow* is to *steal*. He

* Davis, p. 168—274.

celebrates his own sagacity with loud and reiterated applause, and declares, with infinite facetiousness, that if he restored to every author the passages which Mr. Gibbon has purloined, *he* would appear as naked as the proud and gaudy daw in the fable, when each bird had plucked away its own plumes. Instead of being angry with Mr. Davis for the parallel which he has extended to so great a length, I am under some obligation to his industry for the copious proofs which he has furnished the reader, that my representation of some of the most important facts of ecclesiastical antiquity is supported by the authority or opinion of the most ingenious and learned of the modern writers. The public may not, perhaps, be very eager to assist Mr. Davis in his favourite amusement of *depluming* me. They may think, that if the materials which compose my two last chapters are curious and valuable, it is of little moment to whom they properly belong. If my readers are satisfied with the form, the colours, the new arrangement which I have given to the labours of my predecessors, they may perhaps consider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honest and industrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of skill and success.

II. About two hundred years ago, the court of Rome discovered that the system which had been erected by ignorance must be defended and countenanced by the aid, or at least by the abuse, of science. The grosser legends of the middle ages were abandoned to contempt, but the supremacy and infallibility of two hundred Popes, the virtues of many thousand Saints, and the miracles which they either performed or related, have been laboriously consecrated in the Ecclesiastical Annals of Cardinal Baronius. A theological barometer might be formed, of which the Cardinal and our countryman Dr. Middleton should constitute the opposite and remote extremities, as the former sunk to the lowest degree of credulity, which was compatible with learning, and the latter rose to the highest pitch of scepticism, in anywise consistent with religion. The intermediate gradations would be filled by a line of ecclesiastical critics, whose rank has been fixed by the circumstances of their temper and studies, as well as by the spirit of the church or society to which they were attached. It would be amusing enough to calculate the weight of prejudice in the air of Rome, of Oxford, of Paris, and of Holland, and sometimes to observe the irregular tendency of papists towards freedom, sometimes to remark the unnatural gravitation of protestants towards slavery. But it is useful to borrow the assistance of so many learned and ingenious men,
who

who have viewed the first ages of the church in every light, and from every situation. If we skilfully combine the passions and prejudices, the hostile motives and intentions, of the several theologians, we may frequently extract knowledge from credulity, moderation from zeal, and impartial truth from the most disingenuous controversy. It is the right, it is the duty of a critical historian to collect, to weigh, to select the opinions of his predecessors; and the more diligence he has exerted in the search, the more rationally he may hope to add some improvement to the stock of knowledge, the use of which has been common to all.

III. Besides the ideas which may be suggested by the study of the most learned and ingenious of the moderns, the historian may be indebted to them for the occasional communication of some passages of the ancients, which might otherwise have escaped his knowledge or his memory. In the consideration of any extensive subject, none will pretend to have read all that has been written, or to recollect all that they have read: nor is there any disgrace in recurring to the writers who have professedly treated any questions, which, in the course of a long narrative, we are called upon to mention in a slight and incidental manner. If I touch upon the obscure and fanciful theology of the Gnostics, I can accept without a blush the assistance of the candid Beaufobre; and when, amidst the fury of contending parties, I trace the progress of ecclesiastical dominion, I am not ashamed to confess myself the grateful disciple of the impartial Mosheim. In the next volume of my History, the reader and the critic must prepare themselves to see me make a still more liberal use of the labours of those indefatigable workmen who have dug deep into the mine of antiquity. The Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries are far more voluminous than their predecessors; the writings of Jerom, of Augustin, of Chrysostom, &c. cover the walls of our libraries. The smallest part is of the historical kind: yet the treatises which seem the least to invite the curiosity of the reader, frequently conceal very useful hints, or very valuable facts. The polemic, who involves himself and his antagonists in a cloud of argumentation, sometimes relates the original and progress of the heresy which he confutes; and the preacher who declaims against the luxury, describes the manners of the age; and seasonably introduces the mention of some public calamity, that he may ascribe it to the justice of offended Heaven. It would surely be unreasonable to expect that the historian should peruse enormous volumes, with the uncertain hope of extracting a few interesting lines, or that he should sacrifice whole days to the momentary

momentary amusement of his reader. Fortunately for us both, the diligence of ecclesiastical critics has facilitated our inquiries: the compilations of Tillemont might alone be considered as an immense repertory of truth and fable, of almost all that the fathers have preserved or invented, or believed; and if we equally avail ourselves of the labours of contending sectaries, we shall often discover, that the same passages which the prudence of one of the disputants would have suppressed or disguised, are placed in the most conspicuous light by the active and interested zeal of his adversary. On these occasions, what is the duty of a faithful historian, who derives from some modern writer the knowledge of some ancient testimony, which he is desirous of introducing into his own narrative? It is his duty, and it has been my invariable practice, to consult the original; to study with attention the words, the design, the spirit, the context, the situation of the passage to which I had been referred; and before I appropriated it to my own use, to justify my own declaration, "that I had carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject which I had undertaken to treat." If this important obligation has sometimes been imperfectly fulfilled, I have only omitted what it would have been impracticable for me to perform. The greatest city in the world is destitute of that useful institution, a public library; and the writer who has undertaken to treat any large historical subject, is reduced to the necessity of purchasing, for his private use, a numerous and valuable collection of the books which must form the basis of his work. The diligence of his booksellers will not always prove successful; and the candour of his readers will not always expect, that, for the sake of verifying an accidental quotation of ten lines, he should load himself with an useless and expensive series of ten volumes. In a very few instances, where I had not the opportunity of consulting the originals, I have adopted their testimony on the faith of modern guides, of whose fidelity I was satisfied; but on these occasions*, instead of decking myself with the borrowed plumes of Tillemont or Lardner, I have been most scrupulously exact in marking the extent of my reading, and the source of my information. This distinction, which a sense of truth and modesty had engaged me to express, is ungenerously abused by Mr. Davis, who seems happy to inform his readers, that "in ONE instance (Chap. xvi. 164. "or in the first edition, 163.) I have, by an unaccountable

* Gibbon, p. 605, N. 156; p. 606. N. 161; p. 690, N. 164; p. 699, N. 178.

“ oversight, unfortunately for myself, forgot to drop the
 “ modern, and that I modestly disclaim all knowledge of
 “ Athanasius, but what I had picked up from Tillemont*.”
 Without animadverting on the decency of the expressions,
 which are now grown familiar to me, I shall content myself
 with observing, that I had frequently quoted Eusebius, or
 Cyprian, or Tertullian, *because* I had read them; so, in this
 instance, I only made my reference to Tillemont, *because* I
 had not read, and did not possess the works of Athanasius.
 The progress of my undertaking has since directed me to
 peruse the Historical Apologies of the Archbishop of Alex-
 andria, whose life is a very interesting part of the age in
 which he lived; and if Mr. Davis should have the curiosity
 to look into my Second Volume, he will find that I make a
 free and frequent appeal to the writings of Athanasius.
 Whatever may be the opinion or practice of my adversary,
 this I apprehend to be the dealing of a fair and honoura-
 ble man.

IV. The historical monuments of the three first centuries
 of ecclesiastical antiquity, are neither very numerous nor
 very prolix. From the end of the Acts of the Apostles, to
 the time when the first Apology of Justin Martyr was pre-
 sented, there intervened a dark and doubtful period of four-
 score years; and, even if the Epistles of Ignatius should be
 approved by the critic, they could not be very serviceable to
 the historian. From the middle of the second, to the begin-
 ning of the fourth century, we gain our knowledge of the
 state and progress of Christianity, from the successive Apo-
 logies which were occasionally composed by Justin, Athe-
 nagoras, Tertullian, Origen, &c.; from the Epistles of
 Cyprian; from a few *sincere* acts of the Martyrs; from
 some moral or controversial tracts, which indirectly explain
 the events and manners of the times; from the rare and ac-
 cidental notice which profane writers have taken of the
 Christian sect; from the declamatory narrative which cele-
 brates the deaths of the persecutors; and from the Ecclesi-
 astical History of Eusebius, who has preserved some valua-
 ble fragments of more early writers. Since the revival of
 letters, these original materials have been the common fund
 of critics and historians: nor has it ever been imagined, that
 the absolute and exclusive property of a passage in Eusebius
 or Tertullian was acquired by the first who had an opportu-
 nity of quoting it. The learned work of Motheim, *de Re-
 bus Christianis ante Constantinum*, was printed in the year
 1753; and if I were possessed of the patience and disinge-
 nuity of Mr. Davis, I would engage to find all the ancient

* Davis, p. 273.

testimonies that he has alleged, in the writings of Dodwell or Tillemont, which were published before the end of the last century. But if I were animated by any malevolent intentions against Dodwell or Tillemont, I could as easily, and as unfairly, fix on *them* the guilt of plagiarism, by producing the same passages transcribed or translated at full length in the Annals of Cardinal Baronius. Let not criticism be any longer disgraced by the practice of such unworthy arts. Instead of admitting suspicions as false as they are ungenerous, candour will acknowledge, that Mosheim or Dodwell, Tillemont or Baronius, enjoyed the same right, and often were under the same obligation, of quoting the passages which they had read, and which were indispensably requisite to confirm the truth and substance of their similar narratives. Mr. Davis is so far from allowing me the benefit of this common indulgence, or rather of this common right, that he stigmatizes with the name of *plagiarism* a close and literal agreement with Dodwell in the account of some parts of the persecution of Diocletian, where a few chapters of Eusebius and Lactantius, perhaps of Lactantius alone, are the sole materials from whence our knowledge could be derived, and where, if I had not transcribed, I must have invented. He is even bold enough (*bold* is not the *proper* word) to conceive some hopes of persuading his readers, that an historian who has employed several years of his life, and several hundred pages, on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, had never read Orosius, or the Augustin History; and that he was forced to borrow, at second-hand, his quotations from the Theodosian code. I cannot profess myself very desirous of Mr. Davis's acquaintance; but if he will take the trouble of calling at my house any afternoon when I am *not* at home, my servant shall shew him my library, which he will find tolerably well furnished with the useful authors, ancient as well as modern, ecclesiastical as well as profane, who have *directly* supplied me with the materials of my History.

The peculiar reasons, and they are not of the most flattering kind, which urged me to repel the furious and feeble attack of Mr. Davis, have been already mentioned. But since I am drawn thus reluctantly into the lists of controversy, I shall not retire till I have saluted, either with stern defiance or gentle courtesy, the theological champions who have signalized their ardour to break a lance against the shield of a *Pagan* adversary. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters have been honoured with the notice of several writers, whose names and characters seemed to promise more maturity of judgment and learning than could reasonably be expected from the unfinished studies
of

of a Bachelor of Arts. The Reverend Mr. Apthorpe, Dr. Watson, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, and his associate Dr. Randolph, President of Corpus Christi College, and the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, have given me a fair right, which, however, I shall not abuse, of freely declaring my opinion on the subject of their respective criticisms.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Apthorpe was the first who announced to the Public his intention of examining the interesting subject which I had treated in the Two last Chapters of my History. The multitude of collateral and accessory ideas which presented themselves to the Author, insensibly swelled the bulk of his papers to the size of a large volume in octavo; the publication was delayed many months beyond the time of the first advertisement; and when Mr. Apthorpe's Letters appeared, I was surprised to find, that I had *scarcely* any interest or concern in their contents. They are filled with general observations on the Study of History, with a large and useful catalogue of Historians, and with a variety of reflexions, moral and religious, all preparatory to the direct and formal consideration of my Two last Chapters, which Mr. Apthorpe seems to reserve for the subject of a Second Volume. I sincerely respect the learning, the piety, and the candour of this Gentleman, and must consider it as a mark of his esteem, that he has thought proper to begin his approaches at so great a distance from the fortifications which he designed to attack.

MR. AP-
THORPE.

When Dr. Watson gave to the Public his Apology for Christianity, in a Series of Letters, he addressed them to the Author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with a just confidence that he had considered this important object in a manner not unworthy of his antagonist or of himself. Dr. Watson's mode of thinking bears a liberal and a philosophic cast; his thoughts are expressed with spirit, and that spirit is always tempered by politeness and moderation. Such is the man whom I should be happy to call my friend, and whom I should not blush to call my antagonist. But the same motives which might tempt me to accept, or even to solicit, a private and amicable conference, dissuaded me from entering into a public controversy with a Writer of so respectable a character; and I embraced the earliest opportunity of expressing to Dr. Watson himself, how sincerely I agreed with him in thinking, "That as the world is now possessed of the opinion of us both upon the subject in question, it may be perhaps as proper

DR. WAT-
SON.

“ proper for us both to leave it in this state *.” The nature of the ingenious Professor’s Apology contributed to strengthen the insuperable reluctance to engage in hostile altercation which was common to us both, by convincing me, that such an altercation was unnecessary as well as unpleasant. He very justly and politely declares, that a considerable part, near seventy pages, of his small volume are not directed to me †, but to a set of men whom he places in an odious and contemptible light. He leaves to other hands the defence of the leading Ecclesiastics, even of the primitive church; and without being *very* anxious, either to soften their vices and indiscretion, or to aggravate the cruelty of the Heathen Persecutors, he passes over in silence the greatest part of my Sixteenth Chapter. It is not so much the purpose of the Apologist to examine the facts which have been advanced by the Historian, as to remove the impressions which may have been formed by many of his Readers; and the Remarks of Dr. Watson consist more properly of general argumentation than of particular criticism. He fairly owns, that I have expressly allowed the full and irresistible weight of the *first* great cause of the success of Christianity ‡; and he is too candid to deny that the five *secondary* causes, which I had attempted to explain, operated with *some* degree of active energy towards the accomplishment of that great event. The only question which remains between us, relates to the *degree* of the weight and effect of those secondary causes; and as I am persuaded that our philosophy is not of the dogmatic kind, we should soon acknowledge that this precise degree cannot be ascertained by reasoning, nor perhaps be expressed by words. In the course of this inquiry, some incidental difficulties have arisen, which I had stated with impartiality, and which Dr. Watson resolves with ingenuity and temper. If in some instances he seems to have misapprehended my sentiments, I may hesitate whether I should impute the fault to my own want of clearness or to his want of attention, but can never entertain a suspicion that Dr. Watson would descend to employ the dissingenuous arts of vulgar controversy.

There is, however, one passage, and one passage only, which must not pass without some explanation; and I shall the more eagerly embrace this occasion to illustrate what I had said, as the misconstruction of my true meaning seems to have made an involuntary, but unfavourable impression

* Watson’s Apology for Christianity, p. 200.

† Id. p. 202—268.

‡ Id. p. 5.

on the liberal mind of Dr. Watson. As I endeavour *not* to palliate the severity, but to discover the motives of the Roman Magistrates, I had remarked, "it was in vain that the oppressed Believer asserted the unalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the believing part of the Pagan world*." The humanity of Dr. Watson takes fire on the supposed provocation, and he asks with unusual quickness, "How, Sir, are the arguments for liberty of conscience so exceedingly inconclusive, that you think them incapable of reaching the understanding even of philosophers†?" He continues to observe, that a captious adversary would embrace with avidity the opportunity this passage *affords*, of blotting my character with the odious stain of being a Persecutor; a stain which no learning can wipe out, which no genius or ability can render amiable; and though he himself does not entertain such an opinion of my principles, his ingenuity tries in vain to provide me with the means of escape.

I must lament that I have not been successful in the explanation of a very simple notion of the spirit both of Philosophy and of Polytheism, which I have repeatedly inculcated. The arguments which assert the rights of conscience are not inconclusive in themselves, but the understanding of the Greeks and Romans was fortified against their evidence by an invincible prejudice. When we listen to the voice of Bayle, of Locke, and of genuine reason, in favour of religious toleration, we shall easily perceive that our most forcible appeal is made to our mutual feelings. If the Jew were allowed to argue with the Inquisitor, he would request that for a moment they might exchange their different situations, and might safely ask his Catholic Tyrant, whether the fear of death would compel *him* to enter the synagogue, to receive the mark of circumcision, and to partake of the paschal lamb. As soon as the case of persecution was brought home to the breast of the Inquisitor, he must have found some difficulty in suppressing the dictates of natural equity which would insinuate to his conscience, that he could have no right to inflict those punishments which, under similar circumstances, he would esteem it as his duty to encounter. But this argument could not reach the understanding of a Polytheist, or of an ancient Philosopher. The former was ready, whenever he was summoned, or indeed without being summoned, to fall prostrate

* Gibbon, p. 625.

† Watson, p. 185.

before the altars of any Gods who were adored in any part of the world, and to admit a vague persuasion of the *truth* and divinity of the most different modes of religion. The Philosopher, who considered them, at least in their literal sense, as equally *false* and absurd, was not ashamed to disguise his sentiments, and to frame his actions according to the laws of his country, which imposed the same obligation on the Philosophers and the people. When Pliny declared, that whatever was the opinion of the Christians, their obstinacy deserved punishment, the absurd cruelty of Pliny was excused in his own eye, by the consciousness that, in the situation of the Christians, he would not have refused the religious compliance which he exacted. I shall not repeat, that the Pagan worship was a matter, not of *opinion*, but of *custom*; that the toleration of the Romans was confined to nations or families who followed the practice of their ancestors; and that in the first ages of Christianity their persecution of the individuals who departed from the established religion was neither moderated by pure reason, nor inflamed by exclusive zeal. But I only desire to appeal, from the hasty apprehension, to the more deliberate judgment, of Dr. Watson himself. Should there still remain any difference of opinion between us, I shall be satisfied, if he will consider me as a sincere though perhaps unsuccessful lover of truth, and as a firm friend to civil and ecclesiastical freedom.

DR. CHEL-
SUM and
DR. RAN-
DOLPH.

Far be it from me, or from any faithful Historian, to impute to respectable societies the faults of some individual members. Our two Universities most undoubtedly contain the same mixture, and most probably the same proportions, of zeal and moderation, of reason and superstition. Yet there is much less difference between the smoothness of the Ionic, and the roughness of the Doric dialect, than may be found between the polished style of Dr. Watson, and the coarse language of Mr. Davis, Dr. Chelsum, or Dr. Randolph. The second of these Critics, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, is unwilling that the world should forget that *he* was the first who sounded to arms, that *he* was the first who furnished the antidote to the poison, and who, as early as the month of October of the year 1776, published his *Strictures* on the Two last Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History. The success of a pamphlet, which he modestly styles imperfect and ill-digested, encouraged him to resume the controversy. In the beginning of the present year, his Remarks made their second appearance, with some alteration of form, and a large increase of bulk; and the author, who seems to fight under the protection of two episcopal

episcopal banners, has prefixed, in the front of his volume, his name and titles, which in the former edition he had less honourable suppressed. His confidence is fortified by the alliance and communications of a *distinguished* Writer, Dr. Randolph, &c. who, on a proper occasion, would, no doubt, be ready to bear as honourable testimony to the merit and reputation of Dr. Chelsum. The two friends are indeed so happily united by art and nature, that if the author of the Remarks had not pointed out the valuable communications of the Margaret Professor, it would have been impossible to separate their respective property. Writers who possess any freedom of mind, may be known from each other by the peculiar character of their style and sentiments; but the champions who are enlisted in the service of Authority, commonly wear the uniform of the regiment. Oppressed with the same yoke, covered with the same trappings, they heavily move along, perhaps not with an equal pace, in the same beaten track of prejudice and preferment. Yet I should expose my own injustice, were I absolutely to confound with Mr. Davis the two Doctors in Divinity, who are joined in one volume. The three Critics appear to be animated by the same implacable resentment against the Historian of the Roman Empire; they are alike disposed to support the same opinions by the same arts; and if in the language of the two latter, the disregard of politeness is somewhat less gross and indecent, the difference is not of such a magnitude as to excite in my breast any lively sensations of gratitude. It was the misfortune of Mr. Davis that he undertook to *write* before he had *read*. He set out with the stock of authorities which he found in my quotations, and boldly ventured to play his reputation against mine. Perhaps he may now repent of a loss which is not easily recovered; but if I had not surmounted my almost insuperable reluctance to a public dispute, many a reader might still be dazzled by the vehemence of his assertions, and might still believe that Mr. Davis had detected several wilful and important misrepresentations in my Two last Chapters. But the confederate Doctors appear to be scholars of a higher form and longer experience; they enjoy a certain rank in their academical world; and as their zeal is enlightened by some rays of knowledge, so their desire to ruin the credit of their adversary is occasionally checked by the apprehension of injuring their own. These restraints, to which Mr. Davis was a stranger, have confined them to a very narrow and humble path of historical criticism; and if I were to correct, according to their wishes, all the particular facts against
which

which they have advanced any objections, these corrections, admitted in their fullest extent, would hardly furnish materials for a decent list of *errata*.

The *dogmatical* part of their work, which in every sense of the word deserves the appellation, is ill adapted to engage my attention. I had declined the consideration of theological arguments, when they were managed by a candid and liberal adversary; and it would be inconsistent enough, if I should have refused to draw my sword in honourable combat against the keen and well-tempered weapon of Dr. Watson, for the sole purpose of encountering the rustic cudgel of two staunch and sturdy Polemics.

I shall not enter any farther into the character and conduct of Cyprian, as I am sensible that, if the opinion of Le Clerc, Mosheim, and myself, is reprobated by Dr. Chelsum and his ally, the difference must subsist, till we shall entertain the same notions of moral virtue and ecclesiastical power*. If Dr. Randolph will allow that the primitive Clergy received, managed, and distributed the tithes, and other charitable donations of the faithful, the dispute between *us* will be a dispute of words†. I shall not amuse myself with proving that the learned Origen must have derived from the *inspired* authority of the Church his knowledge, not indeed of the *authenticity*, but of the *inspiration* of the *four* Evangelists, *two* of whom are not in the rank of the Apostles‡. I shall submit to the judgment of the Public, whether the Athanasian Creed is not read and received in the Church of England, and whether the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans§ believed the Catholic faith, which is declared in the Athanasian Creed to be absolutely necessary for salvation. As little shall I think myself interested in the elaborate disquisitions with which the Author of the Remarks has filled a great number of pages, concerning the famous testimony of Josephus, the passages of Irenæus and Theophilus, which relate to the gift of miracles, and the origin of circumcision in Palestine or in Egypt||. If I have rejected, and rejected with some contempt, the *interpolation* which pious fraud has very awkwardly inserted in the text of Josephus, I may deem myself secure behind the shield of learned and pious critics (see in particular Le Clerc, in his *Ars Critica*,

* Gibbon, p. 558, 559. Chelsum, p. 132—139.

† Gibbon, p. 592. Randolph in Chelsum, p. 122.

‡ Gibbon, p. 551. N. 33. Chelsum, p. 39.

§ Gibbon, p. 565, N. 70. Chelsum, p. 66.

|| Chelsum's Remarks, p. 13—19. 67—91. 180—185.

part iii. sect. i. c. 15. and Lardner's Testimonies, Vol. i. p. 150, &c.), who have condemned this passage: and I think it very natural that Dr. Chelfum should embrace the contrary opinion, which is not destitute of able advocates. The passages of Irenæus and Theophilus were thoroughly sifted in the controversy about the duration of Miracles; and as the works of Dr. Middleton may be found in every library, so it is not impossible that a diligent search may still discover some remains of the writings of his adversaries. In mentioning the confession of the Syrians of Palestine, that they had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision, I had simply alledged the testimony of Herodotus, without expressly adopting the sentiment of Marsham. But I had always imagined, that in these doubtful and indifferent questions, which have been solemnly argued before the tribunal of the Public, every scholar was at liberty to chuse his side, without assigning his reasons; nor can I yet persuade myself, that either Dr. Chelfum, or myself, are likely to enforce, by any new arguments, the opinions which we have respectively followed. The only novelty for which I can perceive myself indebted to Dr. Chelfum, is the very extraordinary Scepticism which he insinuates concerning the time of Herodotus, who, according to the chronology of some, flourished during the time of the Jewish captivity*. Can it be necessary to inform a Divine, that the captivity which lasted seventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, was terminated in the year 536 before Christ, by the edict which Cyrus published in the first year of his reign? (Jeremiah, xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10. Ezra, i. 1. &c. Usher and Prideaux, under the years 606. and 536.) Can it be necessary to inform a man of letters, that Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. xv. 23. from the commentaries of Pamphila), and consequently that he was born in the year before Christ 484, fifty-two years after the end of the Jewish captivity? As this well attested fact is not exposed to the slightest doubt or difficulty, I am somewhat curious to learn the names of those unknown authors, whose chronology Dr. Chelfum has allowed as the specious foundation of a probable hypothesis. The Author of the Remarks does not seem indeed to have cultivated, with much care or success, the province of literary history; as a very moderate acquaintance with that useful branch of knowledge would have saved him from a positive mistake, much less excusable that the doubt which

* Chelfum, p. 15.

he entertains about the time of Herodotus. He styles Suidas “ a *Heathen* writer, who lived about the end of the “ *tenth* century *.” I admit the period which he assigns to Suidas ; and which is well ascertained by Dr. Bentley. (See his Reply to Boyle, p. 22, 23.) We are led to fix this epoch, by the chronology which this *Heathen* writer has deduced from Adam, to the death of the emperor John Zimisces, A. D. 975 : and a crowd of passages might be produced, as the unanswerable evidence of his Christianity. But the most unanswerable of all is the very date, which is not disputed between us. The philosophers who flourished under Justinian (see Agathias, L. ii. p. 65, 66.) appear to have been the last of the Heathen writers : and the ancient religion of the Greeks was annihilated almost four hundred years before the birth of Suidas.

After this animadversion, which is not intended either to insult the failings of my Adversary, or to provide a convenient excuse for my own errors, I shall proceed to select *two* important parts of Dr. Chelsum’s Remarks, from which the candid reader may form some opinion of the whole. They relate to the military service of the first Christians, and to the historical character of Eusebius ; and I shall review them with the less reluctance, as it may not be impossible to pick up something curious and useful even in the barren waste of controversy.

MILITARY
SERVICE
OF THE
FIRST
CHRISTI-
ANS.

I. In representing the errors of the primitive Christians, which flowed from an excess of virtue, I had observed, *that* they exposed themselves to the reproaches of the Pagans, by their obstinate refusal to take an active part in the civil administration, or military defence of the empire ; *that* the objections of Celsus appear to have been mutilated by his adversary Origen ; and *that* the Apologists, to whom the public dangers were urged, returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to disclose the true ground of their security, their opinion of the approaching end of the world †. In another place I had related, from the acts of Ruinart, the action and punishment of the Centurion Marcellus, who was put to death for renouncing the service in a public and seditious manner.

On this occasion Dr. Chelsum is extremely alert. He denies my facts, controverts my opinions, and, with a politeness worthy of Mr. Davis himself, insinuates that I borrowed the story of Marcellus, not from Ruinart, but from Voltaire. My learned adversary thinks it highly im-

* Chelsum, p. 73.

† Gibbon, p. 580, 581.

‡ Id. p. 68c.

probable that Origen should dare to *mutilate* the objections of Celsus, "whose work was, in all probability, extant at the time he made this reply. In such case, had he even been inclined to treat his adversary unfairly, he must yet surely have been withheld from the attempt, through the fear of detection*." The experience both of ancient and modern controversy has indeed convinced me that this reasoning, just and natural as it may seem, is totally inconclusive, and that the generality of disputants, especially in religious contests, are of a much more daring and intrepid spirit. For the truth of this remark, I shall content myself with producing a recent and very singular example, in which Dr. Chelsum himself is personally interested. He charges † me with passing over in "silence the important and unexpected testimony of a Heathen historian (Dion Cassius) to the persecution of Domitian; and he affirms, that I have produced that testimony so far only as it relates to Clemens and Domitilla; yet in the very same passage follows immediately, that on a like occasion *MANY OTHERS* were also condemned. Some of them were put to death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods ‡." Although I should not be ashamed to undertake the apology of Nero or Domitian, if I thought them innocent of any particular crime with which zeal or malice had unjustly branded their memory; yet I should indeed blush, if, in favour of tyranny, or even in favour of virtue, I had suppressed the truth and evidence of historical facts. But the Reader will feel some surprise, when he has convinced himself that, in the three editions of my First Volume, after relating the death of Clemens, and the exile of Domitilla, I continue to allege the *ENTIRE TESTIMONY* of Dion, in the following words: "and sentences either of death, or of confiscation, were pronounced against a *GREAT NUMBER OF PERSONS* who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge, was that of Atheism and Jewish manners; a singular association of ideas which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and writers of that period." Dr. Chelsum has not been deterred by the fear of detection, from this scandalous mutilation of the popular work of a living adversary. But Celsus had been dead above fifty years before Origen published his Apology; and the copies of an ancient work, instead of being instantaneously multiplied by the operation of the press, were separately and slowly transcribed by the labour of the hand.

* Chelsum, p. 118, 119.

† Id. p. 188.

‡ Gibbon, p. 645.

If any modern divine should still maintain that the fidelity of Origen was secured by motives more honourable than the fear of detection, he may learn from Jerom the difference of the *gymnastic* and *dogmatic* styles. Truth is the object of the one, victory of the other; and the same arts which would disgrace the sincerity of the teacher, serve only to display the skill of the disputant. After justifying his own practice by that of the orators and philosophers, Jerom defends himself by the more respectable authority of Christian apologists. "How many thousand lines, says he, have been composed against *Celsus* and *Porphyry*, by *Origen*, *Methodius*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinaris*? Consider with what arguments with what slippery problems, they elude the inventions of the Devil; and how, in their controversy with the Gentiles, they are sometimes obliged to speak, not what they really think, but what is most advantageous for the cause they defend." "Origenes, &c. multis versuum millibus scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium. Considerate quibus argumentis et quam lubricis problematibus diaboli spiritu contexta subvertunt: et quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles." (Pro Libris adversi Jovinian. Apolog. tom. ii. p. 135.)

Yet Dr. Chelsum may still ask, and he has a right to ask, why in this particular instance I suspect the pious Origen of mutilating the objections of his adversary. From a very obvious, and, in my opinion, a very decisive circumstance. *Celsus* was a Greek philosopher, the friend of *Lucian*; and I thought that, although he might support error by sophistry, he would not write nonsense in his own language. I renounce my suspicion, if the most attentive reader is able to understand the design and purport of a passage which is given as a formal quotation from *Celsus*, and which begins with the following words: Οὐ μὴν ἐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι λεγόντος, ὡς, &c. (Origen contr. *Celsum*, L. viii. p. 425. edit. Spencer, Cantab. 1677.) I have carefully inspected the original, I have availed myself of the learning of *Spencer*, and even *Bouhereau*, (for I shall always disclaim the absurd and affected pedantry of using without scruple a Latin version, but of despising the aid of a French translation,) and the ill success of my efforts has countenanced the suspicion to which I still adhere, with a just mixture of doubt and hesitation. Origen very boldly denies, that any of the Christians have affirmed what is imputed to them by *Celsus*, in this unintelligible quotation; and it may easily be credited, that none had maintained what none can comprehend. Dr. Chelsum has produced

produced the words of Origen; but on this occasion there is a strange ambiguity in the language of the modern divine*, as if he wished to insinuate what he dared not affirm; and every reader must conclude, from his state of the question, that Origen expressly denied the truth of the *accusation* of Celsus, who had *accused* the Christians of declining to assist their fellow-subjects in the military defence of the empire, assailed on every side by the arms of the Barbarians.

Will Dr. Chelsum justify to the world, can he justify to his own feelings, the abuse which he has made even of the privileges of the Gymnastic style? Careless and hasty indeed must have been his perusal of Origen, if he did not perceive that the ancient apologist, who makes a stand on some incidental question, admits the accusation of his adversary, that the Christians *refused* to bear arms even at the command of their sovereign. “Και ο συστρατευομεθα μην αυτω, καν επειγη.” (Origen, L. viii. p. 427.) He endeavours to palliate this undutiful refusal, by representing that the Christians had their peculiar camps, in which they incessantly combated for the safety of the emperor and the empire, by lifting up their right hands—in prayer. The apologist seems to hope that his country will be satisfied with this spiritual aid, and dexterously confounding the colleges of Roman priests with the multitudes which swelled the Catholic church, he claims for his brethren, in all the provinces, the exemption from military service, which was enjoyed by the sacerdotal order. But as this excuse might not readily be allowed, Origen looks forward with a lively faith to that auspicious revolution, which Celsus had rejected as impossible, when all the nations of the habitable earth, renouncing their passions and their arms, should embrace the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and lead a life of peace and innocence under the immediate protection of Heaven. The faith of Origen seems to be principally founded on the predictions of the Prophet Zephaniah (See iii. 9, 10.); and he prudently observes, that the prophets often speak secret things (εν απορητω λεγουσι, p. 426.), which may be understood by those who can understand them; and that if this stupendous change cannot be effected while we retain our bodies, it may be accomplished as soon as we shall be released from them. Such is the reasoning of Origen: though I have not followed the order, I have faithfully preserved the substance of it; which fully justifies the truth and propriety of my observations.

* Chelsum, p. 113.

The execution of Marcellus, the Centurion, is naturally connected with the Apology of Origen, as the former declared by his actions, what the latter had affirmed in his writings, that the conscience of a devout Christian would not allow him to bear arms, even at the command of his sovereign. I had represented this religious scruple as *one* of the motives which provoked Marcellus, on the day of a public festival, to throw away the ensigns of his office; and I presumed to observe, that such an act of desertion would have been punished in any government according to martial or even civil law. Dr. Chelsum * very *bluntly* accuses me of misrepresenting the story, and of suppressing those circumstances which would have defended the Centurion from the unjust imputation thrown by me upon his conduct. The dispute between the advocate for Marcellus and myself lies in a very narrow compass; as the whole evidence is comprised in a short, simple, and, I believe, authentic narrative.

I. In another place I observed, and even pressed the observation, "that the innumerable deities and rites of Polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life;" and I had particularly specified how much the Roman discipline was connected with the national superstition. A solemn oath of fidelity was repeated every year in the name of the gods and of the genius of the Emperor, public and daily sacrifices were performed at the head of the camp, the legionary was continually tempted, or rather compelled, to join in the idolatrous worship of his fellow-soldiers; and had not any scruples been entertained of the lawfulness of war, it is not easy to understand how any serious Christian could insist under a banner which has been justly termed the *rival of the Cross*. "*Vexilla æmula Christi.*" (Tertullian *de Corona Militis*, c. xi.) With regard to the soldiers, who before their conversion were already engaged in the military life, fear, habit, ignorance, necessity, might bend them to some acts of occasional conformity; and as long as they abstained from absolute and intentional idolatry, their behaviour was excused by the indulgent, and censured by the more rigid casuists. (See the whole Treatise *de Corona Militis*.) We are ignorant of the adventures and character of the Centurion Marcellus, how long he had conciliated the profession of arms and of the Gospel, whether he was only a Catechumen, or whether he was initiated by the sacrament of

* Chelsum, p. 114—117.

baptism. We are likewise at a loss to ascertain the particular act of idolatry which so suddenly and so forcibly provoked his pious indignation. As he declared his faith in the midst of a public entertainment given on the birth-day of Galerius, he must have been startled by some of the sacred and convivial rites (*Convivia ista profana reputans*) of prayers, or vows, or libations, or, perhaps, by the offensive circumstance of eating the meats which had been offered to the idols. But the scruples of Marcellus were not confined to these accidental impurities; they evidently reached the essential duties of his profession; and when, before the tribunal of the magistrates, he avowed his faith at the hazard of his life, the Centurion declared, as his cool and determined persuasion, that it does not become a Christian man, who is the soldier of the Lord Christ, to bear arms for any object of earthly concern. “*Non enim decebat Christianum hominem molestiis secularibus militare, qui Christo Domino militat.*” A formal declaration, which clearly disengages from each other the different questions of war and idolatry. With regard to both these questions, as they were understood by the primitive Christians, I wish to refer the reader to the sentiments and authorities of Mr. Moyle, a bold and ingenious critic, who read the Fathers as their judge, and not as their slave, and who has refuted, with the most patient candour, all that learned prejudice could suggest in favour of the silly story of the Thundering Legion. (See Moyle’s Works, Vol. ii. p. 84—88. 111—116. 163—212. 298—302. 327—341.) And here let me add, that the passage of Origen, who in the name of his brethren disclaims the duty of military service, is understood by Mr. Moyle in its true and obvious signification.

2. I know not where Dr. Chelsum has imbibed the principles of logic or morality which teach him to approve the conduct of Marcellus, who threw down his rod, his belt, and his arms, at the head of the legion, [and publicly renounced the military service, *at the very time* when he found himself obliged to offer sacrifice. Yet surely this is a very false notion of the condition and duties of a Roman Centurion. Marcellus was bound, by a solemn oath, to serve with fidelity till he should be regularly discharged; and according to the sentiments which Dr. Chelsum ascribes to him, he was not released from his oath by any mistaken opinion of the unlawfulness of war. I would propose it as a case of conscience to any philosopher, or even to any casuist in Europe, Whether a particular order, which cannot be reconciled with virtue or piety, dissolves the ties of a general and lawful

lawful obligation? And whether, if they had been consulted by the Christian Centurion, they would not have directed him to increase his diligence in the execution of his military functions, to refuse to yield to any act of idolatry, and patiently to expect the consequences of such a refusal? But, instead of obeying the mild and moderate dictates of religion, instead of distinguishing between the duties of the soldier and of the Christian, Marcellus, with imprudent zeal, rushed forwards to seize the crown of martyrdom. He might have privately confessed himself guilty to the tribune or præfect under whom he served: he chose on the day of a public festival to disturb the order of the camp. He insulted, without necessity, the religion of his sovereign and of his country, by the epithets of contempt which he bestowed on the Roman gods. “Deos vestros ligneos et lapideos adorare contemno, quæ sunt idola surda et muta.” Nay more; at the head of the legion, and in the face of the standards, the Centurion Marcellus openly renounced his allegiance to the Emperors. “Ex hoc militare IMPERATORIBUS VESTRIS desisto.” From this moment I no longer serve YOUR EMPERORS, are the important words of Marcellus, which his advocate has not thought proper to translate. I again make my appeal to any lawyer, to any military man, Whether, under such circumstances, the pronoun *your* has not a seditious, and even treasonable import? And whether the officer who should make this declaration, and at the same time throw away his sword at the head of the regiment, would not be condemned for mutiny and desertion by any court-martial in Europe? I am the rather disposed to judge favourably of the conduct of the Roman government, as I cannot discover any desire to take advantage of the indiscretion of Marcellus. The commander of the legion seemed to lament that it was not in his power to dissemble this rash action. After a delay of more than three months, the Centurion was examined before the Vice-præfect, his superior judge, who offered him the fairest opportunities of explaining or qualifying his seditious expressions, and at last condemned him to lose his head; not simply because he was a Christian, but because he had violated his military oath, thrown away his belt, and publicly blasphemed the Gods and the Emperors. Perhaps the impartial reader will confirm the sentence of the Vice-præfect Agricola, “Ita se habent facta Marcelli, ut hæc disciplina debeant vindicari.”

Notwithstanding the plainest evidence, Dr. Chelsum will not believe that either Origen in theory, or Marcellus in practice, could seriously object to the use of arms; “because

“ cause it is well known, that, far from declining the business of war altogether, whole legions of Christians served in the Imperial armies*.” I have not yet discovered, in the author or authors of the Remarks, many traces of a clear and enlightened understanding, yet I cannot suppose them so destitute of every reasoning principle, as to imagine that they here allude to the conduct of the Christians who embraced the profession of arms after their religion had obtained a public establishment. Whole legions of Christians served under the banners of Constantine and Justinian, as whole regiments of Christians are now enlisted in the service of France or England. The representation which I had given, was confined to the principles and practice of the church of which Origen and Marcellus were members, before the sense of public and private interest had reduced the lofty standard of evangelical perfection to the ordinary level of human nature. In those primitive times, where are the Christian legions that served in the Imperial armies? Our ecclesiastical Pompeys may stamp with their foot, but no armed men will arise out of the earth, except the ghosts of the Thundering and the Thebæan legions; the former renowned for a miracle, and the latter for a martyrdom. Either the two Protestant Doctors must acquiesce under some imputations which are better understood than expressed, or they must prepare, in the full light and freedom of the eighteenth century, to undertake the defence of two obsolete legions, the least absurd of which staggered the well-disciplined credulity of a Franciscan Friar. (See Pagi Critic. ad Annal. Baronii, A. D. 174. tom. i. p. 168.) Very different was the spirit and taste of the learned and ingenuous Dr. Jortin, who, after treating the silly story of the Thundering Legion with the contempt it deserved, continues in the following words: “ Moyle wishes no greater penance to the believers of the Thundering Legion, than that they may also believe the Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion (Moyle’s Works, vol. ii. p. 103.): to which good wish, I say with Le Clerc (Bibliotheque A. et M. tom. xxvii. p. 193.) AMEN.

“ *Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.*”

(Jortin’s Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 367. 2d Edition, London, 1767.)

Yet I shall not attempt to conceal a formidable army of Christians and even of Martyrs, which is ready to enlist

* Chelsam, p. 113.

under the banners of the confederate Doctors, if they will accept their service. As a specimen of the extravagant legends of the middle age, I had produced the instance of ten thousand Christian soldiers supposed to have been crucified on Mount Ararat, by the order either of Trajan or Hadrian*. For the mention and for the confutation of this story, I had appealed to a papist and a protestant, to the learned Tillemont (Mem. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. part ii. p. 438.), and to the diligent Geddes (Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 203.), and when Tillemont was not afraid to say there are few histories which appear more fabulous, I was not ashamed of dismissing the *fable* with silent contempt. We may trace the degrees of fiction as well as those of credibility, and the impartial critic will not place on the same level the baptism of Philip and the donation of Constantine. But in considering the crucifixion of the ten thousand Christian soldiers, we are not reduced to the necessity of weighing any internal probabilities, or of disproving any external testimonies. This legend, the absurdity of which must strike every *rational* mind, stands naked and unsupported by the authority of any writer who lived within a thousand years of the age of Trajan, and has not been able to obtain the poor sanction of the uncorrupted martyrologies which were framed in the most credulous period of ecclesiastical history. The two Protestant Doctors will probably reject the unsubstantial present which has been offered them; yet there is one of my adversaries, the *anonymous Gentleman*, who boldly declares himself the votary of the ten thousand martyrs, and challenges me “to discredit a FACT which hitherto by many “has been looked upon as well established†.” It is pity that a prudent confessor did not whisper in his ear, that, although the martyrdom of these military Saints, like that of the eleven thousand virgins, may contribute to the edification of the faithful, these wonderful tales should not be rashly exposed to the jealous and inquisitive eye of those profane critics, whose examination always precedes, and sometimes checks, their religious assent.

II. A grave and pathetic complaint is introduced by Dr. Chelsum, into his preface‡, that Mr. Gibbon, who has often referred to the Fathers of the church, seems to have entertained a general distrust of those respectable witnesses. The critic is scandalized at the epithets of scanty and *suspicious*, which are applied to the materials of ecclesiastical history, and if he cannot impeach the truth of the former,

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 74.

† Remarks, p. 65, 66, 67.

‡ P. ii. iii.
he

he censures in the most angry terms the injustice of the latter. He assumes, with peculiar zeal, the defence of Eusebius, the venerable parent of Ecclesiastical History, and labours to rescue his character from the *gross misrepresentation* on which Mr. Gibbon has openly insisted*. He observes, as if he sagaciously foresaw the objection, "That it will not be sufficient here to allege a few instances of ap-
parent credulity in some of the Fathers, in order to fix a general charge of *suspicion* on all." But it *may* be sufficient to allege a clear and fundamental principle of historical as well as legal Criticism, that whenever we are destitute of the means of comparing the testimonies of the opposite parties, the evidence of *any* witness, however illustrious by his rank and titles, is justly to be *suspected* in his own cause. It is unfortunate enough, that I should be engaged with adversaries, whom their habits of study and conversation appear to have left in total ignorance of the principles which universally regulate the opinions and practice of mankind.

As the ancient world was not distracted by the fierce conflicts of hostile sects, the free and eloquent writers of Greece and Rome had few opportunities of indulging their passions, or of exercising their impartiality in the relation of religious events. Since the origin of Theological Factions, some Historians, Ammianus Marcellinus, Fra-Paolo, Thuanus, Hume, and perhaps a few others, have deserved the singular praise of holding the balance with a steady and equal hand. Independent and unconnected, they contemplated with the same indifference, the opinions and interests of the contending parties; or, if they were seriously attached to a particular system, they were armed with a firm and moderate temper, which enabled them to suppress their affections, and to sacrifice their resentments. In this small, but *venerable* Synod of Historians, Eusebius cannot claim a seat. I had acknowledged, and I still think, that his character was less tinged with credulity than that of most of his contemporaries; but as his enemies must admit, that he was sincere and earnest in the profession of Christianity, so the warmest of his admirers, or at least of his readers, must discern, and will probably applaud, the religious zeal which disgraces or adorns every page of his Ecclesiastical History. This laborious and useful work was published at a time, between the defeat of Licinius and the Council of Nice, when the resentment of the Christians was still warm, and when the Pagans were astonished and dismayed by the recent victory and conversion of the great Constantine. The materials, I

* Chelfum and Randolph, p. 220—238.

shall dare to repeat the invidious epithets of scanty and suspicious, were extracted from the accounts which the Christians themselves had given of their *own* sufferings, and of the cruelty of their enemies. The Pagans had so long and so contemptuously neglected the rising greatness of the Church, that the Bishop of Cæsarea had little either to hope or to fear from the writers of the opposite party; almost all of that *little* which did exist, has been accidentally lost, or purposely destroyed; and the candid enquirer may vainly wish to compare with the History of Eusebius, some Heathen narrative of the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of an impartial judge to be counsel for the prisoner, who is incapable of making any defence for himself; and it is the first office of a counsel to examine with distrust and *suspicion* the interested evidence of the accuser. Reason justifies the suspicion, and it is confirmed by the constant experience of modern History, in almost every instance where we have an opportunity of comparing the mutual complaints and apologies of the religious factions, who have disturbed each other's happiness in this world, for the sake of securing it in the next.

As we are deprived of the means of contrasting the adverse relations of the Christians and Pagans; it is the more incumbent on us to improve the opportunities of trying the narratives of Eusebius, by the original, and sometimes occasional, testimonies of the more ancient writers of his own party. Dr. Chelsum * has observed, that the celebrated passage of Origen, which has so much thinned the ranks of the army of Martyrs, must be confined to the persecutions that had already happened. I cannot dispute this sagacious remark, but I shall venture to add, that this passage more immediately relates to the religious tempests which had been excited in the time and country of Origen; and still more particularly to the city of Alexandria, and to the persecution of Severus, in which young Origen successfully exhorted his father, to sacrifice his life and fortune for the cause of Christ. From such unquestionable evidence, I am authorised to conclude, that the number of holy victims who sealed their faith with their blood, was not, on this occasion, very considerable: but I cannot reconcile this fair conclusion with the positive declaration of Eusebius (L. vi. c. 2. p. 258.), that at Alexandria, in the persecution of Severus, an innumerable, at least an indefinite multitude (*μυρίοι*) of Christians were honoured with the crown of Martyrdom. The advocates for Eusebius may exert their critical skill in proving

* Gibbon, p. 653. Chelsum, p. 204—207.

that *μυριοι* and *ολιγοι* many and few, are synonymous and convertible terms, but they will hardly succeed in diminishing so palpable a contradiction, or in removing the suspicion which deeply fixes itself on the historical character of the Bishop of Cæsarea. This unfortunate experiment taught me to read, with becoming caution, the loose and declamatory style which *seems* to magnify the multitude of Martyrs and Confessors, and to aggravate the nature of their sufferings. From the same motives I selected, with careful observation, the more certain account of the number of persons who actually suffered death in the province of Palestine, during the whole eight years of the last and most rigorous persecution.

Besides the reasonable grounds of suspicion, which suggest themselves to every liberal mind, against the credibility of the Ecclesiastical Historians, and of Eusebius, their venerable leader, I had taken notice of two very remarkable passages of the Bishop of Cæsarea. He frankly, or at least indirectly, declares, that in treating of the last persecution, “he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and “suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of Religion*.” Dr. Chelsum, who, on this occasion, most lamentably exclaims that we should hear Eusebius, before we utterly condemn him, has provided, with the assistance of his worthy colleague, an elaborate defence for their common patron; and as if he were secretly conscious of the weakness of the cause, he has contrived the resource of intrenching himself in a very muddy soil, behind three several fortifications, which do not exactly support each other. The advocate for the sincerity of Eusebius maintains: 1st, That he never made such a declaration: 2dly, That he had a right to make it: and, 3dly, That he did not observe it. These separate and almost inconsistent apologies, I shall separately consider.

1. Dr. Chelsum is at a loss how to reconcile,——I beg pardon for weakening the force of his dogmatic style; he declares, that, “It is plainly impossible to reconcile the “express words of the charge exhibited, with any part of “either of the passages appealed to in support of it†.” If he means, as I think he must, that the *express words* of my text cannot be found in that of Eusebius, I congratulate the importance of the discovery. But was it possible? Could it be my design to quote the words of Eusebius, when I reduced into one sentence the spirit and substance of two

* Gibbon, p. 699.

† Chelsum, p. 232.

diffuse and distinct passages? If I have given the true sense and meaning of the Ecclesiastical Historian, I have discharged the duties of a fair Interpreter; nor shall I refuse to rest the proof of my fidelity on the translation of those two passages of Eusebius, which Dr. Chelsum produces in his favour*. “ But it is not our part to describe the sad calamities which at last befel them (the *Christians*), since it does not agree with our plan to relate their dissensions and wickedness before the persecution; on which account we have determined to relate nothing more concerning them than may serve to justify the Divine Judgment. We therefore have not been induced to make mention either of those who were tempted in the persecution, or of those who made utter shipwreck of their salvation, and who were sunk of their own accord in the depths of the storm; but shall only add those things to our General History, which may in the first place be profitable to ourselves, and afterwards to posterity.” In the other passage, Eusebius, after mentioning the dissensions of the Confessors among themselves, again declares that it his intention to pass over all these things. “ Whatsoever things, (continues the Historian, in the words of the Apostle, who was recommending the practice of virtue,) whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise; these things Eusebius thinks most suitable to a History of Martyrs;” of *wonderful* Martyrs, is the splendid epithet which Dr. Chelsum had not thought proper to translate. I should betray a very mean opinion of the judgment and candour of my readers, if I added a single reflection on the clear and obvious tendency of the two passages of the Ecclesiastical Historian. I shall only observe, that the Bishop of Cæsarea seems to have claimed a privilege of a still more dangerous and extensive nature. In one of the most learned and elaborate works that antiquity has left us, the Thirty-second Chapter of the Twelfth Book of his Evangelical Preparation bears for its title this scandalous Proposition, “ How it may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, and for the benefit of those who want to be deceived.”

ΟΤΙ ΔΕΙΧΕΙΣ ΠΩΤΕ Τῷ ΨΕΥΔΕΙ ΑΝΤΙΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΗ ΤΟΙΩΤΗ ΤΡΟΠῃ. (P. 356, Edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris 1544.) In this passage he alleges a passage of Plato, which approves the occasional practice of pious and salutary frauds; nor is Eusebius ashamed to justify the sentiments of the

* Chelsum, p. 228. 231.

Athenian philosopher by the example of the sacred writers of the Old Testament.

2. I had contented myself with observing, that Eusebius had violated one of the fundamental laws of history. *Ne quid veri dicere non audeat*; nor could I imagine, if the *fact* was allowed, that any question could possibly arise upon the matter of *right*. I was indeed mistaken; and I now begin to understand why I have given so little satisfaction to Dr. Chelsum, and to other critics of the same complexion, as our ideas of the duties and the privileges of an historian appear to be so widely different. It is alleged, that "every writer has a right to chuse his subject, for the particular benefit of his reader; that he has explained his own plan consistently; that he considers himself, according to it, not as a complete historian of the times, but rather as a *didactic* writer, whose main object is to make his work, like the Scriptures themselves, PROFITABLE FOR DOCTRINE; that, as he treats only of the affairs of the Church, the plan is at least excusable, perhaps peculiarly proper; and that he has conformed himself to the principal duty of an historian, while, according to his immediate design, he has not particularly related any of the transactions which could tend to the disgrace of religion*." The historian must indeed be generous, who will conceal, by his own disgrace, that of his country, or of his religion. Whatever subject he has chosen, whatever persons he introduces, he owes to himself, to the present age, and to posterity, a just and perfect delineation of all that may be praised, of all that may be excused, and of all that must be censured. If he fails in the discharge of his important office, he partially violates the sacred obligations of truth, and disappoints his readers of the instruction which they might have derived from a fair parallel of the vices and virtues of the most illustrious characters. Herodotus might range without controul in the spacious walks of the Greek and Barbaric domain, and Thucydides might confine his steps to the narrow path of the Peloponnesian war; but those historians would never have deserved the esteem of posterity, if they had designedly suppressed or transiently mentioned those facts which could tend to the disgrace of Greece or of Athens. These unalterable dictates of conscience and reason have been *seldom* questioned, though they have been seldom observed; and we must sincerely join in the honest complaint of Melchior Canus, "that the lives of the philosophers have been com-

* Chelsum, p. 229, 230, 231.

“ posed by Laertius, and those of the Cæsars by Suetonius,
 “ with a much stricter and more severe regard for historic
 “ truth, than can be found in the lives of saints and martyrs,
 “ as they are described by Catholic writers.” (See *Loci*
Communes, L. xi. p. 650, apud Clericum, *Epistol. Critic.*
v. p. 136.) And yet the partial representation of truth is
 of far more pernicious consequence in ecclesiastical, than in
 civil history. If Laertius had concealed the defects of Plato,
 or if Suetonius had disguised the vices of Augustus, we
 should have been deprived of the knowledge of some curious,
 and perhaps instructive, facts, and our idea of those cele-
 brated men might have been more favourable than they de-
 served; but I cannot discover any practical inconveniences
 which could have been the result of our ignorance. But if
 Eusebius had fairly and circumstantially related the scandal-
 ous dissensions of the Confessors; if he had shewn that their
 virtues were tinged with pride and obstinacy, and that
 their lively faith was not exempt from some mixture of en-
 thusiasm; he would have armed his readers against the ex-
 cessive veneration for those holy men, which imperceptibly
 degenerated into religious worship. The success of these
didactic histories, by concealing or palliating every circum-
 stance of human infirmity, was one of the most efficacious
 means of consecrating the memory, the bones, and the writ-
 ings of the saints of the prevailing party; and a great part
 of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome may
 fairly be ascribed to this criminal dissimulation of the ecclesi-
 astical historians. As a Protestant Divine, Dr. Chelsum
 must abhor these corruptions; but as a Christian, he should
 be careful lest his apology for the prudent choice of Euse-
 bius should fix an indirect censure on the unreserved sincerity
 of the four Evangelists. Instead of confining their narra-
 tive to those things which are virtuous and of good report,
 instead of following the plan which is here recommended as
peculiarly proper for the affairs of the Church, the inspired
 writers have thought it their duty to relate the most minute
 circumstances of the fall of St. Peter, without considering
 whether the behaviour of an Apostle, who thrice denied his
 Divine Master, might redound to the honour, or to the dis-
 grace of Christianity. If Dr. Chelsum should be frightened
 by this unexpected consequence, if he should be desirous of
 saving his faith from *utter shipwreck*, by throwing over-
 board the useless lumber of memory and reflection, I am
 not enough his enemy to impede the success of his honest
 endeavours.

The didactic method of writing history was still more profitably exercised by Eusebius in another work, which he has intitled, *The Life of Constantine*, his gracious patron and benefactor. Priests and poets have enjoyed in every age a privilege of flattery; but if the actions of Constantine are compared with the perfect idea of a royal saint, which, under his name, has been delineated by the zeal and gratitude of Eusebius, the most indulgent reader will confess, that when I styled him a *courtly Bishop**, I could only be restrained by my respect for the episcopal character from the use of a much harsher epithet. The other appellations of a *passionate declaimer*, which seems to have sounded still more offensive in the tender ears of Dr. Chelsum †, was not applied by me to Eusebius, but to Lactantius, or rather to the author of the historical declamation, *De mortibus persecutorum*; and indeed it is much more properly adapted to the Rhetorician, than to the Bishop. Each of these authors was alike studious of the glory of Constantine; but each of them directed the torrent of his invectives against the tyrant, whether Maxentius or Licinus, whose recent defeat was the actual theme of popular and Christian applause. This simple observation may serve to extinguish a very trifling objection of my critic, That Eusebius has not represented the tyrant Maxentius under the character of a Persecutor.

Without scrutinizing the considerations of interest which might support the integrity of Baronius and Tillemont, I may fairly observe, that both those learned Catholics have acknowledged and condemned the dissimulation of Eusebius, which is partly denied, and partly justified, by my adversary. The honourable reflection of Baronius well deserves to be transcribed. “*Hæc (the passages already quoted) de suo in conscribendâ persecutionis historia Eusebius; parum explens numeros sui munëris; dum perinde ac si panegyrim scriberet non historiam, triumphos dumtaxat martyrum atque victorias, non autem lapsus jacturamque fidelium posteris scripturæ monumentis curaret.*” (Baron Annal. Ecclesiast. A. D. 302, No. 11. See likewise Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 62, 156; tom. vii. p. 130.) In a former instance, Dr. Chelsum appeared to be more credulous than a Monk: on the present occasion, he has shewn himself less sincere than a Cardinal, and more obstinate than a Jansenist.

3. Yet the advocate for Eusebius has still another expedient in reserve. Perhaps he made the unfortunate decla-

* Gibbon, p. 704.

† Chelsum, p. 234.

ration of his partial design, perhaps he had a right to make it; but at least his accuser must admit, that he has saved his honour by not keeping his word; since I myself have taken notice of THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES among the Christians so FORCIBLY LAMENTED by Eusebius*. He has indeed indulged himself in a strain of loose and indefinite censure, which may generally be just, and which cannot be personally offensive, which is alike incapable of wounding or of correcting, as it seems to have no fixed object or certain aim. Juvenal might have read his satire against women in a circle of Roman ladies, and each of them might have listened with pleasure to the amusing description of the various vices and follies, from which she herself was so perfectly free. The moralist, the preacher, the ecclesiastical historian, enjoy a still more ample latitude of invective; and as long as they abstain from any particular censure, they may securely expose, and even exaggerate, the sins of the multitude. The precepts of Christianity seem to inculcate a style of mortification, of abasement, of self-contempt; and the hypocrite who aspires to the reputation of a saint, often finds it convenient to affect the language of a penitent. I should doubt whether Dr. Chelsum is much acquainted with the comedies of Moliere. If he has ever read that inimitable master of human life, he may recollect whether Tartuffe was very much inclined to confess his real guilt, when he exclaimed,

*Oui, mon frere, je suis un mechant, un coupable;
Un malheureux pécheur, tout plein d'iniquité;
Le plus grand scélérat qui ait jamais été.
Chaque instant de ma vie est chargé de souillures,
Elle n'est qu'un amas de crimes et d'ordures.*

.

*Oui, mon cher fils, parlez, traitez moi de perfide,
D'infame, de perdu, de voleur, d'homicide;
Accablez moi de noms encore plus détestés:
Je n'y contredis point, je les ai mérités,
Et j'en veux à genoux souffrir l'ignominie,
Comme une honte due aux crimes de ma vie.*

It is not my intention to compare the character of Tartuffe with that of Eusebius; the former pointed his invectives against

* Chelsum, p. 226, 227.

himself, the latter directed them against the times in which he had lived: but as the prudent Bishop of Cæsarea did not specify any place or person for the object of his censure, he cannot justly be accused, even by his friends, of violating the *profitable* plan of his *didactic* history.

The extreme caution of Eusebius, who declines any mention of those who were tempted and who fell during the persecution, has countenanced a suspicion that he himself was one of those unhappy victims, and that his tenderness for the wounded fame of his brethren arose from a just apprehension of his own disgrace. In one of my notes *, I had observed, that he was charged with the guilt of some criminal compliances, in his own presence, and in the Council of Tyre. I am therefore accountable for the reality only, and not for the truth of the accusation: but as the two Doctors, who on this occasion unite their forces, are angry and clamorous in asserting the innocence of the Ecclesiastical Historian †, I shall advance one step farther, and shall maintain, that the charge against Eusebius, though not legally proved, is supported by a reasonable share of presumptive evidence.

I have often wondered why our orthodox Divines should be so earnest and zealous in the defence of Eusebius; whose moral character cannot be preserved, unless by the sacrifice of a more illustrious, and, as I really believe, of a more innocent victim. Either the Bishop of Cæsarea, on a very important occasion, violated the laws of Christian charity and civil justice, or we must fix a charge of calumny, almost of forgery, on the head of the great Athanasius, the standard-bearer of the Homoeousian cause, and the firmest pillar of the Catholic faith. In the Council of Tyre, he was accused of murdering, or at least of mutilating a Bishop, whom he produced at Tyre alive and unhurt (Athanas. tom. i. p. 783. 786.); and of sacrilegiously breaking a consecrated chalice, in a village where neither church, nor altar, nor chalice, could possibly have existed. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 731, 732. 802.) Notwithstanding the clearest proofs of his innocence, Athanasius was oppressed by the Arian faction; and Eusebius of Cæsarea, the venerable father of Ecclesiastical history, conducted this iniquitous prosecution from a motive of personal enmity. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 728. 795. 797.) Four years afterwards, a national council of the Bishops of Egypt, forty-nine of whom had been present at the Synod of Tyre, addressed an epistle or manifesto in favour of Athanasius to all

* Gibbon, p. 699. N. 178. † Chelsum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.

the Bishops of the Christian world. In this epistle they assert, that some of the Confessors, who accompanied them to Tyre, had accused Eusebius of Cæsarea of an act relative to idolatrous sacrifice. *ἐκ Εὐσεβίου ὁ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπὶ Δυσίᾳ κατηγορεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν συν ἡμῖν ὁμολογῶντων.* (Athanaf. tom. i. p. 728.) Besides this short and authentic memorial, which escaped the knowledge or the candour of our confederate Doctors, a consonant but more circumstantial narrative of the accusation of Eusebius may be found in the writings of Epiphanius (Hæref. lxviii. p. 723, 724.), the learned Bishop of Salamis, who was born about the time of the Synod of Tyre. He relates, that, in one of the sessions of the Council, Potamon Bishop of Heraclea in Egypt, addressed Eusebius in the following words: "How now, Eusebius, can this be borne, that you should be seated as a judge, while the innocent Athanasius is left standing as a criminal? Tell me, continued Potamon, were we not in prison together during the persecution? For my own part, I lost an eye for the sake of the truth; but I cannot discern that *you* have lost any one of your members. You bear not any marks of your sufferings for Jesus Christ; but here you are, full of life, and with all the parts of your body sound and entire. How could you contrive to escape from prison, unless you stained your conscience, either by actual guilt or by a criminal promise to our persecutors?" Eusebius immediately broke up the meeting, and discovered, by his anger, that he was confounded or provoked by the reproaches of the Confessor Potamon.

I should despise myself, if I were capable of magnifying, for a present occasion, the authority of the witnesses whom I have produced. Potamon was most assuredly actuated by a strong prejudice against the personal enemy of his Primate; and if the transaction to which he alluded had been of a private and doubtful kind, I would not take any ungenerous advantage of the respect which my reverend adversaries must entertain for the character of a Confessor. But I cannot distrust the veracity of Potamon, when he confined himself to the assertion of a fact, which lay within the compass of his personal knowledge: and collateral testimony (see Photius, p. 296, 297) attests, that Eusebius was long enough in prison to assist his friend, the Martyr Pamphilus, in composing the first five books of his Apology for Origen. If we admit that Eusebius was imprisoned, he must have been discharged, and his discharge must have been either honourable, or criminal, or innocent. If his patience vanquished the cruelty of the Tyrant's ministers, a short relation of his own confession and sufferings would have formed an useful and edifying

edifying chapter in his Didactic History of the persecution of Palestine ; and the reader would have been satisfied of the veracity of an historian who valued truth above his life. If it had been in his power to justify, or even to excuse, the manner of his discharge from prison, it was his interest, it was his duty, to prevent the doubts and suspicions which must arise from his silence under these delicate circumstances. Notwithstanding these urgent reasons, Eusebius has observed a profound, and perhaps a prudent silence : though he frequently celebrates the merit and martyrdom of his friend Pamphilus (p. 371. 394. 419. 42~. Edit. Cantab.), he never insinuates that he was his companion in prison ; and while he copiously describes the eight years persecution in Palestine, he never represents himself in any other light than that of a spectator. Such a conduct in a writer, who relates with a visible satisfaction the honourable events of his own life, if it be not absolutely considered as an evidence of conscious guilt, must excite, and may justify, the suspicions of the most candid critic.

Yet the firmness of Dr. Randolph is not shaken by these rational suspicions ; and he condescends, in a magisterial tone, to inform me, “ That it is highly improbable, from “ the general well-known decision of the Church in such “ cases, that had his apostasy been known, he would have “ risen to those high honours which he attained, or been “ admitted at all indeed to any other than lay-communion.” This weighty objection did not surprise me, as I had already seen the substance of it in the Prolegomena of Valesius ; but I safely disregarded a difficulty which had not appeared of any moment to the nation council of Egypt ; and I still think that an hundred Bishops, with Athanasius at their head, were as competent judges of the discipline of the fourth century, as even the Lady Margaret’s Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. As a work of supererogation, I have consulted, however, the Antiquities of Bingham (See L. iv. c. iii. f. 6, 7. vol. i. p. 144, &c. fol. edit.), and found, as I expected, that much real learning had made him cautious and modest. After a careful examination of the facts and authorities already known to me, and of those with which I was supplied by the diligent antiquarian, I am persuaded that the theory and the practice of discipline were not invariably the same, that particular examples cannot always be reconciled with general rules, and that the stern laws of justice often yielded to motives of policy and convenience. The temper of Jerom towards those whom he considered as heretics, was fierce and unforgiving ; yet the Dialogue of Jerom against the Luciferians, which I have

read with infinite pleasure (tom. ii. p. 135—147. Edit. Basil. 1536.), is the seasonable and dextrous performance of a statesman, who felt the expediency of soothing and reconciling a numerous party of offenders. The most rigid discipline, with regard to the ecclesiastics who had fallen in time of persecution, is expressed in the 10th Canon of the Council of Nice; the most remarkable indulgence was shewn by the Fathers of the same Council to the *lapsed*, the degraded, the schismatic Bishop of Lycopolis. Of the penitent sinners, some might escape the shame of a public conviction or confession, and others might be exempted from the rigour of clerical punishment. If Eusebius incurred the guilt of a sacrilegious promise, (for we are free to accept the milder alternative of Potamon,) the proofs of this criminal transaction might be suppressed by the influence of money or favour; a seasonable journey into Egypt might allow time for the popular rumours to subside. The crime of Eusebius might be protected by the impunity of many Episcopal Apostates (See Philostorg. L. ii. c. 15. p. 21. Edit. Gothofred.); and the governors of the church very reasonably desired to retain in their service the most learned Christian of the age.

Before I return these sheets to the press, I must not forget an anonymous pamphlet, which, under the title of *A Few Remarks*, &c. was published against my History in the course of last summer. The unknown writer has thought proper to distinguish himself by the emphatic, yet vague, appellation of A GENTLEMAN: but I must lament that he has not considered, with becoming attention, the duties of that respectable character. I am ignorant of the motives which can urge a man of a liberal mind, and liberal manners, to attack without provocation, and without tenderness, any work which may have contributed to the information, or even to the amusement of the Public. But I am well convinced that the author of such a work, who boldly gives his name and labours to the world, imposes on his adversaries the fair and honourable obligation of encountering him in open day-light, and of supporting the weight of their assertions by the credit of their names. The effusions of wit, or the productions of reason, may be accepted from a secret and unknown hand. The critic who attempts to injure the reputation of another, by strong imputations which may possibly be false, should renounce the ungenerous hope of concealing behind a mask the vexation of disappointment, and the guilty blush of detection.

After this remark, which I cannot make without some degree of concern, I shall frankly declare, that it is not my
 wish

wish or my intention to prosecute with this *Gentleman* a literary altercation. There lies between us a broad and unfathomable gulph; and the heavy mist of prejudice and superstition, which has in a great measure been dispelled by the free inquiries of the present age, still continues to involve the mind of my adversary. He fondly embraces those phantoms (for instance, an imaginary Pilate*,) which can scarcely find a shelter in the gloom of an Italian convent; and the resentment which he points against me, might frequently be extended to the most enlightened of the PROTESTANT, or, in his opinion, of the HERETICAL critics. His observations are divided into a number of unconnected paragraphs, each of which contains some quotation from my History, and the angry, yet commonly trifling, expression of his disapprobation and displeasure. Those sentiments I cannot hope to remove; and as the religious opinions of this *Gentleman* are principally founded on the infallibility of the Church†, they are not calculated to make a very deep impression on the mind of the English reader. The view of *facts* will be materially affected by the contagious influence of *doctrines*. The man who refuses to judge of the conduct of Lewis XIV. and Charles V. towards their Protestant subjects‡, declares himself incapable of distinguishing the limits of persecution and toleration. The devout Papist, who has implored on his knees the intercession of St. Cyprian, will seldom presume to examine the actions of the Saint by the rules of historical evidence and of moral propriety. Instead of the homely likeness which I had exhibited of the Bishop of Carthage, my adversary has substituted a life of Cyprian§, full of what the French call *onction*, and the English, *canting* (See Jortin's Remarks, Vol. ii. p. 239.): to which I can only reply, that those who are dissatisfied with the principles of Mosheim and Le Clerc, *must* view with eyes very different from mine, the Ecclesiastical History of the third century.

It would be an *endless* discussion (*endless* in every sense of the word) were I to examine the cavils which start up and expire in every page of this criticism, on the inexhaustible topic of opinions, characters, and intentions. Most of the instances which are here produced are of so brittle a substance, that they fall in pieces as soon as they are touched: and I searched for some time before I was able to discover an example of some moment where the *Gentleman* had fairly staked his veracity against some positive fact asserted in the Two last Chapters of my History. At last I perceived that

* Remarks, p. 100. † Id. p. 15. ‡ Id. p. 111. § Id. p. 72—88.

he has absolutely denied * that any thing can be gathered from the Epistles of St. Cyprian, or from his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, to which I had referred, to justify my account of the spiritual pride and licentious manners of some of the confessors†. As the *numbers* of the Epistles are not the same in the edition of Pamelius and in that of Fell, the critic may be excused for mistaking my quotations, if he will acknowledge that he was ignorant of ecclesiastical history, and that he never heard of the troubles excited by the spiritual pride of the Confessors, who usurped the privilege of giving letters of communion to penitent sinners. But my reference to the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* was clear and direct; the treatise itself contains only ten pages, and the following words might be distinctly read by any person who understood the Latin language. “Nec quîquam
 “miretur, dilectissimi fratres, etiam de confessoribus quos-
 “dam ad ista procedere, inde quoque aliquos tam nefanda
 “tam gravia peccare. Neque enim confessio immunem
 “facit ab insidiis diaboli; aut contra tentationes, et pericula,
 “et incurfus atque impetus seculares adhuc in seculo posi-
 “tum perpetuâ securitate defendit: ceterum nunquam in
 “confessoribus, *fraudes*, et *supra*, et *adulteria* postmodum
 “videremus, quæ nunc in quibusdam videntes ingemiscimus
 “et dolemus.” This formal declaration of Cyprian, which is followed by several long periods of admonition and censure, is alone sufficient to expose the scandalous vices of some of the Confessors, and the disingenuous behaviour of my concealed adversary.

After this example, which I have fairly chosen as one of the most specious and important of his objections, the candid Reader would excuse me, if from this moment I declined *the Gentleman's* acquaintance. But as two topics have occurred, which are intimately connected with the subject of the preceding sheets, I have inserted each of them in its proper place, as the conclusion of the fourth article of my answers to Mr. Davis, and of the first article of my reply to the confederate Doctors, Chellum and Randolph.

It is not without some mixture of mortification and regret, that I now look back to the number of hours which I have consumed, and the number of pages which I have filled, in vindicating my literary and moral character from the charge of wilful *misrepresentations*, gross *errors*, and servile *plagiarisms*. I cannot derive any triumph or consolation from the occasional advantages which I may have gained over three adversaries, whom it is impossible for me

* Remarks, p. 90, 91.

† Gibbon, p. 661. Note 91.

to consider as objects either of terror or of esteem. The spirit of repentment, and every other lively sensation, have long since been extinguished; and the pen would long since have dropped from my weary hand, had I not been supported in the execution of this ungrateful task, by the consciousness, or at least by the opinion, that I was discharging a debt of honour to the Public and to myself. I am impatient to dismiss, and to dismiss FOR EVER, this odious controversy, with the success of which I cannot surely be elated; and I have only to request, that, as soon as my readers are convinced of my innocence, they would forget my Vindication.

BENTINCK-STREET,
February 3, 1779.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

☞ *The following Letter, without any address to it, was found with the Manuscript of the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick: there can be little doubt of its being the Copy of a Letter to M. LANGER, Librarian to the Ducal Library of Wolfenbittel; and it is here inserted as relating to them.*

A ROLLE, ce 12 Octobre 1790.

JE vous aurois plutôt remercié, Monsieur, des soins obligeans que vous avez bien voulu vous donner pour me procurer les *Origines Guelficæ*, si d'un côté notre honnête libraire M. Pott ne m'avoit pas appris que vous étiez en voyage, si de l'autre je n'avois pas été moi-même en proie à l'accès de goutte le plus rigoureux et le plus long que j'aye encore éprouvé. Nous revoici à présent dans notre état ordinaire ; je marche, et vous ne courez plus. Je vous suppose bien établi, bien enforcé dans votre immense bibliothèque. Votre curiosité, peut-être votre amitié, désirera de connoître mes amusemens, mes travaux, mes projets pendant les deux ans qui se sont écoulés depuis la dernière publication de mon grand ouvrage. Aux questions indiscrettes qu'on se permet trop souvent vis-à-vis de moi, je réponds avec une mine renfrognée et une manière vague ; mais je ne veux rien avoir de caché pour vous, et pour imiter la franchise que vous aimez, je vous avouerai naturellement que ma confiance est fondée en partie sur le besoin que j'aurai de votre secours. Après mon retour d'Angleterre, les premiers mois ont été consacrés à la jouissance de ma liberté et de ma bibliothèque, et vous ne ferez pas étonné si j'ai

Mr. GIBBON to Mr. LANGER.

SIR,

ROLLE, 12th October 1790.

I SHOULD have acknowledged sooner your kindness in procuring for me the *Origines Guelficæ*, if I had not been told by our obliging bookseller, Mr. Pott, that you were on a journey, while I myself was confined with the longest and most severe fit of the gout that I ever experienced. But we are now, both of us, restored to our ordinary state ; I can walk, and you no longer travel post. I suppose by this time you are thoroughly established, and deeply immured in your immense library. Your curiosity, perhaps your friendship, will desire to know what have been my amusements, labours, and projects, during the two years that have elapsed since the last publication of my great work. To indiscreet questions on this subject, with which I am often teased, I answer vaguely or peevishly ; but from you I would keep nothing concealed ; and to imitate the frankness in which you so much delight, will freely confess, that I more readily trust you with my secret, because I greatly need your assistance. After returning from England, the first months were spent in the enjoyment of my liberty
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j'ai renouvelé une connoissance familière avec nos auteurs Grecs, si j'ai fait vœu de leur réserver tous les jours une portion de mon loisir. Je passe sous silence ces tristes momens dans lesquels je n'ai été occupé qu'à soigner et pleurer mon ami ; mais dèsque j'ai commencé à me retrouver un esprit moins agité, j'ai cherché à me donner quelque distraction plus forte et plus intéressante que la simple lecture. Le souvenir de ma servitude de vingt ans m'a cependant effrayé, et je me suis bien promis de ne plus m'embarquer dans une entreprise de longue haleine que je n'acheverois vraisemblablement jamais. Il vaut bien mieux, me suis je dit, choisir dans tous les pays et dans tous les siècles, des morceaux historiques que je traiterai séparément suivant leur nature et selon mon goût. Lorsque ces opuscules (je pourrai les nommer en Anglois *Historical Excursions*) me fourniront un volume, je les donnerai au Public : ce don pourroit être renouvelé jusqu'à ce que nous soyons fatigués, ou ce Public ou moi même : mais chaque volume, complet par lui même, n'exigera point de suite, et au lieu d'être borné comme la diligence au grand chemin, je me promènerai librement dans le champ de l'histoire, en m'arrêtant partout où je trouverai des points de vue agréables. Dans ce projet je ne vois qu'un inconvénient, un objet intéressant s'étend et s'agrandit sous le travail : je pourrois être entraîné au delà de mes bornes, mais je serai doucement entraîné sans prévoyance et sans contrainte.

Mes

and my library ; and you will not be surpris'd that I should have renewed my familiar acquaintance with the Greek authors, and vowed to consecrate to them daily a portion of my leisure. I pass over in silence the sad hours employed in the care of my friend, and in lamentation for his loss. When the agitation of my mind abated, I endeavoured to find out for myself some occupation more interesting and more invigorating than mere reading can afford. But the remembrance of a servitude of twenty years frightened me from again engaging in a long undertaking, which I might probably never finish. It would be better, I thought, to select from the historical monuments of all ages, and all nations, such subjects as might be treated separately, both agreeably to their own nature, as well as to my taste. When these little works, which might be entitled *Historical Excursions*, amounted to a volume, I would offer it to the Public ; and the present might be repeated, until either the Public or myself were tired ; for as each volume would be complete in itself, no continuation would be requisite ; and instead of being obliged to follow, like the stage coach, the high road, I would expatiate at large in the field of history, stopping to admire every beautiful prospect that opened to my view. One inconvenience, indeed, attends this design. An important subject grows and expands with the labour bestowed on it. I might thus be carried beyond my prescribed bounds ; but I should be carried gently, without foresight and without constraint.

This

Mes soupçons ont été vérifiés dans le choix de ma première *excursion*, et ce choix vous expliquera pourquoi j'ai demandé avec tant d'empressement les *Origines Guelphicæ*. Dans mon Histoire j'avois rendu compte de deux alliances illustres, d'un fils du Marquis Azo d'Este avec une fille de Robert Guiscard, d'une princesse de Brunswick avec l'empereur Grec. Un premier apperçu de l'antiquité et de la grandeur de la maison de Brunswick, a excité ma curiosité, et j'ai cru pouvoir intéresser les deux nations que j'estime le plus par les mémoires d'une famille qui est sortie de l'un pour regner sur l'autre. Mes recherches, en me dévoilant la beauté de ce sujet, m'en ont fait voir l'étendue et la difficulté. L'origine des Marquis de Ligurie, et peut être de Toscane, a été suffisamment éclaircie par Muratori et Leibnitz; l'Italie du moyen age, son histoire et ses monumens, me sont très connus, et je ne suis pas mécontent de ce que j'ai déjà écrit sur la branche cadette d'Este, qui est demeuré fidelle à garder ses cendres casanières. Les anciens Guelphs ne me sont point étrangers, et je me crois en état de rendre compte de la puissance et de la chute de leurs héritiers, les Ducs de Bavières et de Saxe. La succession de la Maison de Brunswick au trône de la Grande Bretagne sera très assurément la partie la plus intéressante de mon travail; mais tous les matériaux se trouvent dans ma langue, et un Anglois devoit rougir s'il n'avoit pas approfondi l'histoire moderne et la constitution actuelle de son pays.

Mais

This suspicion was justified in my first excursion, the subject of which will explain the reason why I was so earnest to procure the *Origines Guelphicæ*. In my History, I had given an account of two illustrious marriages; the first, of the son of Azo, Marquis of Este, with the daughter of Robert Guiscard; and the second, of a Princess of Brunswick with the Greek Emperor. The first view of the antiquity and grandeur of the House of Brunswick excited my curiosity, and made me think that the two nations, whom I esteem the most, might be entertained by the history of a family, which sprung from the one, and reigns over the other. But my researches showed me not only the beauty, but the extent and difficulty of my subject. Muratori and Leibnitz have sufficiently explained the origin of the Marquisses of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuscany: I am well acquainted with the history and monuments of Italy during the middle ages; and I am not satisfied with what I have already written concerning that branch of the family of Este, which continued to reside in its hereditary possessions. I am not unacquainted with the ancient Guelphs, nor incapable of giving an account of the power and downfall of their heirs, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. The succession of the House of Brunswick to the Crown of great Britain will doubtless form the most interesting part of my narrative; but the authors on this subject are in English; and it would be unpardonable in a Briton not to have studied the modern history and present constitution of his country. But there is an interval of four hundred

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Mais entre le premier Duc et le premier Electeur de Brunswick, il se trouve un intervalle de quatre cent cinquante ans. Je suis condamné à suivre dans les ténèbres un sentier étroit et raboteux, et les divisions, les sous-divisions de tant de branches et de territoires, répandent sur ce sentier la confusion d'un labyrinthe généalogique. Les évènements sans éclat et sans liaison, sont bornés à un province d'Allemagne, et ce n'est que vers la fin de ce période que je serois un peu ranimé par la réformation, la guerre de trente ans, et la nouvelle puissance de l'Electorat. Comme je me propose de crayonner des mémoires, et non pas de composer une histoire, je marcherois sans doute d'un pas rapid, je présenterois des resultats plutôt que des faits, des observations plutôt que des recits : mais vous sentez combien un tableau général exige de connoissances particulières, combien l'auteur doit être plus savant que son livre. Or cet auteur il est à deux cent lieues de la Saxe, il ignore la langue, et il ne s'est jamais appliqué à l'histoire de l'Allemagne. Eloigne des sources, il ne lui reste qu'un seul moyen pour les faire couler dans sa bibliotheque. C'est de se ménager sur les lieux mêmes un correspondant exact, un guide éclairé, un oracle enfin qu'il puisse consulter dans tous ses besoins. Par votre caractère, votre esprit, vos lumières, votre position, vous êtes cet homme précieux et unique, que je cherche ; et quand vous m'indiqueriez un *suppléant* aussi capable que vous même, je ne m'adresserois pas avec
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and fifty years between the first Duke of Brunswick and the first Elector of that family ; and the design of my work compels me to follow in obscurity a rough and narrow path ; where, by the division and subdivision of so many branches and so many territories, I shall be involved in the mazes of a genealogical labyrinth. The events, which are destitute of connection as well as of splendour, are confined to a single province of Germany ; and I must have reached near the end of the period, before my subject will be enlivened by the reformation of religion, the war of thirty years, and the new power acquired by the Electorate. As it is my purpose, rather to sketch memoirs than to write history, my narrative must proceed with rapidity ; and contain rather results than facts—rather reflexions than details ; but you are aware how much particular knowledge is requisite for this general description, the author of which ought to be far more learned than his work. Unfortunately, this author resides at the distance of two hundred leagues from Saxony ; he knows not the language, and has never made the history, of Germany his particular study. Thus remote from the sources of information, he can think of only one channel by which they may be made to flow into his library ; which is, by finding in the country itself an accurate correspondent, an enlightened guide, in one word, an oracle, whom he may consult in every difficulty. Your learning and character, as well as your abilities and situation, singularly qualify you for gratifying my wishes ; and should you point out to me a substitute equally well qualified with yourself, yet I could not have equal confidence
in

la même confiance à un étranger. Je vous accablerois librement de questions, et de nouvelles questions naîtroient souvent de vos reponses ; je vous prierois de fouiller dans votre vaste dépôt ; je vous demanderois des livres, des extraits, des traductions, des renseignemens sur tous les objets qui peuvent intéresser mon travail. Mais j'ignore si vous êtes disposé à sacrifier votre loisir, vos études chéries, à un correspondance pénible, sans agremens et sans gloire. Je me flatte que vous seriez quelque chose pour moi, vous seriez davantage pour l'honneur de la Maison à laquelle vous êtes attaché ; mais suis-je en droit de supposer que mes écrits puissent contribuer à son honneur ?—J'attends, Monsieur, votre réponse ; qu'elle soit prompte et franche ; si vous daignez vous associer à mon entreprise, je vous enverrai sur le champ mon premier interrogatoire ; votre refus me décideroit à renoncer à mon dessein, ou du moins à lui donner une nouvelle forme. J'ose en même tems vous demander un profond secret : un mot indiscret seroit répété par cent bouches, et j'aurois le désagrément de voir dans les journaux, et bientôt dans les papiers Anglois, une annonce, peut être défigurée, de mes projets littéraires qui ne sont confiés qu'à vous seul.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

in the assistance of a person unknown to me. I would teaze you with questions, and new questions would often be suggested by your answers ; I would request you to ransack your vast library, and to supply me with books, extracts, translations, and information of every kind, conducive to the undertaking. But I know not how far you are inclined to sacrifice your leisure and your favourite studies to a laborious correspondence, which promises neither fame nor pleasure. I flatter myself, you would do something to oblige me ; you would do more for the honour of the Family with which you are connected by your employment. But what title have I to suppose that any work of mine can contribute to its honour ? I expect, Sir, your answer ; and request that it may be speedy and frank. Should you condescend to assist my labours, I will immediately send you some interrogatories. Your refusal, on the other hand, will make me lay aside the design, or at least oblige me to give it a new form. I venture, at the same time, to entreat that the subject of this letter may remain a profound secret. An indiscreet word would be repeated by an hundred mouths ; and I should have the uneasiness of seeing in the foreign journals, and soon afterwards in the English newspapers, an account, and that, perhaps, an unfaithful one, of my literary projects, the secret of which I entrust to you alone.

A N T I Q U I T I E S

O F T H E

H O U S E O F B R U N S W I C K .

C H A P. I. S E C T. I.

AN English subject may be prompted, by a just and liberal curiosity, to investigate the origin and story of the House of Brunswick, which, after an alliance with the daughters of our kings, has been called by the voice of a free people to the legal inheritance of the Crown. From George the First and his father, the first Elector of Hanover, we ascend, in a clear and regular series, to the first Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, who received his investiture from Frederick the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century. If these ample possessions had been the gift of the Emperor to some adventurous soldier, to some faithful client, we might be content with the antiquity and lustre of a noble race, which had been enrolled nearly six hundred years among the Princes of Germany. But our ideas are raised, and our prospect is opened, by the discovery, that the first Duke of Brunswick was rather degraded than adorned by his new title, since it imposed the duties of feudal service on the free and patrimonial estate, which alone had been saved in the shipwreck of the more splendid fortunes of his House. His ancestors had been invested with the powerful Duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, which extended far beyond their limits in modern geography: from the Baltic Sea to the confines of Rome they were obeyed, or respected, or feared; in the quarrel of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former appellation was derived from the name of their progenitors in the female line. But the genuine masculine descent of the Princes of Brunswick must be explored beyond the Alps: the venerable tree, which has since overshadowed Germany and Britain, was planted in the Italian soil. As far as our sight can reach, we discern the first founders of the race in the Marquisses of Este, of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuscany. In the eleventh century, the primitive stem was divided into two branches; the elder migrated to the banks of the Danube and the Elbe; the younger more humbly adhered to the neighbourhood

neighbourhood of the Adriatic: the Dukes of Brunswick and the Kings of Great Britain are the descendants of the first; the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena were the offspring of the second.

This short review may explain and justify the threefold division of these Memoirs, which appropriates a separate book to—I. THE ITALIAN DESCENT; II. THE GERMAN REIGN; and III. THE BRITISH SUCCESSION of the House of Brunswick. The obscure interval, from the first Duke to the first Elector, will be connected on either side with the more splendid scenes of their ancient and modern history. The comparative date and dignity of their pedigree will be fixed by a fair parallel with the most illustrious families of Europe. Even the flowers of fiction, so profusely scattered over the cradle of the Princes of Este, disclose a remote and decreasing light, which is finally lost in the darkness of the fabulous age. But it will be prudent, before we listen to the rude or refined tales of invention, to erect a strong and substantial edifice of truth on the learned labours of Leibnitz and Muratori.

The genius and studies of Leibnitz have ranked his name with the first philosophic names of his age and country; but his reputation, perhaps, would be more pure and permanent, if he had not ambitiously grasped the whole circle of human science. As a theologian, he successively contended with the sceptics, who believe too little, and with papists, who believe too much, and with the heretics, who believe otherwise than is inculcated by the Lutheran confession of Augsburgh. Yet the Philosopher betrayed his love of union and toleration: his faith in Revelation was accused, while he proved the Trinity by the principles of logic; and in the defence of the attributes and providence of the Deity, he was suspected of a secret correspondence with his adversary Bayle. The metaphysician expatiated in the fields of air: his pre-established harmony of the soul and body might have provoked the jealousy of Plato; and his optimism, the best of all possible worlds, seems an idea too vast for a mortal mind. He was a *Physician*, in the large and genuine sense of the word: like his brethren, he amused himself with creating a globe; and his *Protogæa*, or Primitive Earth, has not been useless to the last hypothesis of Buffon, which prefers the agency of fire to that of water. I am not worthy to praise the *Mathematician*: but his name is mingled in all the problems and discoveries of the times; the masters of the art were his rivals or disciples; and if he borrowed from Sir Isaac Newton the sublime method of fluxions, Leibnitz was at least the Prometheus

Prometheus who imparted to mankind the sacred fire which he had stolen from the gods. His curiosity extended to every branch of chemistry, mechanics, and the arts; and the thirst of knowledge was always accompanied with the spirit of improvement. The vigour of his youth had been exercised in the schools of *jurisprudence*; and while he taught, he aspired to reform, the laws of nature and nations, of Rome and Germany. The annals of Brunswick, of the empire, of the ancient and modern world, were present to the mind of the *Historian*; and he could turn from the solution of a problem, to the dusty parchments and barbarous style of the records of the middle age. His genius was more nobly directed to investigate the origin of languages and nations; nor could he assume the character of a *Grammarian*, without forming the project of an universal idiom and alphabet. These various studies were often interrupted by the occasional *politics* of the times; and his pen was always ready in the cause of the Princes and patrons to whose service he was attached: many hours were consumed in a learned correspondence with all Europe: and the Philosopher amused his leisure in the composition of French and Latin *poetry*. Such an example may display the extent and powers of the human understanding, but even *his* powers were dissipated by the multiplicity of his pursuits. He attempted more than he could finish; he designed more than he could execute: his imagination was too easily satisfied with a bold and rapid glance on the subject which he was impatient to leave; and Leibnitz may be compared to those heroes, whose empire has been lost in the ambition of universal conquest.

When he was about thirty years of age, (1676,) the merit of Leibnitz was discovered and adopted by the Dukes of Hanover, at whose court he spent the last forty years of his life, in free and honourable service. In this station he soon became the author, or at least the architect of a monument, which they were ambitious of raising to the glory of their name. With the view of preparing the most authentic documents for the History of the House of Brunswick, he travelled over the provinces of Germany and Italy, their ancient seats. In this learned pilgrimage, he consulted the living and the dead, explored the libraries, the archives, the monasteries, and even the tombs, and diligently collected or copied the books, the manuscripts, and the charters of every age. As the curiosity of the Historian had not been limited to the proper bounds of his subject, the various treasures which he had imported were published in several volumes, with as much speed and care as the multitude of his avocations would allow; and it may be

deemed either a praise or a reproach, that the raw materials are often less valuable than the observations and prefaces of the editor himself. In the year 1695, the nuptials of the Prince of Modena with a Princess of Hanover engaged him to dispel the errors and fables of preceding genealogists, and to restore the true connection of the kindred branches, which were thus united, after a separation of more than six hundred years. This occasional pamphlet was designed as the prelude of the great Latin work which he meditated on the Brunswick Antiquities. With a genius accustomed to draw lines of communication between the most distant sciences, he traced, in his Introduction, the revolutions of the country and its inhabitants; of the country, from the natural remains of fossils and petrefactions; of the inhabitants, from the national vestiges of language and manners. The story of a province and of a family swelled, in his capacious mind, into the annals of the western empire: the origins of the Guelphs of Bavaria, and the Marquisses of Este, would have been interwoven in their proper place; and the narrative would have been deduced from the reign of Charlemagne (A. D. 769.) to the last Emperor of the Saxon line (1025). But the term of an antediluvian life would have been scarcely adequate to the labours and projects of Leibnitz: the imperfect manuscript of his Annals were buried in the Library of Hanover; and the impression, though long since promised, is still refused to the curiosity of the Public. But the ideas and papers of that great man were freely communicated to his disciple and successor Eccard, and the researches more particularly belonging to the House of Brunswick have formed the basis of the *Origines Guelphicæ*, which were compiled by the industrious historiographer. The rashness of Eccard, who changed his service and religion, condemned his work, till envy and malevolence had subsided, to a long oblivion; nor was it till many years after his decease that the *Origines Guelphicæ* were printed in five volumes in folio, by the care of the Electoral Librarians. The hands of the several workmen are apparent; the bold and original spirit of Leibnitz, the crude erudition and hasty conjectures of Eccard, the useful annotations of Gruber, and the critical disquisitions of Scheid, the principal editor of this genealogical History.

In the construction of this domestic monument, the Elector of Hanover, ten years after the return of Leibnitz, had dispatched a second missionary (1700) to search the archives of his Italian kinsmen. Their archives were in the most deplorable state: but the Princes of Este were awakened by shame and vanity, and their subject Muratori was recalled from Milan,

Milan, to reform and govern the ducal Library of Modena. The name of Muratori will be for ever connected with the literature of his country: above sixty years of his peaceful life were consumed in the exercises of study and devotion; his numerous writings on the subjects of history, antiquities, religion, morals, and criticisms, are impressed with sense and knowledge, with moderation and candour: he moved in the narrow circle of an Italian priest; but a desire of freedom, a ray of philosophic light sometimes breaks through his own prejudices and those of his readers. In the cause of his Prince, he was permitted, and even encouraged, to explore the foundations, and to circumscribe the limits, of the temporal power of the Bishops of Rome: and his victorious arguments in the dispute for Commachio accustomed the slave to an erect posture and a bolder step. One of his antagonists, the learned Fontanini, had been provoked, in the heat of controversy, to cast some reflexions on the family of Este, as if they had been no more than simple citizens of Padua, who, in the thirteenth century, were invested by the Popes with the title and office of Marquis of Ancona. Truth and honour required an answer to this invidious charge; and the firmest answer was a simple and genuine exposition of facts. The courts of Brunswick and Modena were joined in the same family interest; and their trusty Librarians, Leibnitz and Muratori, corresponded with the confidence of allies and the emulation of rivals. But the speed of the German was outstripped in the race by the perseverance of the Italian: if the conjectures of Muratori were less splendid, his discoveries were more sure; and he could examine, with the leisure of a native, the monuments and records which his associate had formerly viewed with the haste of a traveller. After a diligent enquiry of three years, both at home and abroad, he gave to the world the first volume of the *Antichità Estense*, a model of genealogical criticism; and in the second volume, which was delayed above twenty years, he continues the descent and series to his own times. The more strenuous labours of his life were devoted to the general and particular history of Italy. His antiquities, both in the vulgar and the Latin tongue, exhibit a curious picture of the laws and manners of the middle age; and a correct text is justified by a copious Appendix of authentic documents. His Annals are a faithful abstract of the twenty-eight folio volumes of original historians; and whatsoever faults may be noticed in this great collection, our censure is disarmed by the remark, that it was undertaken and finished by a single man. Muratori will not aspire to the

same of historical genius: his modesty may be content with the solid, though humble praise of an impartial critic and indefatigable compiler.

With such guides, with the materials which they have provided, and with some experience of the way, I shall boldly descend into the darkness of the middle age; and while I assume the liberty of judgment, I shall not be unmindful of the duties of gratitude.

An old charter of the reign of Charlemagne and the beginning of the ninth century, has casually preserved the memory of BONIFACE the Bavarian; the count or governor of Lucca, the father of the marquisses of Tuscany, and the first probable ancestor of the house of Este and Brunswick. His name and country, his title and province, I shall separately consider: and these considerations will explain the state of Italy in his time, and that of his immediate descendants.

1. In the origin of human speech, a method must have been wanted, and sought, and found, of discriminating the several individuals of the same tribe, who were mingled in the daily offices, even of savage life. In every language the invention of proper and personal names must be at least as ancient as the use of appellative words. The truth of this remark is attested by the ancient continent from India to Spain, from the lakes of Canada to the hills of Chili, the same distinctions were familiar to the inhabitants of the New World; and our navigators who have recently explored the islands of the South Sea, add their testimony to the general practice of mankind. As soon as a new-born infant has enjoyed some days, and begins to promise some years of life, he is distinguished as a social being from his present and future companions: the friends of the family are convened to congratulate the parents and to welcome the stranger; and the festival has been usually connected with some religious ceremony; the sacrifices of the Greeks, Romans, and barbarians; the circumcision of the Jews, and the baptism of the Christians. The primitive choice of every word must have had a cause and a meaning: each name was derived from some accident or allusion, or quality of the mind or body; and the titles of the savage chiefs announced their wisdom in council, or their valour in the field. Such in the book of nature and antiquity are the heroes of Homer; and the happy flexibility of the Greek tongue can express in harmonious sounds all possible combinations of ideas and sentiments. But in the lapse of ages and idioms, the true signification was lost or misapplied: the qualities of a man were blindly transferred to a child, and

and chance or custom were the only motives that could direct this arbitrary imposition. The Christians of the Roman empire were a mixture of Jews, of Greeks, and of Latin provincials: their profane names were sanctified by baptism; those of the Bible were respectable and familiar; and the casual affinity with an apostle or martyr might encourage the pious youth to imitate his virtues. But in the three centuries which preceded the reign of Charlemagne, the western world was overwhelmed by a deluge of German conquerors. After their conversion to Christianity, they long adhered, from pride or habit, to the idiom of their fathers; and their Teutonic appellations, with a softer accent and a Latin termination, were almost exclusively used in the baptism of princes and nobles. Till the tenth or twelfth century, the Old was abandoned to the Jews, and the New Testament to the people and clergy. Adam and David, Peter and Paul, John and James, George and Francis, were neglected as unknown, or despised as plebeian; and Boniface is the only name of ecclesiastical origin which the chiefs of barbaric race condescended to assume. This honourable exception may be justly ascribed to the fame and merit of St. Boniface the First, archbishop of Mentz or Mayence, the missionary of Rome, the reformer of France, and the apostle of Germany, who lost his life in preaching the Gospel to the Frisians. He was born in England, and in his own baptism he had been stiled Winfrid: but with the episcopal character the Saxon received the more Christian appellation of Boniface, which had been illustrated by a martyr and a pope. Of the Hessians, Thuringians, and Bavarians, whom he reclaimed from idolatry, many were ambitious even of a nominal conformity with their patron: and from his age and country, the count of Lucca might be one of the fortunate infants who were baptized by the apostle of Bavaria.

2. The Christian priests who subdued the conquerors of the West, had inculcated the duty of damning their idolatrous ancestors, and persecuting their dissenting subjects. But the toleration which they denied to religious prejudice, was freely extended to the institutions of civil or barbaric life. The Romans of Italy, the great body of the clergy and people, were still directed by the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The laws of the Lombards were promulgated for their own use; after the fall of their kingdom, they still preserved their national jurisprudence; and the victorious Franks enjoyed the benefit without imposing the obligation of the Salic and Ripuarian codes. The three great nations
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who successively reigned in Italy, were every where mingled, and every where separate. A similar indulgence was granted to the smaller colonies of Goths, Alemanni, or *Bavarians*; and so perfect was the practice of civil toleration, that every freeman, according to his birth or choice, might embrace the law by which he himself and his family would be tried. In the acts which have escaped to our times, count Boniface and his descendants profess to live according to the nation and law of the *Bavarians*: but this profession rather defines the origin of his blood, than the place of his nativity; and it is possible that some generations of his ancestors might have already felt the milder influence of climate and religion. The name of the *Bavarians* first rises into notice amidst the dying agonies of the Western Empire: but the tribe or troop of adventurers which assumed that name, soon swelled to a powerful kingdom, and covered the province of Noricum from the Danube to the Alps. The vicinity of Italy provoked their desires; the alliance of the Lombards encouraged their hopes: they joined the standard of the invader; and on the confines of Modena and Tuscany the memory of their ancient settlement is not totally extinct. If we compare, however, the smallness of the colony with the numbers of the nation, it may seem more probable that Count Boniface was born in Bavaria, perhaps of noble and idolatrous parents; and that his services were rewarded by Charlemagne with the government of an Italian province. The eye of the vigilant and sagacious emperor pervaded the vast extent of his dominions; and the merit of every subject, in whatsoever country or condition he had been cast, was assigned to the station most beneficial for himself and the State. While the kingdoms of the West obeyed the same sceptre, a native Frank might command on the banks of the Tyber; the frontiers of Brittany were guarded by a loyal Lombard, and the Saxon proselyte would signalize his new zeal for Christianity against the Saracens of Spain. Charlemagne affected to consider all his subjects with the impartial love of a father: but he was not unwilling to transplant a powerful chief into a foreign soil, and he cherished a secret preference of the men and the nations whose sole dependence was on the royal favour. The Franks were jealous of the elevation of an equal; the Lombards might not easily forgive the triumphs of a conqueror; but the Alemanni and *Bavarians*, who had been long oppressed, were devoted, by loyalty and gratitude, to the service of their benefactor.

3. I am ignorant of the parents of Boniface the Bavarian; of his character and actions I am likewise ignorant. But his official

official title describes him as one of the principal ministers and nobles of the kingdom of Italy. The Latin appellations of dukes and counts were transferred with the latitude of foreign words to the judges and leaders of the Barbarians: these different titles were applied to the same person or station: they varied according to the fashion of the age and country; and it was not till after the ninth century that the dukes, assuming a clear pre-eminence of dignity and power, stood foremost on the steps of the throne. In the vulgar and legal idiom, the temporal peers (I anticipate the expression of more recent times) were stiled princes, and in their families the kings and emperors of the West might solicit a wife, or bestow a daughter, without degrading the majesty of their rank. It was at once their privilege and their duty to attend the national council; nor could any law acquire validity or effect without the consent and authority of these powerful nobles. In their respective districts of ample or narrow limits, each duke or count was invested with the plenitude of civil and military power, and this union of characters must be ascribed rather to the imperfection of the arts than to the talents of the men. They presided in open courts of justice, and determined all criminal and civil causes, with the advice of their plebeian assessors, their *scabini*, who were somewhat less illiterate than the judge himself. At the royal summons they reared their standard, assembled their freemen and vassals, and marched at their head on every occasion of danger and honour. Such taxes as could be levied on a rude and independent people were shared between the supreme and subordinate chief, and there exists an agreement by which a Lombard duke was permitted to reserve a moiety of the revenue for his public and private use. The prerogative of appointing and recalling these provincial magistrates was esteemed a sufficient pledge of their obedience; and the servants of Charlemagne might obey without reluctance the first of mankind. But the memory of a favour was lost in the grant of an office; and the grant of an office was insensibly consolidated into the right of a freehold possession. The counts and dukes were amenable to the circuits of the *missi*, or royal inquisitors: but they were more able to maintain, than willing to suffer, an act of injustice; and it was gradually admitted as a constitutional maxim, that they could not be deprived of their dignity without a charge, a trial, and a conviction of felony. The founder of the Western Empire might sometimes reward the son by the gift or the reversion of his father's province; a dangerous reward, which was often extorted from the fears, rather than from the bounty

bounty of succeeding princes. They could not despoil the legitimate heir of his lands, his followers, and his popular name, and it was deemed more prudent to secure the public peace by the indulgence of his private ambition.

4. The province entrusted to the vigilance of Count Boniface is one of the most fertile and fortunate spots of Italy. It is bounded by the rivers Mâgra and Arno, by the sea and the Appenine; and in the old days of independence, this tract of country had been the debateable land between the Ligurians and Etruscans, till it was finally annexed by Augustus to the region of Etruria. The harbour of Luni is capable of sheltering the navies of Europe; the circumjacent hills of Carara have supplied an inexhaustible store of white marble for the noblest works of sculpture and architecture, and Lucca itself is situate almost on the banks of the Ausar or Serchio, a river which, flowing ten miles farther to the south, is finally lost under the walls of Pisa, in the waters of the Arno. In the best age of the commonwealth, the sixth century of Rome, an allotment of sixty thousand acres was divided among two thousand citizens, who were soon associated with the ancient natives: but the colony of Lucca finally preferred the title and privileges of a municipal town. After suffering some injury from the barbaric storm, Lucca appears to revive and flourish under the Lombards, as the seat of a royal mint, and the metropolis of the whole province of Tuscany. The republic, less extensive, as it should seem, than the command of Boniface, now contains one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, who are enriched by the exportation of oil and silk. But their riches are the fruits of industry, and their industry is guarded by liberty and peace. I am inclined to believe, that this small and happy community is more wealthy and populous than was formerly the Tuscany of Charlemagne; and even in its decay the state of Tuscany still possesses more inhabitants and more treasure, than could have been found in the disorderly and desolate kingdom of the Lombards.

From the interposition of Ildenrand, count of Lucca, it may be suspected that at the time of his father's decease Boniface the Second had not acquired sufficient strength and maturity for the vacant office: but these friends, or rivals, who had exercised the government of Lucca, were soon superseded by the establishment of the lawful heir; and the youth approved himself worthy of his name and honours. The example and impunity of treason could never tempt his loyalty; and while the empire of Lewis the Pious was relaxed by weakness or agitated by discord, Boniface asserted the glory
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of the French and the Christian arms. He had been entrusted with the defence of the maritime coast and the isle of Corsica against the Mahometans of Africa, and his right to command the service of the neighbouring counts may entitle him to the appellation of Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, which was assumed by his descendants. With a small fleet he sailed from Pisa, in search of the robbers of the sea; they had vanished on his approach: he cast anchor on the friendly shores of Corsica, and after providing himself with expert pilots, he steered his intrepid course for Africa, and boldly landed on the coast between Carthage and Utica. The Aglabites, who reigned in Africa as the nominal vicerents of the caliphs, were astonished and provoked by the insolence of the Christians, whose valour had been hitherto confined to a defensive war. Their camp was immediately surrounded by a formidable host of Arabs and Moors: five times did they mount to the assault: they were repulsed five times with slaughter and shame. The field was covered with the bodies of their slain; in the hot pursuit some adventurous Franks became the victims of their own rashness; but the more prudent chief was satisfied with victory; he embarked the troops, the captives, and the spoil, and returning in triumph to the port of Luni, or the mouth of the Arno, left an example of successful enterprize which was long remembered by the Moslems of Africa, and seldom imitated by the Christians of Italy. The birth, character, and adventures of the empress Judith, will be introduced with more propriety in the story of the Guelphs, and I shall only observe, that after his abject fall and fortunate restoration, Lewis the Pious might still tremble for the safety of a beloved wife. She was confined in a monastery of Tortona, in the power of a rebellious son; and if the ambition of Lothaire was disappointed, the blood of a step-mother might be a grateful offering to his revenge. Boniface, with some loyal subjects, perceived her danger, and flew to her relief. By their celerity and courage Judith was rescued from prison, and they guarded her passage over the Alps till she met the embraces of an impatient husband. This gallant act, which deserved the gratitude of the emperor, exposed the count of Lucca to the displeasure of Lothaire, who was still master of the kingdom of Italy, and who denied the investiture of their fiefs to all the accomplices of the escape of Judith. Boniface retired to France, where his exile was alleviated by the most honourable employments. In the civil wars, after the death of Lewis, he might secure his pardon without forfeiting his allegiance; and there is reason to believe, that he ended his days in the government of Tuscany. The

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sword of chivalry was consecrated to the service of religion and the fair; and the African victor, the deliverer of the empress, had fulfilled the duties of a perfect knight.

His son and successor, Adalbert the First, had a more unquestionable right to the appellation of Duke and Marquis of Tuscany. The title of Marquis, or rather Margrave, was introduced into Italy by the French emperors; the Teutonic etymology of the word implies the count or governor of a *march* of a frontier province: his station gave him at least a military command over several of his equals; and in the division of the monarchy the number and importance of these hostile limits was continually multiplied. Yet the life of Adalbert is much less pure and illustrious than that of his father: either an historian was wanted to his actions, or his actions afforded no materials for history; and it is only by the glimmering of old charters, that, during thirty years, his existence is visible. The decay of genius and power in each imperial generation, had confirmed the independence of the hereditary governors; till the failure of the eldest branch, in the person of Lewis the Second, concluded a century of domestic peace, and opened an endless series of revolutions. The election of the kings of Italy was decided by the voices and by the swords of the factious nobles: they chose the object, the measure, and the term of allegiance; and the name of the candidate whom they supported, was a sufficient apology for every act of violence and rapine. A pope of an active and ambitious spirit, John VIII., most bitterly complains of the two marquisses, or tyrants, of Lambert of Spoleto, and of Adalbert of Tuscany, who were brothers in alliance, in arms, and in sacrilege. They solicited the aid of the miscreant Saracens, invaded the ecclesiastical State, entered the city, profaned the churches, extorted an oath of fidelity from the Romans, and dared to imprison the successor of St. Peter. After the departure of these public robbers, as they are stiled, without much injustice, by the pontiff, he affected to display their guilt and his own danger: the sacred relics were transported from the Vatican to the Lateran palace: the altar was clothed in sackcloth, and the doors of the temple were inhospitably shut against the devotion of the pilgrims. By the apprehension of a second insult John VIII. was driven from the apostolical seat; he fled by sea to the usual asylum of France, offered the two worlds to whosoever would avenge his quarrel, and in the Synod of Troyes proclaimed the vices and pronounced the excommunication of the two marquisses of Spoleto and Tuscany, the enemies of God and

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Man. Some political events gave a new turn to his interest and language; *the most glorious* Adalbert and his wife (so lately a robber and an adulteress) are recommended in his epistles to the love and protection of the friends of the church. From such invective and such praise it might be inferred that calumny is a venial sin, or that every sin is obliterated by a reconciliation with the Pope. A casuist less indulgent, I shall not so easily absolve the sacrilegious Marquis of Tuscany: he lived in an age of the darkest superstition, and his assault on the Vatican is truly criminal, since it was condemned by the prejudices of his own conscience.

In the dignity of Duke and Marquis of Tuscany he was succeeded by his son, the second Adalbert, who has been only distinguished from the first by the nice microscope of chronological criticism. Such and so great was the pre-eminence of his wealth and power, that he alone among the princes of Italy was distinguished by the epithet of the *rich*; an epithet of ambiguous praise, since it expresses the liberality of fortune rather than of nature. He married Berta, the daughter of Lothaire king of Austrasia or Lorraine, who was the great grandson of Charlemagne: a distinction rather honourable than singular; since many of the princes of the age were descended by the females from the Imperial stem. His independence was built on the ruins of the empire of Charlemagne: the failure of lawful heirs enlarged the scene of contention: the sceptre was alternately won and lost in a field of battle, and the Italians, from a maxim of policy, entertained the competition of two kings. The dukes of Friuli and Spoleto long disputed the crown; and while Berengarius reigned at Verona, his rivals Guido and Lambert were seated on the throne of Pavia. These princes, the father and son, were the uncle and cousin of Adalbert; but he supported or deserted their standard with licentious perfidy, and one of his attempts did not much redound to the honour or advantage of the Marquis of Tuscany. He marched to surprize Lambert, who hunted without suspicion in a forest near Placentia: but he forgot that discipline and sobriety are most essential to secret enterprize. The tents of the Tuscans, who deemed themselves secure of their royal game, resounded with drunken and lascivious songs; their intemperance subsided in sleep; and at the dead of night they were surprized by the vigilant Lambert, at the head of no more than one hundred horse. The Marquis, who could neither fight nor fly, was dragged from his shelter among the mules and asses of the baggage, and his shame was embittered by the rude pleasantry of the conqueror. “Thy wife Berta,” said he, “had promised that thou shouldest
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“ be either a king or an ass. A king thou art not, but thy
 “ second title I shall not dispute; and wisely hast thou chosen
 “ a place of refuge among the animals of a similar species.”
 The death of Lambert restored the captive to liberty and dominion: but the character of Adalbert was still the same, and the state of Italy long fluctuated with the vicissitudes of his interest or passions. Berengarius, who was oppressed by his service, sometimes accused and sometimes imitated the example of his ingratitude. A new pretender, Lewis king of Arles, was defeated and dismissed and recalled, and again established and again dethroned as he was the friend or enemy of the Marquis of Tuscany. In a moment of seeming concord, the new sovereign visited Lucca, where he was entertained with the ostentation of expence which vanity will often extort from avarice and hatred. As Lewis admired the numerous and well-dressed ranks of the Tuscan soldiers, the attendants of the palace, and the luxury of the banquet, he softly whispered, “ This Marquis is indeed a king, and
 “ it is only in a vain title that I am superior to my vassal.” By the diligence of flattery or malice this whisper was re-echoed: the pride of Berta was offended, her fears were alarmed; she alienated her husband’s mind; he conspired with the disaffected nobles; and a hasty, perhaps a harmless saying deprived the unfortunate king of Arles of the crown of Italy and his eyes. Adalbert the Second died at Lucca, in a mature age, and his real or imaginary virtues are inscribed on his tomb. We are solicited to believe, that he was formidable to his enemies, liberal to his soldiers, just to his subjects, and charitable to the poor; that his memory was embalmed in the tears of a grateful people; and that the public happiness was buried in his grave. An epitaph is a feeble evidence of merit; yet an epitaph on the dead may prove somewhat more than a panegyric on the living.

Adalbert the Second left behind him three children, two sons, Guido and Lambert, the eldest of whom was acknowledged as Duke and Marquis of Tuscany, and one daughter, Hermenegarda, who married and survived a prince of equal rank on the confines of Piedmont. The pride and power of Berta were not impaired by her husband’s death; and to her passions I should impute an unequal contest with the emperor and king of Italy, who by fraud or force imprisoned the mother and her son in the fortress of Mantua. But her faithful clients refused to surrender the cities and castles committed to their trust: a treaty was negotiated; the captives were released; their possessions were restored; and I must applaud the moderation, perhaps the courage, of Guido,
 who

who sincerely submitted to forgive and to be forgiven. Of the death of the emperor Berengarius, who was stabbed in his palace by a private villain, Guido was neither the author nor accomplice: but in the subsequent election his voice had a free and decisive weight; and the laudable motives of filial or fraternal tenderness might prompt him to gratify his mother, by supporting the claim of Hugh, or Hugo, count of Provence, her son by a former husband. The Marquis commanded the sea-ports of Tuscany; his sister, an active and popular widow, could shut or open the passes of the Alps. A royal pretender, Rodolph of Burgundy, was chased beyond the mountains: by the unanimous choice of the nobles, Hugh was invited and proclaimed; he landed at Pisa; and the sons of Adalbert were proud to salute their brother as king of Italy. But this event, which seemed to consolidate the fortunes, was the immediate cause of the downfall of their house. The new monarch insensibly betrayed a faithless and ungrateful character: his vices were scandalous, his talents mean; and if his ambition was sometimes checked by fear, it was never restrained by humanity or justice. The death of Berta dissolved the union between the children of her first and her second nuptials. The mild and moderate Guido expired in the prime of life. The duchy of Tuscany was occupied by Lambert: but in a hasty and indecent marriage with Marozia, his brother's widow, the king of Italy trampled on the prejudices of mankind. Hugh was already conscious of the public hatred and contempt: he might justly dread the courage, the ambition, the popularity of the Marquis; and his avarice was stimulated by the hopes of a rich forfeiture. Regardless of a mother's fame, he invented, or encouraged the report, that the obstinate barrenness of the wife of Adalbert had tempted that impious woman to procure and substitute two male infants, whom she educated as her own: and the arbitrary sentence of the king, who disclaimed Lambert as a brother, must have denied his right to the succession of Tuscany. Had this cause been argued before a tribunal of law and reason, the advocate for the Marquis would have pleaded the long and tranquil possession of his name and state, and have deprecated the injustice of a charge, which was not advanced till after the decease of both his parents. The orator would have painted in the most lively colours, the absurdity of the supposition, the difficulty of fascinating the eyes and silencing the tongues of a jealous court, and the strong improbability that the Dutchess of Tuscany should have *twice* risked the danger and shame of a discovery. He would have authenticated the circumstances of her pregnancy and delivery; and after
establishing

establishing his defence on argument and fact, he might have tried to awaken the tender and indignant feelings of the audience. Instead of such a tedious process, the intrepid Lambert cast down his gauntlet, and challenged to single combat the false accuser of his own and his mother's fame. The challenge was accepted; a champion arose; the lists were opened; and such was the goodness of his cause, or the vigour of his arm, that the Marquis obtained an easy victory in the judgment of God. Even this judgment was not respected by the tyrant. Instead of embracing his genuine brother, he loaded the conqueror with irons, confiscated his dominions, and deprived him of his eyes; while the nobles of Italy, who so often resisted the execution of the laws, most basely acquiesced in this act of cruelty and injustice. The unhappy prince survived his misfortune many years, but he was already dead to his enemies and the world. In a civilized society, the mind is more powerful than the body; and the influence of strength or dexterity is far less extensive than that of eloquence and wisdom. But among a people of barbarians, the blind warrior, who is no longer capable of managing a horse, or of wielding a lance, must be excluded from all the honours and offices of public life.

Such were the five descents in the Bavarian line of the Counts of Lucca and Marquisses or Dukes of Tuscany. The fourth generation of the posterity of Boniface coincides with the age of the Marquis Adalbert, who may be styled the third of that name, if we can safely rivet this intermediate link of the genealogical chain. After a long hesitation and various trials, the active curiosity of Leibnitz subsided, in the opinion that Adalbert the Third, the unquestionable father of the House of Este and Brunswick, was the son of the Marquis Guido, and the grandson of Adalbert the Second: and that his right of succession to the Duchy of Tuscany, which had been superseded by his tender years, was finally lost in the calamity of his uncle. In a mind conscious of its powers, and indulgent to its productions, this idea struck a deep and permanent root. As an historian, Leibnitz was acquainted with the stubborn character of facts: as a critic, he was accustomed to balance the weight of testimony: as a mathematician, he would not prostitute the name of demonstration: but he affirmed that his opinion was *probable* in the highest sense; and the philosopher could not patiently tolerate a sceptic. These historical enquiries he compared to the labour of an astronomer, who frames an hypothesis, such as can explain all the known phænomena of the heavens, and then exalts his hypothesis into truth, by exposing the errors of every other possible supposition.

supposition. From the Library of Hanover, the discovery was transmitted to that of Modena, with an earnest desire of literary, or at least of political union; and the pedigree of Adalbert the Third was ratified by the consent of Leibnitz and Muratori. Yet in this dark and doubtful step of genealogy, impartial criticism may be allowed to pause, and even the silence of a contemporary writer may incline the scale against many loose and floating atoms of modern conjecture. The first fifty years of the tenth century are illustrated by the labour and eloquence of Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, who exposes, with a free and often satirical pen, the characters and vices of the times. He relates the death of Guido, and the succession of Lambert, without insinuating that the former left any children, or that the latter was appointed guardian of their minority. He deplores the fate of Lambert, without informing the reader of the escape of his nephew; by what resources of flight or defence, of prayer or negotiation, he escaped the cruelty of the tyrant, and lived to propagate the glories of his race. The Marquis Otbert, the undoubted son of Adalbert the Third, is honourably mentioned; and it might be reasonably expected, that some hint should have been given of his lineal descent from the Tuscan princes, whose names and actions had been already celebrated in the history of Liutprand. Nor can the order of time, that infallible touchstone of truth, be easily reconciled with the hypothesis of Leibnitz. Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, was the third husband of the insatiate Marozia: her second was killed in the year nine hundred and twenty-five; and ten or twelve months must be granted for the shortest widowhood, the term of pregnancy, and the birth of her son Adalbert. No more than thirty-six years after his birth, *his* son, the Marquis Otbert, appears in the world as a statesman and a patriot. Such a precipitate succession, which crowds two generations into one, is repugnant to the whole experience of ages: a fact so strange and improbable could only be forced on our belief by the absolute power of positive and authentic evidence.

In this enquiry, I should disdain to be influenced by any partial regard for the interest or honour of the House of Brunswick: but I can resign, without a sigh, the hypothesis of Leibnitz, which might seem to exhibit the *nominal* rather than the *natural* ancestors of the son of Guido. This doubtful expression is not founded on the absurd and malicious fable, that the two last Marquisses of Tuscany were stolen, in their infancy, from an obscure, and perhaps a plebeian origin: Berta was their genuine mother; and their pedigree would not be tainted with suspicion, if the right of
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the father could be ascertained with the same clearness and certainty. But in these barbarous times, the valour of the men appears to have been maintained with more high and jealous care than the chastity of the women; and such was the peculiar infelicity of the Marquis Guido, that his wife, his mother, and his two grandmothers, are all accused, in their respective generations, of a slight, or scandalous deviation from the line of virtue. In the Pontifical Epistles, the wife of Adalbert I. is branded with the opprobrious name of *Adulteress*; and without insisting on the Pope's infallibility, it may be fairly urged, that as the character of a public robber was applied to the sacrilegious enemy of Rome, the vices of Rotilda must have afforded some ground or colour for private reproach. The mother of Berta, the famous Valdrada, long fluctuated between the state of a wife and the shame of a concubine. She might be innocent in the judgment of conscience and reason; but her pretended marriage with Lothair, king of Lorraine, was repeatedly annulled by the sentence of the Roman Pontiff. By an obstinate resistance, her fame might have been preserved: a false and fruitless penitence could only aggravate her sin; and she became alike guilty in the eyes of the Church and of the Public, when she continued to dwell in the embraces of her lover, after a lawful Queen had been restored to the honours of his throne and bed. The pleasures of Berta were subservient to her ambition; and Adalbert the Second appears to have been endowed with the patient virtues of a husband. By the liberal freedom with which she imparted to the nobles of Tuscany every gift in her power to bestow, the Dukes secured their grateful attachment in the hour of danger; and at the age of threescore, she might be justly vain that her favours were precious, her lovers fond, her friends and clients still mindful of their past obligations. As the infidelity of Hermenegarda could sully only the blood of another family, it is almost needless to mention that the daughter of Berta most faithfully copied the example of her mother. But the satirical eloquence of Liutprand is unable to paint the vices of Marozia, wife of the Marquis Guido: "From her early youth," (exclaims the Bishop,) "she had been inflamed by all the fires of Venus; and again and again did she exact from her lovers the payment of their debts." Her family was powerful at Rome: by the corruption of Marozia, of her mother, and of her sister, the Church and State were polluted and oppressed: their favourites, and their children, were successively promoted to the throne of St. Peter; and in the spiritual Babylon, the city of the Seven Hills, a more inquisitive age would have detected

detected the scarlet whore of the Revelations. The son of Marozia, the grandson of Berta, and the great-grandson of Rotilda, might be perplexed in the discovery or the choice of his true progenitors.

The hypothesis, that Adalbert III. was the son of the Marquis Guido, will not endure the test of a critical enquiry: but I am disposed to embrace the general opinion of Leibnitz and Muratori, and to believe with them, that the families of Este and Brunswick are descended from a younger branch of the House of Tuscany. A charter commemorates the name of Boniface, son of Adalbert I., and brother of Adalbert II.: his existence is certain; his marriage probable; and, according to the custom of nations, the respectable name of a grandfather and uncle would be naturally repeated in the person of his son. In the last years of the ninth century, we may fix the birth of Adalbert III. who will stand, in the corresponding degree, as the first cousin to the Marquis Guido: the order of nature will be restored, and in the succeeding generation a sufficient space will be left for the growth and maturity of Othert I. By this early separation from the original stem, we avoid the more scandalous vices of Berta and Marozia. The silence of Liutprand will no longer surprize or embarrass the critic: Boniface and his son Adalbert the Third were neither the sovereigns nor the heirs of Tuscany: their private fortunes were less splendid, and more secure, than those of the Marquisses, their elder kinsmen; and their names, not conspicuous, perhaps, by crimes or virtues, might escape the memory or the pen of the general historian. As the objections diminish, the presumptive proofs of a connection between the Houses of Tuscany and Este leave a deeper impression on the mind. The repetition of the name of Adalbert has already been noticed as a family feature. In the kingdom, the name of Adalbert was less rare, however, than the title of Marquis, of such recent use and such local application, but which was uniformly used from the tenth to the fifteenth century, as their hereditary and proper style, by the Princes of Este. The military governors, who commanded on the Alpine or Greek limits, do not suggest any traces of conformity; and our ignorance of the province which was ruled by Adalbert III., and his immediate descendants, will be tempted to believe, that the vague appellation of Marquis, which was common to all, might be cherished by their vanity, as a perpetual attribute and memorial of the long-lost dominion of Tuscany. But the circumstance of the clearest and most substantial presumption arises from the rent-roll of their ancient estates, which were spread over the heart of Tuscany, the

counties of Lucca and Luna, and even the Isle of Corsica, a remote dependence of the government of Boniface II. Tradition has preserved the name and limits of the *Terra Obertenga*, so often cited in old charters as the lands of the Marquis Othert I. ; and if he received them from his father, it will not be difficult to suppose that they were originally granted to Boniface III., as the portion or patrimony of a younger brother. The perfect and easy coalition of the Marquisses of Tuscany and Este is resisted only by a single obstacle ; and the resistance is less insuperable than it may appear at the first glance : the former adhered to the law and nation of the Bavarians, whilst the nation and law of the Lombards was professed by the latter. But we must not forget, that in the barbaric jurisprudence of Europe, a national character might be either conveyed by descent, or adopted by choice ; and that each family, each individual, might select and renounce the name and institutions of these political sects. The Bavarians, a minute colony, were almost invisible in the mighty kingdom of the Lombards : their decreasing numbers could not secure a regular supply of judges and witnesses : an Italian prince would be desirous of obliterating the remembrance of his foreign origin, and the smaller rivulets were gradually lost in the master-stream. Such a change of law and nation is agreeable to reason and practice ; but in this particular instance, it may not be presumed, it cannot be proved ; and the objection must be allowed to counterbalance some grains of probability in the opposite scale.

SECTION II.

A JUDICIOUS critic may approve the Tuscan descent of the families of Este and Brunswick ; but a sincere historian will pronounce, that the Marquis Adalbert is their first unquestionable ancestor ; that he flourished in Lombardy or Tuscany in the beginning of the tenth century ; that his character and actions are buried in oblivion ; and that his name and title alone can be placed at the head of an illustrious pedigree.

This pedigree is animated by his son the Marquis Othert I., and his life is connected with the revolutions of Italy. If the records of the times were more numerous, they might confirm the probability of his descent from the Marquisses of Tuscany, since the earliest date of his name and honours coincides with the fall of their oppressors, and the first year,

or even month of a new reign. The tyrant Hugh had fled beyond the Alps, loaded with the curses and treasures of the Italians: his son Lothair, a feeble youth, had passed away like a shadow, and after a vacancy of twenty-four days, the Marquis Berengarius, grandson to the Emperor of the same name, was exalted to the throne. A grant of four castles was made to the Bishop of Modena; and in the original deed of gift the new monarch is pleased to declare, that the advice and request of his trusty and well-beloved the Marquis Otbert had moved him to this act of liberality or devotion. His power at court may be ascribed to the recent merits of the election; and the advocate on the behalf of others would not be mute or unsuccessful in his own cause. Of the favours which he received, or of the services which he performed, I am alike ignorant; but at the end of nine years, the counsellor and favourite of Berengarius was transformed into a fugitive and a rebel, who escaped to the Saxon court, inflamed the ambition of Otho, and soon returned with an army of Germans, to dethrone a sovereign, perhaps a benefactor, of his own choice. His conduct appears, at the first glance, to be tainted with ingratitude and treason; and his guilt may be aggravated by the reflexion, that he imposed a foreign yoke on his country, and prepared the long calamities of tyranny and faction. At the distance of eight centuries, I shall not vindicate the pure and rigid patriotism of the father of the House of Brunswick. According to the experience of human nature, we may calculate a hundred, nay a thousand chances, against the public virtues of a statesman: the Marquis viewed the King of Italy, first as an equal, and afterwards as an enemy; and in the loose governments of the feudal system, the duties of allegiance were proudly violated by the members of an armed and lawless aristocracy.

Yet our imperfect view of the history of the times will afford some apology, and may allow some praise for the flight and rebellion of Marquis Otbert. 1. The patriot who, in the cause of political freedom, is false to gratitude and honour, offends against the natural feelings of mankind; but if those feelings are violated by a tyrant, they applaud the sword of the rebel, or even the dagger of the conspirator. Berengarius was a bad subject, and a worse prince: and the most opposite vices were reconciled in the dissolute and flagitious character of his wife Villa. From the revenge or justice of his predecessor, he had been saved by the blind humanity of Lothair the son of Hugh, who cherished the faithless enemy of his crown and life. His suspicious death was followed by the persecution of his wi-

dow Adelais, the sister of the King of Burgundy. At the age of eighteen a beautiful and innocent Princess was stripped of her land, her jewels, and her apparel, exposed to the brutal repetition of blows and insults, and cast into a subterraneous dungeon, where she endured, above four months, the last extremities of distress and hunger. A pleasing and pathetic tale might be formed of her miraculous escape with a damsel and a priest; of their concealment among the rushes of the Lake Benacus, where they were supported many days by the charity of a fisherman; and of her rescue by a generous knight, who conducted the Princess to his impregnable fortress of Canossa, and defied the vengeance of the King of Italy. The romance would conclude with the arrival of a victorious lover, a royal deliverer: the nuptials of Otho and Adelais were celebrated at Pavia, and her singular adventures were a prelude to the future glories of the Empress and the Saint. The arms of Otho had been seconded by the revolt of the Italians; but in this revolt the name of Otbert is not mentioned; and we should rather accuse than admire the patient loyalty of the Marquis. Before he renounced his obedience and gratitude, the unrepenting tyrant had accomplished the measure of his sins; the Church and State, the rich and the poor, were the indiscriminate victims of the cruelty and avarice of Berengarius.

2. In his first victorious expedition, the prudence or magnanimity of Otho had declined the rigour of absolute conquest, and was content to be styled the Protector of an injured nation. A prostrate enemy was spared and forgiven: after waiting three days before the palace gates, Berengarius was admitted to the royal presence, and the golden sceptre of the kingdom of Italy was again delivered to his hands. But he pronounced an oath of fidelity, a solemn engagement, that he would be ready, in council and in the field, to obey the commands of his sovereign, and that he would govern his people with more equity and mildness than he had hitherto displayed. By this unequal treaty, the right of Otho was established, to judge and punish the crimes of his feudatory: the Marquis Otbert is no longer a rebel, who solicits the aid of a foreign Prince, and all the vassals of Italy might lawfully appeal from their immediate to their supreme lord.

3. The appeal was urged by the most respectable deputies of the Church and State, and their voice was the voice of the kingdom of Italy. The Roman Pontiff dispatched his apostolical legates to complain of the temporal and spiritual wrongs which St. Peter and St. Paul had long suffered from the tyranny of Berengarius. An Archbishop of Milan stood before the King of Germany, to deliver the sentiments

sentiments of the oppressed clergy. The *illustrious* Marquis Othert (I copy the words of the historian) spoke in the name and in the cause of his peers; and the powers of these ambassadors were ratified by the secret letters and messengers of almost all the Counts and Bishops of Italy. 4. In the second, as in the first expedition, Otho yielded to the call of justice and freedom: but in the passes of the Trentine Alps, his march was stopped a day and a night by the seeming opposition of sixty thousand Italians. The suspicions of Berengarius had been appeased by their ready obedience to his summons; and in this martial assembly they were the masters of the throne and the representatives of the people. A temperate negotiation was, however, proposed: the timely abdication of the father might have softened their hatred; and they had consented to acquiesce under the government of his son Adalbert. The obstinate despair of the old King provoked them to abjure his name and family: they sheathed their swords, and opened their gates: a hundred banners waved round the royal standard of Saxony: the deliverer was saluted King of Italy, and he received the *Iron Crown* in the cathedral of Milan. The Pope confirmed the revolution; and after a vacancy of twenty-eight years, the title of Emperor of Romans was revived in the person of Otho the Great. 5. The benefits or mischiefs which might arise from the union of Italy and Germany could be decided only by experience; nor could the foresight of the Marquis Othert anticipate the experience of three hundred years. It was enough for a mortal statesman to obey the wishes, and consult the happiness, of the present generation, by placing in the hands of wisdom and power the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

In one of the annual odes which still adorn or disgrace the birth-days of our British King, the Laureat, with some degree of courtly, and even poetic art, has introduced the founder of the Brunswick race:

- “ When Othert left the Italian plain,
- “ And soft Ateste’s green domain,
- “ Attendant on Imperial sway,
- “ Where Fame and Otho led the way,
- “ The Genius of the Julian Hills,
- “ (Whose piny summits nod with snow,
- “ Whose Naiads pour their thousand rills,
- “ To swell th’ exulting Po,)
- “ An eager look prophetic cast,
- “ And hail’d the hero as he pass’d.”

By a lofty prediction of fame and empire, this benevolent Genius exalts the courage of the hero, and displays the future greatness of his posterity, from the nuptials of Azo, to the succession of British kings:

“ Proceed. Rejoice. Descend the vale,
 “ And bid the future monarchs hail !
 “ Hail, all hail, the hero cried,
 “ And Echo, on her airy tide,
 “ Pursu’d him, murmuring, down the mountain’s side.”

I shall not presume to enquire whether such distinct and distant views of futurity may not surpass the prescience of a mountain god: but I am compelled to vindicate my own accuracy, by observing some geographical and historical errors of the mortal bard. The possessions of Otbert were not situate in the Venetian plain, but among the mountains of Tuscany; and we shall soon discover, that the green domain of Este, or Ateste, was acquired by the marriage of his grandson. In his attendance, “ where Fame and “ Otho led the way,” he would have passed, not the Julian, but the Rhætian Alps; he must have followed the high road of Verona and Trent, the great and customary passage between Italy and Germany. The name of the Julian Alps is confined to a low range of hills, soon bounded by the north eastern extremity of the Adriatic, and which opposed, in the tenth century, a feeble barrier to the inroads of the wild Hungarians. The streams which issue from those hills are lost in the sea, or intercepted by the neighbouring rivers; and of their thousand rills, not a drop can be mingled with the waters of the Po. Even the motive and the date of the passage of Otbert are wantonly corrupted. The patriot, entrusted with the cause of Italy, is degraded into an adventurer, who seeks his fortune in the Emperor’s service: and he bids an everlasting farewell to the country which he was most impatient to revisit and deliver. The poet may deviate from the truth of history, but every deviation ought to be compensated by the superior beauties of fancy and fiction.

Among the followers of his triumphal car, the servants of his fortune, Otho could distinguish the patriot fugitives who had risked their lives and estates to assert his rights, and the freedom of Italy. The most illustrious of these, the Marquis Otbert, was rewarded with riches and honours; and there is some reason to believe that his vague title was applied to the province of Liguria, which, according to the Roman geography, included the cities of Milan and Genoa.

Genoa. But the descendant of Adalbert I. might advance an equitable, though not a legal claim, to the Duchy of Tuscany: and some suspicion will taint the pedigree of a favourite, who neglects to ask, or fails to obtain, the restitution of a patrimonial dignity. Our surprise will be increased and removed by the discovery of the same fact. Hugh, King of Italy, had granted the Tuscan Duchy, first to his brother, and then to his bastard; it was inherited by the son of that bastard; and succeeding monarchs, the tyrant Berengarius, and the German Otho, respected the possession of these fallen and unpopular princes. So strange an indulgence must have been founded on some secret, but powerful motives; and the same motive, could it now be revealed, might explain either the modest indifference, or the unavailing request, of Othbert himself. But the Marquis (shall I say?) of Liguria was invested with an office far more worthy of his abilities, and far more expressive of the royal confidence. The Count of the sacred palace was the prime minister of the kingdom of Italy; and it was observed, in classic style, that the Dukes, the Marquisses, and the Counts submitted to the pre-eminence of his consular Fasces. In an age, when every magistrate was a noble, and every noble was a soldier, the Count Palatine often assumed the command of armies; but in his proper station, he represented the judicial character of the Emperor, and pronounced a definitive sentence, as the judge of all civil and criminal appeals. The city of Pavia, and the castle of Lomello, were his ordinary residence; but he visited the provinces in frequent circuits, and all local or subordinate jurisdiction was suspended in his presence. This important office was exercised above twelve years by the Marquis Othbert: the public acts, the few that have escaped, announce the proceedings of his tribunal at Lucca, Verona, &c.; and he continued to deserve and enjoy the favour of the Emperor. If, in the decline of life, the lassitude of camps and courts had tempted him to seek a cool and independent solitude, I should praise the temper of the philosopher; but the firmest minds are enslaved by the prejudices of the times, and the retreat of Othbert was inspired by the basest superstition. Under the monastic habit, in a Benedictine abbey which he had richly endowed, the Marquis laboured to expiate the sins of his secular life. Pride and ambition are the vices of the world: humility is the first virtue of a monk; and the descendant of princes, the favourite of kings, the judge of nations, was conspicuous among his brethren in the daily labour of collecting and feeding the hogs of the monastery. His sanctity was applauded; but if he listened to that applause, the

the penitent was entangled in a more subtle snare of the dæmon of vanity.

After the resignation of the Count Palatine, his office was given to favour or merit; but his patrimonial estates were inherited by the Marquis Otbert, who can only be distinguished by the epithet of the Second, from the similar name and title of his father. The life of the second Otbert was tranquil or obscure: he was rich in lands, in vassals, and in four valiant sons, Azo, Hugh, Adalbert, and Guido: but their valour embittered his old age, and involved the family in treason and disgrace. The reigns of the three Othos, a period of forty years, had been a transient season of prosperity and peace. But on the failure of their direct line, the Germans maintained their right of conquest, the Italians revived the claim of independence, and both were ambitious and resolute to establish a king of their own nation and choice. The princes and lords of Italy were all of barbaric origin; but as it happens, in the progress of nobility, the strangers of the second were despised by those of the third or fourth generation: and the old settlers, who could boast some ages of usurpation, esteemed themselves the ancient natives, the true proprietors of the soil. In the hostile diets of Mentz and Pavia, two hostile kings were elected, Henry, the Saxon, and Arduin the Lombard; and they disputed the Iron Crown in a civil, or rather a social war, of ten years. The German invaders were long checked, and sometimes defeated, in the passes of the Alps: but their strength and numbers finally prevailed. The fortunate Henry obtained the title of Emperor, and afterwards of Saint; Arduin was degraded and saved by the monastic habit: and his adherents were pardoned or punished, according to the measure of their guilt or power. Among these adherents, the first to erect the standard, and the last to bow the knee, were the Marquis Otbert II., his four sons, and his grandson Azo II., the immediate founder of the lines of Brunswick and Este. The distance of their fields of battle may prove the extent of their influence, and the obstinacy of their struggle; they made a vigorous stand in the neighbourhood of Pavia, they raised a dangerous insurrection at Rome, and they were vanquished and made prisoners in the plains of Apulia. A judicial act recites their crimes, and pronounces their condemnation. The six Marquisses were convicted, by the law of the Lombards, of conspiring against the king's life: and such conspiracy was punished, according to the same law, with confiscation and death. Their collateral offences, murder, rapine, and sacrilege, are the inevitable consequences of civil war: but the violation of some oath which had
been

been extorted in the hour of distress, exposed them to the more ignominious reproach of treason and perjury. Yet their lives were spared by the clemency of the pious Emperor: the portion of their lands which had been dedicated to pious uses, he could not restore; but he generously forgave the ample forfeiture which had devolved to the state: and when they resumed their seats in the assembly of the peers, they professed themselves the grateful and loyal servants of their benefactor.

But as the Saxon Henry left neither children nor kinsmen to inherit their obedience and gratitude, the sons of Otbert II. used, or abused their freedom, and again opposed the election of Conrad the First, emperor of the Franconian line. In the hope of foreign aid they offered the iron crown, and promised the Roman Empire, to Robert king of France: and the Marquis Hugo, the second brother, was intrusted with this important embassy: but the son of Hugh Capet was of an inactive temper: his new kingdom was unsettled; and with his approbation, the Italian deputies transferred their offer to William of Aquitaine, a vassal not less powerful than his sovereign. The Duke of Aquitaine behaved on this momentous occasion with a just temperance of courage and discretion. He accepted the crown for his family, protesting that under his reign Italy should enjoy such days as she had never known. His foremost troops were dispatched beyond the Alps, and he visited Rome under the pretence of a pilgrimage. But on a nearer prospect of the scene, the Duke of Aquitaine was satisfied that he could neither encounter his antagonist, nor confide in his party. The temporal peers were inclined to his cause, but the Archbishop of Milan, and the most important prelates, had been promoted by the House of Saxony: they were steady to the German interest; and William rejected the sole effectual measure, that of filling their vacant seats with his own ecclesiastics. He prudently withdrew from the unequal and ruinous contest. In a farewell epistle, he acknowledges the truth and constancy of *one* Italian lord, and this singular expression involves the sons of Otbert in the national reproach of levity or falsehood. During his embassy in France, the Marquis Hugo had been pressed by the monks of Tours to restore some abbey lands which he had usurped in the neighbourhood of Milan. At the distance of six hundred years and six hundred miles, that superstitious rebel was subdued by the apprehension of the vengeance of St. Martin.

By such exploits the memory, or at least the names of the four sons of Otbert II. has been preserved from oblivion.

on. Azo I. the eldest brother, propagated the race; and by his marriage with the niece of Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, that chief acquired a rich patrimony, and a commanding influence in the Venetian province. The character of Hugo, his power, and his long reign, has given him a respectable place among the princes of the times: but the title of *Great*, the title of Alexander, Pompey, and Charlemagne, becomes ridiculous when it is necessary to ask, and difficult to find, the reason of the appellation. From the upper to the lower sea, his command extended over the middle regions of Italy: with the right he grasped the Duchy of Tuscany, with the left that of Spoleto; till on the voluntary or compulsive resignation of the latter, he contracted his domain within the limits of hereditary sway. In the exercise of arms Hugo was strong and fortunate, and in the siege and chastisement of Capua he appeared with dignity as the minister of imperial justice; but the same sword might be turned against his sovereign; and Otho III. is said to have betrayed a secret satisfaction when death delivered him from so formidable a vassal. Far different were the feelings of the clergy and people of Tuscany. The former bewailed an humble votary and a liberal benefactor; a convent at Florence, in which his tomb has been long shewn, is one of the seven monasteries which he richly endowed with lands, slaves, and gold and silver plate, for the service of the altar. In the opinion of the age these virtues were more pleasing in the eye of the deity, than the justice and humanity which he displayed in his temporal administration. The Marquis of Tuscany loved praise, and hated flattery: a nice touchstone which discriminates vanity from the love of fame. In the chase, on a march, he often rode away from his attendants; visited the cottages; conversed with the peasants and passengers, to whom his person was unknown; questioned them freely concerning the character and government of their prince; and enjoyed the sincere and simple effusions of their gratitude and veneration. The birth of Hugo may at once be styled base and illustrious; since he was the doubtful offspring of the bastard son of the King of Italy of the same name; but his life was deemed of such importance to mankind, that the knowledge of its approaching term was communicated from heaven to earth by a special revelation. After his decease, the Duchy of Tuscany was delegated to a stranger; but a female might succeed to his private estates; and his sister had married Peter Candianus the Fourth, Doge or Duke of Venice, of his name and family. In that early period of the republic the magistrates were arbitrary and feeble, and the elective Dukes were alternately

nately the tyrants and victims of a tumultuous democracy. By this connection with the Tuscan Marquis, the pride of Candianus was elated: he assumed the manners of a feudal lord; levied a body of Italians, and insulted a free city with the arms and licentiousness of his mercenary guard. A furious multitude encompassed his palace: the gates and the soldiers resisted their assault: they fired the adjacent houses, and in the attempt to escape, the Duke and his infant son were transfixed with a thousand wounds. Such scenes were then frequent at Venice: they may reconcile our minds to the silent and rigid order of the modern aristocracy. The duties of the widow of Peter Candianus were to revenge an husband, and to educate a daughter of the same name, as her own. The daughter, Valdrada, became the wife of the Marquis Albert-Azo the First; and it is apparent from the date of the birth of their eldest son, Albert-Azo II. that these nuptials were consummated in the lifetime, and approved by the consent of a wealthy and childless uncle, who could only hope to live in the posterity of his niece.

The north-eastern region of Italy, which began to be vivified by the rising industry and splendour of Venice, extends from the shores of the Adriatic to the foot of the Alps. Had experience confirmed the prolific virtues of the climate: did the Venetian hens lay one or two eggs every day; did the ewes drop their lambs twice or thrice in a year; were the women delivered of two or three infants at a birth, the land must soon be over-stocked and exhausted. After translating the Greek fables into simple truth, we shall still acknowledge one of the most pleasant and plentiful regions of Italy, a soil productive of grass, corn and vines, a generous breed of horses, and innumerable flocks of sheep, more precious by the fineness of their wool. Padua, the first of the fifty cities of Venetia, had been so often trampled by the passage of the barbarians, that few vestiges remained of the ancient splendour, which, in the tide of human affairs, she afterwards recovered and surpassed. Fifteen miles to the south of Padua, Albert-Azo the First fixed his permanent and principal seat, in the castle and town of Ateste, or *Este*, formerly a Roman colony of some note: and by an harmless anticipation we may apply to his descendants the title of Marquis of Este; which they did not however assume till the end of the twelfth century. From Este their new estates, the inheritance of Hugo the Great, extended to the Adege, the Po, and the Mincius. Their farms and cattle were scattered over the plain: many of the heights, Montagnana, Monselice, &c. were occupied by their forts and garrisons; and

and they possessed a valuable tract of marsh land, the island (as it may be styled) of Rovigo, which almost reaches to the gates of Ferrara. The first step in the emigrations of the family was from the neighbourhood of the Tuscan, to that of the Adriatic sea.

The name and character of the Marquis, Albert-Azo the Second, shine conspicuous through the gloom of the eleventh century. The most remarkable features in the portrait are, 1. His Ligurian marquissate. 2. His riches. 3. His long life. 4. His marriages. 5. His rank of nobility in the public opinion. The glory of his descendants is reflected on the founder; and Azo II. claims our attention as the stem of the two great branches of the pedigree; as the common father of the Italian and German princes of the kindred lines of Este and Brunswick.

1. The fair conjecture that the two Otberts, the father and son, commanded at Milan and Genoa with the title and office of Marquis, acquires a new degree of probability for Azo I. and ascends to the level of historic truth in the person of Azo II. Before the middle of the eleventh century the ruins of Genoa had been restored; its active inhabitants excelled in the arts of navigation and trade: their arms had been felt on the African coast, and their credit was established in the ports of Egypt and Greece. Their riches increased with their industry, and their liberty with their riches. Yet they continued to obey, or at least revere, the majesty of the emperors. In an act, as it should seem of the year one thousand and forty-eight, the Marquis Albert-Azo presides at Genoa in a court of justice, and his assessors, the magistrates of the city, are proud to style themselves the consuls and judges of the sacred palace. The royal dignity of Pavia was gradually eclipsed by the wealth and populousness of Milan, the first of the Italian cities that dared to erect the standard of independence. The government of Milan was divided between the two representatives of St. Ambrose and of Cæsar. The veneration of the flock for the shepherd was fortified by the temporal state and privileges of the archbishop, and his annual revenue of fourscore thousand pieces of gold supplied an ample fund for benevolence or luxury. The civil and military powers were exercised by the Duke or Marquis of Milan (for these titles were promiscuously used), and the voice of tradition is clear and positive that this hereditary office was vested in the ancestors of the house of Este. Some of the prerogatives which they assumed are expressive of the rigour of the feudal system: they were the heirs of all who died childless and intestate, and a fine was paid on the birth of each infant who

defeated

defeated their claim : their officers levied a tax on the markets, and their minute inquisition exacted the first loaf of bread from each oven, and the first log of wood from every cart-load that entered the gates. Yet an old historian, more forcibly affected with the calamities of his own days, deplores the long felicity of their golden age, which had been equally praised by the blessings of the feeble and the curses of the strong. They drew their swords for the service of the prince and people, but their reign was distinguished by long intervals of prosperity and peace. The distant possessions and various avocations of the Duke or Marquis often diverted him from the exercise of this municipal trust : his powers were devolved on the viscounts and captains of Milan ; these subordinate tyrants formed an alliance, or rather conspiracy, with the *valvassors*, or nobles of the first class ; and the people was afflicted by the discord or the union of a lawless oligarchy. A private insult exasperated the patience of the plebeians : they rose in arms, and their numbers and fury prevailed in the bloody contest. The captains and nobles retired ; but they retired with a spirit of revenge ; collected their vassals and peasants of the adjacent country ; encompassed the city with a circumvallation of six fortresses, and in a siege or blockade of three years reduced the inhabitants to the last extremes of famine and distress. By the interposition of the Emperor and the Archbishop the peace of Milan was restored : the factions were reconciled : they wisely refused a garrison of four thousand Germans ; but they acquiesced in the civil government of the empire. The Marquis again ascended his tribunal, and that Marquis is Albert-Azo the Second. A judicial act of the year one thousand and forty-five attests his title and jurisdiction ; and as the representative of the Emperor, he imposes a fine of a thousand pieces of gold. The progress of Italian liberty reduced his office to the empty name of Marquis of Liguria, and such he is styled by the historians of the age. In the next century, his grandson, Obizo I. is invested by the Emperor Frederic I. with the honours of Marquis of Milan and Genoa, as his grandfather Azo held them of the empire ; but this splendid grant commemorates the dignity, without reviving the power, of the House of Este.

2. Like one of his Tuscan ancestors, Azo the Second was distinguished among the princes of Italy by the epithet of the *Rich*. The particulars of his rent-roll cannot now be ascertained ; an occasional, though authentic deed of investiture, enumerates eighty-three fiefs or manors which he held of the empire in Lombardy and Tuscany, from the marquisate

marquisate of Este to the county of Luni : but to these possessions must be added the lands which he enjoyed as the vassal of the church, the ancient patrimony of Otbert (the *Terra Obertenga*) in the counties of Arezzo, Pisa, and Lucca, and the marriage portion of his first wife, which, according to the various readings of the manuscripts, may be computed either at twenty, or at two hundred thousand English acres. If such a mass of landed property were now accumulated on the head of an Italian nobleman, the annual revenue might satisfy the largest demands of private luxury or avarice, and the fortunate owner would be rich in the improvement of agriculture, the manufactures of industry, the refinement of taste, and the extent of commerce. But the barbarism of the eleventh century diminished the income, and aggravated the expence, of the Marquis of Este. In a long series of war and anarchy, man and the works of man had been swept away ; and the introduction of each ferocious and idle stranger had been over-balanced by the loss of five or six perhaps of the peaceful industrious natives. The mischievous growth of vegetation, the frequent inundations of the rivers, were no longer checked by the vigilance of labour ; the face of the country was again covered with forests and morasses ; of the vast domains which acknowledged Azo for their lord, the far greater part was abandoned to the wild beasts of the field, and a much smaller portion was reduced to the state of constant and productive husbandry. An adequate rent may be obtained from the skill and substance of a free tenant, who fertilizes a grateful soil, and enjoys the security and benefit of a long lease. But faint is the hope, and scanty is the produce of those harvests, which are raised by the reluctant toil of peasants and slaves, condemned to a bare subsistence, and careless of the interests of a rapacious master. If his granaries are full, his purse is empty ; and the want of cities or commerce, the difficulty of finding or reaching a market, obliges him to consume on the spot a part of his useless stock, which cannot be exchanged for merchandize or money. The member of a well-regulated society is defended from private wrongs by the laws, and from public injuries by the arms of the state ; and the tax which he pays is a just equivalent for the protection which he receives. But the guard of his life, his honour, and his fortune was abandoned to the private sword of a feudal chief ; and if his own temper had been inclined to moderation and patience, the public contempt would have roused him to deeds of violence and revenge. The entertainment of his vassal and soldiers, their pay and rewards, their arms and horses, sur-
passed

passed the measure of the most oppressive tribute, and the destruction which he inflicted on his neighbours was often retaliated on his own lands. The costly elegance of palaces and gardens was superseded by the laborious and expensive construction of strong castles, on the summits of the most inaccessible rocks; and some of these, like the fortress of Canossa in the Appenine, were built and provided to sustain a three years siege against a royal army. But his defence in this world was less burthenome to a wealthy lord than his salvation in the next: the demands of his chapel, his priests, his alms, his offerings, his pilgrimages were incessantly renewed; the monastery chosen for his sepulchre was endowed with his fairest possessions, and the naked heir might often complain, that his father's sins had been redeemed at too high a price. The Marquis Azo was not exempted from the contagion of the times: his devotion was amused and inflamed by the frequent miracles which were performed in his presence; and the monks of Vangadizza, who yielded to his request the arm of a dead saint, were ignorant of the value of that inestimable jewel. After satisfying the demands of war and superstition, he might appropriate the rest of his revenue to use and pleasure. But the Italians of the eleventh century were imperfectly skilled in the liberal and mechanic arts: the objects of foreign luxury were furnished at an exorbitant price by the merchants of Pisa and Venice; and the superfluous wealth, which could not purchase the real comforts of life, was idly wasted on some rare occasions of vanity and pomp. Such were the nuptials of Boniface, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, whose family was long afterwards united with that of Azo, by the marriage of their children. These nuptials were celebrated on the banks of the Mincius, which the fancy of Virgil has decorated with a more beautiful picture. The princes and people of Italy were invited to the feasts, which continued three months: the fertile meadows, which are intersected by the slow and winding course of the river, were covered with innumerable tents, and the bridegroom displayed and diversified the scenes of his proud and tasteless magnificence. All the utensils of service were of silver, and his horses were shod with plates of the same metal, loosely nailed, and carelessly dropped, to indicate his contempt of riches. An image of plenty and profusion was expressed in the banquet: the most delicious wines were drawn in buckets from the well; and the spices of the East were ground in water-mills like common flour. The dramatic and musical arts were in the rudest state; but the Marquis had summoned the most popular singers, harpers, and buffoons, to
exercise

exercise their talents on this splendid theatre. Their exhibitions were applauded, and they applauded the liberality of their patron. After this festival, I might remark a singular gift of the same Boniface to the Emperor Henry III., a chariot and oxen of solid silver, which were designed only as a vehicle for a hoghead of vinegar. If such an example should seem above the imitation of Azo himself, the Marquis of Este was at least superior in wealth and dignity to the vassals of his compeer. One of these vassals, the Viscount of Mantua, presented the German monarch with one hundred falcons, and one hundred bay horses, a grateful contribution to the pleasures of a royal sportsman. In that age, the proud distinction between the nobles and *princes* of Italy was guarded with jealous ceremony: the Viscount of Mantua had never been seated at the table of his immediate lord: he yielded to the invitation of the Emperor; and a stag's skin, filled with pieces of gold, was graciously accepted by the Marquis of Tuscany as the fine of his presumption.

3. The temporal felicity of Azo was crowned by the long possession of honours and riches: he died in the year one thousand and ninety-seven, aged upwards of an hundred years; and the term of his mortal existence was almost commensurate with the lapse of the eleventh century. The character, as well as the situation of the Marquis of Este, rendered him an actor in the revolutions of that memorable period: but time has cast a veil over the virtues and vices of the man, and I must be content to mark some of the æras, the mile-stones of his life, which measure the extent and intervals of the vacant way. Albert-Azo the Second was no more than seventeen when he first drew the sword of rebellion or patriotism, when he was involved with his grand-father, his father, and his three uncles, in a common proscription. In the vigour of manhood, about his fiftieth year, the Ligurian Marquis governed the cities of Milan and Genoa, as the minister of Imperial authority. He was upwards of seventy when he passed the Alps to vindicate the inheritance of Maine for the children of his second marriage. He became the friend and servant of Gregory VII., and in one of his epistles, that ambitious pontiff recommends the Marquis Azo as the most faithful and best beloved of the Italian princes; as the proper channel through which a king of Hungary might convey his petitions to the apostolic throne. In the mighty contest between the crown and the mitre, the Marquis Azo and the Countess Matilda led the powers of Italy, and when the standard of St. Peter was displayed, neither the age of the one, nor the sex of the other, could detain them from the field. With
these

these two affectionate clients the Pope maintained his station in the fortress of Canossa, while the Emperor, bare-foot on the frozen ground, fasted and prayed three days at the foot of the rock: they were witnesses to the abject ceremony of the penance and pardon of Henry IV.; and in the triumph of the church, a patriot might foresee the deliverance of Italy from the German yoke. At the time of this event the Marquis of Este was above fourscore; but in the twenty following years he was still alive and active amidst the revolutions of peace and war. The last act which he subscribed is dated above a century after his birth; and in that act the venerable chief possesses the command of his faculties, his family, and his fortune. In this rare prerogative of longevity Albert-Azo II. stands alone; nor can I recollect in the *authentic* annals of mortality a single example of a king or prince, of a statesman or general, of a philosopher or poet, whose life has been extended beyond the period of an hundred years. Nor should this observation, which is justified by universal experience, be thought either strange or surprising. It has been found, that of twenty-four thousand new-born infants, seven only will survive to attain that distant term; and much smaller is the proportion of those who will be raised by fortune or genius, to govern or afflict, or enlighten, their age or country. The chance that the same individual should draw the two great prizes in the lottery of life, will not easily be defined by the powers of calculation. Three approximations, which will not hastily be matched, have distinguished the present century, Aurungzeb, Cardinal Fleury, and Fontenelle. Had a fortnight more been given to the philosopher, he might have celebrated his secular festival; but the lives and labours of the Mogul king and the French minister were terminated before they had accomplished their ninetieth year. A strong constitution may be the gift of Nature; but the few who survive their contemporaries must have been superior to the passions and appetites which urge the speedy decay and dissolution of the mind and body. The Marquis of Este may be presumed, from his riches and longevity, to have understood the œconomy of health and fortune.

4. I remember a Persian tale of three old men, who were successively questioned by a traveller as he met them on the road. The youngest brother, under the load of a wife and a numerous family, was sinking into the grave before his time. The second, though much older, was far less infirm and decrepid: he had been left a widower and without children. But the last and eldest of the three brothers still preserved, at an incredible age, the vigour and vivacity of the

autumnal season: he had always preferred a life of celibacy. The enjoyment of domestic freedom could not however contribute to the longevity of the Marquis Azo; he married three wives; he educated three sons; and it is doubtful whether chance or prudence delayed his first nuptials till he had at least accomplished the fortieth year of his age. These nuptials were contracted with Cuniza, or Cunegonda, a German maid, whose ancestors, by their nobility and riches, were distinguished among the Suabian and Bavarian chiefs; whose brother was invested by the Emperor Henry III. with the Duchy of Carinthia, and the Marquisate of Verona, on the confines of the Venetian possessions of the House of Este. The marriage of Azo and Cunegonda was productive of a son, who received at his baptism the name of GUELPH, to revive and perpetuate the memory of his uncle, his grandfather, and his first progenitors, on the maternal side. I have already defined the ample domain which was given as a marriage-portion to the daughter of the Guelphs: but on the failure of heirs male, her fortunate son inherited the patrimonial estates of the family, obtained the dukedom of Bavaria, and became the founder of the eldest, or German branch, of the House of Este, from which the Dukes of Brunswick, the Electors of Hanover, and the Kings of Great Britain, are lineally descended. After the decease of Cunegonda, who must have departed this life in the flower of her age, the Marquis of Este solicited a second alliance beyond the Alps: but his delicacy no longer insisted on the choice of a virgin; the widower was contented with a widow; and he excused the ambiguous stain which might adhere to his bride by a divorce from her first husband. Her name was Garfenda, the daughter, and at length the heiress of the Counts of Main. She became the mother of two sons, Hugo and Fulk, and the youngest of these is the acknowledged parent of the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena. The same liberal fortune which had crowned the offspring of the first, seemed to attend the children of the second nuptials of the Marquis Azo: but *their* fortune was hollow and fallacious, and after the loss of their Gallic inheritance, the sons of Garfenda reluctantly acquiesced in some fragments of their Italian patrimony. Matilda, the third wife of Azo, was another widow of noble birth, since she was his own cousin in the fourth degree; but this consanguinity provoked the stern and impartial justice of Gregory VII. His friend was summoned to appear before a synod at Rome: the inflexible priest pronounced a sentence of divorce, and whatsoever idea may be formed of the Marquis's vigour, at the age

age of seventy-eight, he might submit, without much effort, to the canons of the church. Besides his three sons, Azo had a daughter named Adelais, who was educated in the family of the Countess Matilda. But the damsel is only mentioned to attest the miraculous virtue of Anselm Bishop of Lucca: she was relieved in the night from a violent fit of the cholic, by the local application of a pillow, on which the Saint had formerly reposed his head.

V. A wealthy Marquis of the eleventh century must have commanded a proud hereditary rank in civil society. In the judgment of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Public, Albert-Azo was distinguished among the princes, and the first princes, of the kingdom of Italy. His double alliance in Germany and France may prove how much he was known and esteemed among foreign nations; and he strengthened his political importance by a domestic union with the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily. I shall not repeat the story of the Norman adventurers, nor shall I again delineate the character and exploits of Robert Guiscard, which, to the readers of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, are sufficiently familiar. But as Duke Robert had four daughters, the choice of his other three sons-in-law may serve as a test, a touchstone, of the comparative weight and value of the House of Este. Michael, Emperor of the Greeks, was the first name in the Christian world. Raymond, Count of Barcelona, was the independent sovereign of a warlike people; and the meanest of the three, a French Baron, of military renown, was the cousin of the Kings of France and Jerusalem, the brother-in-law of the King of Navarre and Arragon. Such were three of the sons, by alliance, of the Norman conqueror, who had previously rejected a proposal for the eldest son of the Emperor Henry IV.: the marriage of a fourth daughter will be most accurately represented in the words of the Apulian poet:

“ While the hero resided within the walls of the Trojan
 “ city, he received the visit of a certain noble Lombard
 “ Marquis, accompanied by many nobles of his country.
 “ Azo was his name. The object of his journey was to
 “ request that the Duke’s daughter might be granted as a
 “ wife to Hugo, his *illustrious* son. The duke convened
 “ an assembly of his chiefs, and with their consent and ad-
 “ vice, the daughter of Robert was delivered to the son of
 “ Azo. The nuptial rites were solemnized in due form,
 “ and the festival was celebrated with gifts and banquets.
 “ After the consummation of the marriage, the Duke soli-
 “ cited his Counts and powerful vassals to bestow a free

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“ gift,

“ gift, which might grace the joyful departure of the bride
 “ and bridegroom, and he enforced his demand, by remind-
 “ ing them that no subsidy whatsoever had been given to her
 “ sister, the Greek Empress. The demand of a tribute was
 “ entertained with a murmur of surprise and discontent; but
 “ all opposition was fruitless, and they presented their sove-
 “ reign with mules and horses, and various offerings. He
 “ bestowed them on the husband of his daughter, with an
 “ addition from his own treasures: a fleet was prepared, and
 “ both the father and son were transported with great honour
 “ to their native shores.” This evidence of a contemporary
 poet, or rather historian, who had no temptation to flatter
 the Princes of Este, would alone be sufficient to establish
 the nobility and splendour of their family, the family of
 Brunswick, beyond the distant term of seven hundred years.
 If the Marquis Azo were the first of his race whose name
 and memory had been preserved, we might acquiesce in our
 ignorance, with a just persuasion of the dignity and power
 of his unknown ancestors. Of these illustrious ancestors,
 the zeal and diligence of Leibnitz and Muratori have disco-
 vered four probable, and four certain degrees. After the
 examination of their proofs, a scrupulous critic may suspect,
 that in deriving the Marquisses of Este from those of Tus-
 cany, “ the ascent of reason has been aided by the wings of
 “ imagination;” but he must confess, that since the begin-
 ning of the tenth century, the series of generations flows in
 a clear and unbroken stream.

SECTION III.

THE eldest of the three sons of the Marquis Azo, the
 fortunate Guelph, was transplanted from his native soil, to
 become the root of the German, and, in the fullness of time,
 of the British line, of the family of Este. By his two
 younger brothers, Hugo and Fulk, the Italian succession
 was propagated: but the race of Hugo expired in the second
 degree; the posterity of Fulk still survives in the twentieth
 generation. The ancestors of Guelph, on the father's and
 the mother's side, and the series of his descendants in Ba-
 varia and Saxony, form the antiquities of the House of
 Brunswick, and the proper subject of this historical dis-
 course: but our curiosity will naturally embrace the colla-
 teral branch of the Princes of Este, Ferrara, and Modena,

who

who have not been unworthy of their first progenitors, and more powerful kinsmen. Without confining myself to the rigid servitude of annals, without resting on every step of a long pedigree, I shall concisely display the most interesting scenes of their various fortunes.

As the right of female succession began to prevail in the feudal system of France, Garfenda, the second wife of Azo, might claim the duchy or county of Maine, which had been successively possessed by her father, her brother, and her nephew. Her pretensions were legitimate; but the heiress of Maine had been married into a distant land: her arms were feeble, her vassals factious, her neighbours unjust. William Duke of Normandy, a famous name, was tempted by the prospect of a fertile and adjacent territory: he muttered some pretence of a gift or alliance: but ambition was his only motive, and his only title was superior strength. Four years the Cenomani, the people of Maine, reluctantly bowed under his iron sceptre; but after the forces of Normandy had been transported beyond the sea, they were encouraged by the absence, rather than awed by the success and glory of the conqueror of England. They solicited the Marquis of Liguria to assert the rights of his wife and son. Azo listened to their call: after the expulsion or massacre of the Normans, the cities and castles were delivered into his hands, the Bishop escaped to the English court, and his new subjects admired the riches and liberality of their deliverer. But in a short time the reign of a stranger became odious and contemptible to the haughty Franks: they discovered that his treasures were exhausted; he perceived that their faith was wavering; and Azo fondly imagined that all discontents would be appeased, and that all parties would be reconciled by his own departure. In the vain hope that the Cenomani would be attached to the daughter and the heir of their ancient princes, he left Garfenda and her infant Hugo under the care of a powerful baron, the guardian of his son, and the husband, as it were, of his wife. But this suspicious or scandalous connection provoked the indignation of the people; the young Prince was dismissed to Italy; Garfenda disappears; and the county of Maine was torn by domestic feuds, till the presence of the conqueror united his rebels in the calm of servitude. Azo still retained a bitter remembrance of his loss and disgrace; and his enemy the Bishop, on a pilgrimage to Rome, was arrested by the revenge, and released by the piety, of the Ligurian Marquis. The death of King William, and the discord of his sons, revived the spirit of the Cenomani, and their deputies invited the sons of Azo to resume the peaceful possession of their lawful inheritance.

inheritance. Hugo again passed the Alps; but the first acclamations again degenerated into the murmurs of the people, and the anathemas of the clergy. The new Count was destitute of every resource that could reward the service, engage the esteem, or enforce the obedience, of his turbulent vassals. The honour of his alliance with the daughter of Robert Guiscard had been soon obliterated by the shame and scandal of a divorce; his countrymen exposed him, with pleasure, to the toils and dangers of a transalpine reign; and the warlike natives of Gaul despised the effeminate manners of an Italian lord. His fears were increased, and his flight was hastened, by the artful eloquence of a rival, who insinuated that his mild and moderate temper was ill formed to struggle with the furious passions of the Barbarians. The son of Garfenda trembled at the approach or the sound of an hundred thousand Normans, sold his patrimony for a sum of ten thousand pounds, and escaped to Italy, where he soon lost a battle and an army, in the service of the Countess Matilda. A writer of the times, who has preserved the memory of this ignominious event, contrasts the treason or cowardice of the man with the nobility of his race. I must retract the assertion, that all the Princes of Este have been worthy of their name and ancestry: Hugo is an exception; but in the space of seven hundred years Hugo is a single exception.

After the decease of his father Azo, the star of the House of Este appears "shorn of its beams;" their riches and power are visibly diminished; and the *Marquisses* of that name no longer stand foremost in the revolutions of Italy. In the annals of the twelfth century their actions are seldom recorded: and as this oblivion coincides with the increasing light of history, we must seek the probable causes in the division of their property, and the ascendant of the municipal republics. 1. After the acquisition of the Duchy, or rather kingdom of Bavaria, Guelph, the son of Azo, might have generously waved the right of primogeniture, and resigned to his younger brothers the Italian estates of the family, as an equivalent for the loss of their Gallic inheritance. But such generosity is seldom found in the selfish conduct of Princes or brothers; and instead of offering, or accepting, an equal and equitable partition, he claimed as his own the entire property of their common parent. If Guelph were an hypocrite, he might colour his avarice by a pious attachment to the relics of his fathers: and a demand, so repugnant to the maxims of natural justice, seems, however, to have been supported by the matrimonial contract of his mother Cunegonda, which had left no provision for the

the children of a second marriage. In that lawless age, a civil process was decided by the sword. Hugo and Fulk had the advantage of actual possession and personal influence, and the latter of these princes was the heir, the sole heir, of the courage of their ancestors: they armed their vassals, occupied the passes of the Alps, and opposed the descent of the Duke of Bavaria, though he was assisted by the allied powers of the Duke of Carinthia and the Patriarch of Aquileia. The sons of Garfenda yielded, at length, to the weight of numbers; but their resistance procured more favourable conditions. They preserved a rich domain, from the banks of the Mincius to the Adriatic sea; they resigned the ample estates of Lombardy and Tuscany to their elder kinsmen, the German Guelphs, and their supreme dominion was acknowledged by the Marquisses of Este, till the yoke was lightened and removed by time and distance, and the rapid downfall of Henry the Lion. The law of the Lombards, which was still professed in the Italian branch, disclaimed all right of primogeniture, and the portion of Hugo and Fulk was again divided into equal lots among their eight sons. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, these collateral lines were indeed united in the person of Azo VI., the great-grandson of Fulk; but he was far from uniting the whole inheritance of his ancestors. Many feudal possessions had devolved on the failure of heirs male to the superior lord: many allodial estates had been conveyed, by marriage, into strange families. Much wealth had been consumed, much land had been alienated, to supply the expence of luxury and war; and of all that had been consecrated to pious uses, not an atom could revert to the temporal successor. 2. As I am not writing the history of Italy, I shall not here attempt to delineate the rise and progress of the republics, which revived in that country the spirit of popular freedom and commercial industry. Their revolt against the Cæsars of Germany was embraced as a national cause: in the successful war against Frederic Barbarossa, their independence was maintained by the authority of the church, and the arms of the nobles; and among the nobles, the Marquisses of Este were still conspicuous in their decay. Obizo the youngest, but the last survivor of the five sons of Fulk, appeared at A.D. 1177. the congress of Venice with a retinue of an hundred and eighty followers: he had been engaged in the league of Lombardy; and such was his patriotic guilt, that when the Emperor had yielded every thing in the peace of Constance, the pardon of the Marquis Obizo was one of the last acts A.D. 1183. of his clemency. As we may not suspect these feudal lords of any tender regard for the liberties of mankind, it may be

be fairly supposed that they acted from the passion or the interest of the moment, without discerning that they themselves would be trampled under the feet of the plebeian conquerors. Their pride was insulted, and their poverty was exposed, by the private and public luxury of trade: their subjects of the open country were encouraged to rebel, or tempted to desert; and as soon as the prejudice of rank had been dissolved, the scale of power was rudely weighed down by the last and most numerous class of society. Even the inhabitants of Este, his peculiar patrimony, presumed to dispute the jurisdiction of the Marquis: and at the distance of fifteen miles, they found an example and a support in the populous city of Padua, which was able to levy an army, and to support a loss of eleven thousand of her sons. The institution of the university must have contributed to the wealth, and perhaps the improvement, of Padua: from the provinces of Italy, from the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England, many thousand students were annually attracted by the reputation of the various professors; and more than five hundred houses were requisite for the accommodation of the strangers. The lessons of the schools might serve only to perpetuate the reign of prejudice, but the inhabitants were enriched and enlightened by a familiar intercourse with the nations of Europe. In this city, the haughty ancestors of Obizo I. had erected their tribunal, as the lieutenants of the Emperor: but Obizo himself was honoured by the choice of a free people, who elected him their *podesta*, or supreme magistrate. In the time of his great-grandson Aldobrandino, a dispute had arisen between the city of Padua and the Marquis of Este. The Paduans raised an army, summoned their allies of Vicenza, invaded his territory, besieged the castle of Este, battered the walls, and even the palace, with their military engines, and imposed the terms of a hard and humiliating capitulation. The Marquis was reduced to adopt the name and obligations of a simple burgher, to swear that he would faithfully obey the laws and ordinances of the commons, and to reside some months or weeks of every year, within the walls of a democracy, in which the lowest magistrate was his superior, and the poorest fellow-citizen his equal. The shame of this temporary submission could only be alleviated by the example of his equals: the Patriarch of Aquileia, with two suffragan bishops, had solicited the honour of being admitted among the citizens of Padua; and the Count of the Sacred Palace, the immediate representative of Imperial majesty, was detained as a captive and a subject, within the walls of Pavia. The popular states of Lombardy triumphed in the fall of the

the aristocracy, and the Marquis of Montferrat was the only noble who had strength and courage to maintain his hereditary independence.

Liberty had raised the minds of the Italians; but faction, her ugly and inseparable sister, corrupted the peace and prosperity of the growing republics. They fought against the Emperor, against their neighbours, against themselves: the necessity of order and discipline compelled them to name a foreign dictator; and the nobles, most eminent in arms, in policy, in power, often became the captains, and sometimes the tyrants, of the independent cities. The Marquisses of Este, and the Eccelins of Romano, were the two leading families of the Trevisane or Veronese March: the memory of their ancestors, and the habits of command, inspired that lofty and martial demeanor which struck the plebeian with involuntary awe; and they were sure to gain the hearts of the multitude, when they softened their pride into artful and popular condescension. The first Eccelin was a gallant knight, and a dextrous politician: in Palestine and Lombardy he was elected standard-bearer or general of the confederate armies; and in the great rebellion against Frederick I., he deserved the confidence of the cities, without forfeiting the esteem of the Emperor. The civil and military virtues of his son, Eccelin the Second, were adorned with the gifts of eloquence: he was the public and private adversary of the House of Este; and as soon as the Marquis Azo VI. had declared himself chief of the Guelphs, the Ghibelline faction acknowledged the Count of Romano for their leader. When the Emperor Otho IV. descended into Italy, his court was attended by the rival chiefs; and their interview describes the manners of the time. Eccelin complained, that in a neutral city, in a moment of truce or friendship, his life had been treacherously attacked. "I was walking," said he, "with the Marquis of Este, on the place of St. Mark in Venice. On a sudden I was assaulted by the swords and daggers of his followers: my friends were slain or made prisoners in my fight; and it was with extreme difficulty that I could disengage my right arm from the strong grasp of my perfidious companion." The Marquis explained or denied the fact: but in these hostile altercations, Azo twice declined a challenge of single combat. He could not draw his sword against Eccelin, without violating the majesty of the Imperial presence; and among his vassals he had many more noble than Salinguerra. His reasons might be good; his courage was unquestionable; but—Azo twice declined a challenge of single combat. The next day, as the two leaders were riding on either side of the Emperor,

Emperor, he commanded them to salute each other. "Sir Eccelin, salute the Marquis; Sir Marquis, salute Eccelin;" and the command was given in the French tongue, which even in that age appears to have been the fashionable dialect. They obeyed: but the superior dignity of the Marquis was maintained, by his receiving and returning the compliment without vailing his bonnet to the humble salute of Eccelin. They soon joined in familiar converse; and before they had rode two miles, the suspicious Emperor, who had been alarmed by their discord, began to be apprehensive of their union. His apprehensions were groundless; and their deadly feuds, in council, in the field, in the cities, continued to rage, with alternate success, till they both slept in the tranquillity of the grave. Their possessions and their quarrels were inherited by their sons, Azo VII. and Eccelin the Third; but in a contest of forty years, the Marquis of Este was long oppressed by the genius and fortune of his rival. The excommunication of Frederic II. exasperated and justified the hostilities of the two factions. From a sermon, a bull, or a crusade, the chief of the Guelphs, the friend of the Pope, might derive some occasional aid: but the leader of the Ghibellines was more strongly supported by the power, and often by the presence, of a warlike Prince, who filled the Trevisane March with his armies of Germans and Saracens. By the authority of the Emperor, his own arts, and the assistance of foreign troops, Eccelin became the captain and tyrant of the cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Feltri, Belluno, Trent, and Brescia: after the loss of his patron, he maintained ten years his independent reign, and proudly boasted, that since Charlemagne, no prince had possessed such absolute sway over the Lombard states. The utmost efforts of his malice and revenge were directed against the Marquis of Este. "Strike the head of the serpent, and you are master of the body," was his frequent exhortation; from a hill near Padua, he pointed to the towers of Este, and shewed the Emperor the hostile territories which were spread over the plain. Destitute of strength and succour, Azo was compelled to solicit pardon, to swear fidelity, and to purchase a precarious respite, by the captivity, perhaps the death, of Rinaldo, his only son, who was delivered, as an hostage, into the hands of Frederic the Second. The town and castle of Este were at length besieged by the forces of Eccelin: his artillery consisted of fourteen great battering engines, which cast stones of twelve hundred pounds weight; and his pioneers, who were drawn from the silver mines of Carinthia, opened a subterraneous passage for the entrance of five hundred soldiers.

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The garrison capitulated; and instead of a total ruin, the fortifications were repaired by Eccelin, who affected to reverence the dignity of the place. He had been praised as an hero; he was gradually, and at length generally, abhorred as a tyrant. The seeming virtues of his youth were stained by the jealous and unrelenting cruelty of his old age: and whatsoever deductions may be allowed on a list of fifty thousand victims, his name will be for ever recorded with the savage monsters of Sicily and Rome. The hatred of mankind began to prevail over their fears; and after a long persecution, and a firm resistance, Azo found the moment of victory and revenge. His odious rival had been invited by one of the factions of Milan: the conspiracy was discovered, the enterprize failed: but on his return to Brescia, in the passage of the Adda, at the well-known bridge of Cassano, he was intercepted by the troops of Mantua, Cremona, and Ferrara, under the banner of the Marquis of Este. After a short combat, the valiant Eccelin (he deserves that praise) was wounded in the foot, and taken prisoner: the few remaining days of his life were embittered by the insults of the multitude, and the more insulting pity of the conqueror. Azo VII. was hailed as the saviour of Lombardy: but he derived more glory than advantage from the tyrant's fall. The cause of the Ghibellines revived under new leaders: the cities of the Trevisane March were usurped by the new families of Scala and Carrara; and instead of asserting their ancient right to the government of Milan, the rising ambition of the Visconti was promoted by the arms and alliance of the Marquisses of Este.

It was in the state of Ferrara that they first established a princely dominion, on the basis, and finally on the ruins, of a popular government. The flat country, which is intersected by the branches of the Po, had formerly been a wild morass, impervious to the Roman highways. About the middle of the seventh century, twelve solitary villages coalesced into a fortified town, on the banks of the river: the safe and convenient situation attracted a crowd of settlers; their labours were rewarded by the conversion of the fens into rich and productive land; and the rising colony was distinguished by the feat of a bishop, and the privileges of a city. After the death of the Countess Matilda, Ferrara tasted the blessings and the mischiefs of liberty: the patricians and plebeians, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, disputed, in arms, the command of the republic: thirty-two towers of defence were erected within the walls; and in forty years the factions were ten times alternately expelled. Among the thirty-four noble families of Ferrara, the pre-eminence
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of wealth and power was claimed by the rival houses of the Adelardi and Taurelli. About the year one thousand one hundred and eighty, the former were reduced to an infant daughter: the proposal of a conciliatory marriage was rejected by their adherents: the heiress was delivered into the hands of Obizo I.: and his grandson Azo VI. was elected as the future husband of the maid; and the future chief of the name and party of the Adelardi. Marchesella died at the age of eight years, before nature would allow her to produce a child, or the law would permit her to subscribe a will: but the whole inheritance of her fathers was yielded to the Marquis of Este, and his gratitude, or ambition, distributed the fiefs among his friends and followers. By this step,

A.D. 1208. he acquired a commanding influence at Ferrara: Azo VI. was declared perpetual lord and governor of the republic; and this act, which is still extant, betrays the madness of party, by the grant of absolute and unconditional power. From this power, his son was degraded to the humiliating permission of an annual visit; a popular and prosperous state was again established by the Ghibellines, and it was not till after thirty-two years of revolutions that the sovereignty of the House of Este was fixed by the valour and conduct of the

A.D. 1240. seventh Azo. At the head of the confederate forces of the Pope, of Venice, and of Bologna, he marched against Ferrara: but a humane conqueror might lament that the revolution was effected by the calamities of a siege, and condemned by the retreat of fifteen hundred citizens. These

A.D. 1264. evils were indeed compensated by the wisdom and justice of twenty-four years: his funeral was honoured by the tears of the opposite faction; and at the age of seventeen, his grandson, Obizo II., succeeded to the office, or rather the inheritance, of his father. The reputation of Obizo II. engaged the turbulent republics of Modena and Reggio to accept him for their prince; and at the time of his decease, three populous cities, with their ample territories, were subject to the sway of the Marquisses of Este. Modena and Reggio were indeed lost by the imprudence of his son, the levity of the people, and the arts of the Ghibellines; and the separation lasted thirty years in the one, and an hundred in the other, before the rebellious children were reconciled to their parent. But the submission of Ferrara was pure and permanent, and the lapse of time insensibly erased the forms and maxims of

A.D. 1308. the old republic. After the death of Azo VIII., whose last will preferred a bastard to a brother, Ferrara was oppressed by the avarice of the Venetians, the ambition of the Pope, and the Catalan mercenaries of the king of Naples: but the spirit of patriotism and loyalty still lived in the hearts of the citizens,

citizens, and they soon rose to the deliverance and defence of their country under the banner of the *white eagle*. This constant affection is at once the praise of the subject and sovereign. This praise is the more precious, as it must almost be confined to the subjects of the Marquisses of Este. They were ranked among the princes of Italy at a time when the families which afterwards emerged to greatness were confounded with the meanest of the people. They were the first who after the twelfth century acquired by popular election the dominion of a free city. And they still subsist with splendour and dignity, while the tyrants more conspicuous in their day have left only a name, and for the most part an odious name, to the annals of their country.

The states of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio were fairly won and recovered by the labour and fortune of the Marquisses of Este. But the liberality of the popes and emperors was an easy and profitable virtue: they granted the right to those who had the actual possession, bestowed the title where the substance was lost, and confirmed their pretensions by resigning to others what they were unable to obtain or to hold for their own use. The Court of Rome was informed of the merit and reputation of Azo VI.; and he accepted from the two sovereigns of Christendom, from Pope Innocent III. and the Emperor Otho IV. a double investiture of the marquissate of Ancona, which extended over twelve dioceses and counties between the Adriatic and the Apennine. But this splendid gift was no more than the right without the power of subduing a warlike people, in strong opposition to the church and the empire. This enterprize, which might seem above the strength of Azo, was vigorously prosecuted by his eldest son the Marquis Aldobrandino, who raised the supplies of the war by pawning his younger brother to the usurers of Florence. The war was suspended by his untimely death; the conquest was never achieved; the pledge was never redeemed, and in the third generation the vain title of Marquis of Ancona was silently dismissed. The fens of Ferrara might have been included within the limits of the exarchate, the successors of St. Peter might allege the donations of Constantine, of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and of the Countess Matilda: but in the first century after their election, the Marquisses of Este acknowledged no superior, save God and the people. It was in a moment of distress and exile, that they accepted from Clement V. the title of Vicars of the Church: that they submitted to hold the feudatory possession of Ferrara by an annual payment of ten thousand gold florins. They regained
their

their sovereignty without the aid, and against the efforts, of the court of Rome: the treaty was however ratified, and if the tribute suffered some occasional abatement, they could never break the chain of feudal dependence, which was at length fatal to the House of Este. After the recovery of Modena and Reggio, they obtained on more easy terms the title of Vicars of the empire: and the natives of Italy, like those of India, continued to reverence the seal and subscription of their impotent king. Before the end of the fourteenth century, the German emperors, who had been accustomed to the traffic of avarice and vanity, were tempted to revive in Italy the long-forgotten title of Duke: and at the price of an hundred thousand gold florins the Visconti of Milan were exalted above the heads of their equals. Twenty-two years afterwards, the exclusive dignity of the Dukes of Milan was somewhat impaired by the similar honours of the Dukes of Savoy. The third candidate was Borso Marquis of Este, the twelfth in lineal descent from the old Marquis Albert-Azo the Second: his reign was wise and fortunate, and the proverb which he left behind him "This is not the time of Duke Borso," is far more glorious than all the trappings of mortal pride. In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-two, by the Emperor Frederic the Third he was created Duke of Modena and Reggio. Eighteen years afterwards the ambitious imitation of Pope Paul the Second conferred on Borso the superior title of Duke of Ferrara; and the crowns, the mantles, and the sceptres used in these pompous investitures, were second only to the majesty of kings. In the sixteenth century, a duke was imposed on the republic of Florence by the arms and authority of Charles V.; and the genius of the great Cosmo soon gave him a rank in the political system of Europe. A dispute for precedency arose between the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence; and if the Este could boast the nobility of their race, and the priority of their creation, the Medici might plead the wealth, the extent, and perhaps the independence, of the state over which they reigned. The courts of Rome and Vienna long balanced their respective claims without risking a final sentence; and the dispute could be appeased only by the invention of the new title and prerogatives of Grand Duke of Tuscany. In this frivolous contest the powers of France and Spain were interested, and had it been decided by arms, such a war would have added a chapter to the annals of human vanity.

While the honours of the Este were multiplied by popes and emperors, a republic insulted and almost oppressed the Dukes of Ferrara. Had Venice been prudent, Venice would

would have been content with the riches of commerce and the command of the sea. But this maritime empire served only to stimulate the ambition of an Italian conquest: discipline and wealth obtained an easy victory over weakness and discord; and in the fifteenth century the provinces of *Terra Firma* were added to the dominion of St. Mark. Nicholas the Third, Marquis of Este, and Lord of Ferrara, made a feeble effort to assist the Carrara princes, and to save the important barrier of Padua. The Venetians instantly A.D. 1405. filled the Po with armed vessels; his territories were ravaged; his capital was starved, till he left his allies to their fate; implored the mercy of the senate, and resigned himself to such conditions as resentment and avarice could impose. After a servitude of fourscore years, his son Hercules I. was accused of a generous, or criminal revolt: the superior forces of Venice encompassed Ferrara by sea and land, and if a league of the Italian powers protected him from total ruin, the Duke was bound by the new treaty in a closer and more weighty chain. 1. A superior title, and more ample sway, A.D. 1482. might compensate for the loss of property and command in —1484. the neighbourhood of Padua. But ESTE was still dear and sacred to the princes of that name: the transient recovery of A.D. 1389. the castle, the town, and the fief, had delighted their hereditary pride, and it was not without regret that they beheld that ancient possession, the source of their title, for ever melted into the Venetian state. The *Polesine*, or island of Rovigo, which had once been mortgaged for sixty thousand ducats to the Venetians, was irrevocably ceded by Hercules I.; and not a vestige remained of the patrimonial estates to the north of the Po, which had been acquired five hundred years before by the marriage of Albert-Azo I. 2. The goods and persons of the Venetians who descended the Po, were exempt from all tolls and duties whatsoever: every stranger was shielded under that respectable name; and even the peasants of the borders began to claim the immunities of St. Mark. The same grievance which impaired the revenue, attacked the sovereignty of the Duke of Ferrara, since he was forbidden to raise any forts or barriers, which might obstruct a free passage through his territories either by land or water. 3. With the avarice of a trading power, Venice aspired to a monopoly of salt in the Adriatic Gulph. The Duke was rigorously deprived of the use and profits of his salt-works of Commachio; and his subjects were compelled to purchase in a foreign market one of the necessities of life, which Nature had so profusely scattered on their own shores. 4. A citizen of Venice resided at
Ferrara

Ferrara with the title of *Vicedominus*; he was the proper judge of his countrymen; but the arrogance of his behaviour insulted the prince, his daily usurpations interrupted the course of justice, and his last act was the imprisonment of a native and a priest. Peace was oppressive; but war might have been fatal to the House of Este. The three last sovereigns of Padua, a father and his two sons, had been strangled in the prisons of Venice; the remains of the Carrara and Scala families were proscribed; and the deliberate cruelty of the senate was justified by the examples of ancient Rome.

Twenty-five years after the last treaty of Hercules I. his son and successor Alphonso I. embraced the fairest hope of liberty and revenge. In the league of Cambray, the four great potentates of Europe united their arms against a single republic; the Pope, Julius II.; the Emperor, Maximilian of Austria; Lewis XII. King of France and Duke of Milan; and Ferdinand King of Arragon and Naples. Each of the allies had suffered some injuries, had lost some territories, and they all considered the prosperity of Venice with the same sentiments of indignation and envy which are excited in the breast of a noble by the luxury and insolence of a wealthy merchant. While Maximilian delayed, while Ferdinand dissembled, while the Pope pronounced his excommunications, the King of France, at the head of his invincible cavalry, had passed the Alps, and on the banks of the Adda, the mercenary bands of St. Mark were trampled under their horses feet. The firmness of Rome after a great defeat was not imitated by the senators of Venice: they despaired of the republic, evacuated in a day the conquests of an age, and abandoned to the confederates the division of the spoil. Under the wing of these confederates, Alphonso Duke of Ferrara had acceded to the league of Cambray, and accepted the office, or rather the title, of Standard-bearer or General of the Church. The first act of hostility was to vindicate his independence: the county of Rovigo yielded to his attack; and he received from the Emperor the investiture of Este. In this public shipwreck Venice was saved by the zeal of her nobles, and the fidelity of her subjects: the nobles sacrificed their lives, or at least their fortunes, in their own cause; the subjects, without speculating on the theory of government, had long enjoyed, and now regretted, the wisdom and justice of a parental aristocracy. The metropolis was impregnable and rich; the transmarine provinces were untouched; the navy was entire; new armies were purchased; the allies began to feel suspicion, and to affect pity;

pity; and the deliverance of Padua announced the rising fortunes of the republic. While the Venetians strove to resist or disarm their more formidable enemies, the rebel Alphonso (such was the style of the senate) was marked as the object of vengeance, to which his station exposed him on every side. Against the advice of their wisest counsellors, their admiral Angelo Trevisano, with eighteen gallies and a train of brigantines, entered the mouth of the Po, spread desolation on either bank, and prepared with forts and bridges the passage of the army and the siege of Ferrara. But the army was called away by a seasonable diversion; and the fleet was destroyed by the valour and conduct of the Duke himself, and his brother the Cardinal Hippolito. Under the shelter of the dykes they had planted their long batteries, which supported an incessant fire: and the affrighted Venetians were suddenly oppressed by the armed vessels which issued from the city. The admiral ignominiously fled with the great standard of St. Mark; two gallies escaped, three were burnt or sunk, and the remaining thirteen followed the triumph of the conqueror, who immediately assaulted and demolished all the works of the siege. His victory might be ascribed to his superior artillery, and that superiority was the effect of his own skill and industry. Three hundred cannons were cast in his foundery, and deposited in his arsenal: he liberally entertained the best engineers; and the well-adapted fortifications of stone, of earth, and of water, had rendered Ferrara one of the strongest places in Italy. The French, who served with their ally, celebrate the politeness, the knowledge, the magnificence of the Duke: and Alphonso expended above three hundred thousand ducats to reward the service, and to secure the friendship, of the Gallic chiefs.

But their friendship soon became dangerous to the House of Este, when the same confederates who had joined with France for the destruction of Venice, conspired with Venice for the expulsion of the French. The new league was formed and sanctified by Julius II., who secretly aspired to deliver Italy from the barbarians: and the fidelity of the Duke of Ferrara to his first engagements exasperated the fiercest and most ambitious of the successors of St. Peter. Alphonso was degraded from the rank of a vassal and a Christian: his rich forfeiture was devoured by the avarice perhaps of a papal nephew, and his sentence of condemnation was extended to both worlds. Against him the temporal and spiritual arms of Rome were equally directed: his city of Modena was occupied: in the depth of a severe winter the presence of Julius animated the troops, and the aged,

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1512.

father of the Christians pressed the siege of Mirandola with the vigour of a youthful soldier. Ferrara however was saved by its own strength and the Gallic succours: the army of Lewis XII. invaded the ecclesiastical state under the command of his nephew, the valiant Gaston of Foix: in the

A. D. 1512. battle of Ravenna the fury of the French cavalry was encountered by the firmness of the Spanish infantry, and the success of the day might be attributed in some degree to the Duke of Ferrara, who led the vanguard, and directed the infantry. But after the loss of Gaston, the strange retreat of the victorious army, and the rapid evacuation of Italy, the solitary and humble client of France remained without defence under the hand of a merciless oppressor. While he waited as a suppliant in the Vatican, his city of Reggio was surprized and stolen; he was insulted by the proposal of yielding Ferrara for a poor and precarious exchange; and even the validity of his safe conduct was questioned by a perfidious court. The liberty, and perhaps the life of Alphonso were rescued by the grateful friendship of the Colonna: they forced the Lateran Gate, lodged him in the castle of Marino, and watched over his escape in the various disguises, of a huntsman, a servant, and a friar. A single

A. D. 1513. event could suspend his ruin; and by that event was his ruin suspended. Julius II. expired: his passions were buried in his tomb; but his policy with a milder aspect still reigned in the councils of his successors. Leo X. was too generous to be just; and the ambition of his family was concealed by the sacred veil of the honour and interest of the church.

A. D. 1515. After the victory of Marignan, Francis I. might have discharged his obligations by an act of equity and power: but instead of commanding he negotiated with the court of Rome. The restitution of Modena and Reggio to his long-suffering ally, was often promised, and as often eluded: the failure of a secret conspiracy provoked the Roman pontiff to thunder a new sentence of excommunication and forfeiture; and one of the medals of Alphonso attests his miraculous deliverance from the *lion's* paw. Adrian VI. had a conscience, a faculty long dormant in the vicars of Christ: but his scruples were removed by the Italian casuists; and he found it more easy to absolve the sins than to restore the states of the House of Este. Clement VII. an illegitimate son, adopted the politics of the Medici; and had his arts been successful, Machiavel, who was still alive, might have been proud of his disciple. After a tedious and treacherous delay, the sword of Alphonso vindicated his own rights; and his prudence seized the fortunate moments of the conclave and the captivity of Clement VII. The gates of Modena
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and Reggio were joyfully opened to their native prince : and on a payment to the Pope of an hundred thousand ducats, his possession was confirmed by the sentence of the Emperor Charles V. whose interest prompted him to establish the peace of Italy. During these revolutions the Duke of Ferrara concluded a truce, and finally a treaty, with the Venetians : his patrimonial estates of Este and Rovigo were for ever lost : but he no longer felt or feared the tyranny of a republic which had been trained to moderation in the school of adversity.

Among the noble marriages of the Este, two princes, Azo VIII. and Hercules I., had been allied to the crown of Naples in the rival houses of Anjou and Arragon. But these lofty connections had not been productive of any solid benefit, and the Venetians signified their displeasure that the Duke of Ferrara had preferred the daughter of a king, instead of chusing a senator for his father and patron. In the next generation, the House of Este was sullied by a sanguinary and incestuous race ; by the nuptials of Alphonso I. with Lucretia, a bastard of Alexander VI., the Tiberius of Christian Rome. This modern Lucretia might have assumed with more propriety the name of Messalina ; since the woman who can be guilty, who can even be accused, of a criminal commerce with a father and two brothers, must be abandoned to all the licentiousness of venal love. Her vices were highly coloured by a contempt for decency : at a banquet in the apostolical palace, by the side of the Pope, she beheld without a blush the naked dances and lascivious postures of fifty prostitutes : she distributed the prizes to the champions of Venus, according to the number of victories which they atchieved in her presence. Hercules I. was unwilling to accept such a consort for his eldest son, but he was apprehensive of the bulls and daggers of the Borgia family : he was tempted by the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, the city and district of Cento, and the reduction of his annual tribute to a slight quit-rent of an hundred florins. The marriage articles were signed ; and as the bed of Lucretia was not then vacant, her third husband, a royal bastard of Naples, was first stabbed, and afterwards strangled in the Vatican. Perhaps the youth of Lucretia had been seduced by example ; perhaps she had been satiated with pleasure ; perhaps she was awed by the authority of her new parent and husband : but the Dutchess of Ferrara lived seventeen years without reproach, and Alphonso I. believed himself to be the father of three sons. The eldest, his successor, Hercules II. expiated this maternal stain by a nobler choice ; and his fidelity was rewarded by ming-

ling the blood of Este with that of France. By his second marriage with Anne Dutcheſs of Brittany, Lewis XII. left only two daughters: Claude, the eldeſt, became the wife of his ſucceſſor Francis I. and Renée her younger ſiſter, who had once been promiſed to Charles V. was beſtowed on Hercules II., hereditary prince, and after his father's deceaſe, Duke of Ferrara. Her portion of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns was paid in a territorial equivalent, the dukedoms of Chartres and Montargis: but Renée was perhaps the true heiress of Brittany, ſince the agreement which ſecured the perpetual independence of the dutchy, might be applied with as much reaſon to a ſecond daughter as to a ſecond ſon. The French princeſs, whoſe mind was more beautiful than her perſon, continued above thirty years to adorn the court of Ferrara: her liberal underſtanding was improved by the learning of the age; nor was it *her* fault if in the learning of the age ſhe diſcovered and ſtudied the vain ſcience of aſtrology. During a long exile ſhe cheriſhed a tender remembrance of her native country: every Frenchman, according to his degree, who viſited Ferrara, either praiſed her magnificence, or bleſſed her charity: and the relics of a Neapolitan expedition, ten thouſand naked and hungry fugitives, were relieved by the profuſe alms of the Dutcheſs. When her treaſurer repreſented the enormous expence, "They are my countrymen," Renée generously replied, "and had God given me a beard, they would be now my ſubjects." But theſe virtues were the ſplendid ſins of a heretic. From her cradle and in her marriage, the daughter of Lewis XII., the daughter-in-law of Alphonſo I., had learned to hate the tyranny of the Pope: her firm and curious underſtanding was not afraid of religious inquiries; and ſhe liſtened to the new teachers, who profeſſed to revive the old truths of the goſpel. Clement,

A. D. 1535. Marot, and John Calvin were hoſpitably entertained at Ferrara; in the converſion of the Dutcheſs, the eloquence of the preacher was ſeconded by the wit of the poet; and the apoſtle of Geneva was proud to ſpread his conqueſts on the verge of the realm of Antichriſt. But this ſpark, which might have kindled a flame in Italy, was quickly extinguished by the diligence of the inquiſitors, and Hercules II. was apprehenſive of the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual puniſhment of the guilt of hereſy. Calvin and Marot fled beyond the mountains: Renée heard with ſullen conſtancy the ſermons of the popiſh docters; but after ſuffering the diſmiſſion of her French ſervants, and the hardſhips of a priſon, ſhe ſubmitted with a ſigh to wear the mask of diſſimulation. A more open profeſſion of Calviniſm after her huſband's death, determined, and haſtened her departure from Ferrara:

Ferrara: and the last fifteen years of Renée of France were spent in her native country. In the bloody scenes of persecution and war, the Dutchess maintained her dignity and protected her brethren. Her castle of Montargis, near Paris, was a sure asylum for the Huguenots; and when it was threatened with a siege, she boldly replied, "the Catholics may assault my residence, they will find me standing in the breach, and prepared to try whether they will fire on the daughter of a king of France." She was the daughter of a king; but the wife of her son Alphonso II. was the daughter and sister of two emperors, of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. of the House of Austria.

The five Dukes of Ferrara, Borso, Hercules I., Alphonso I., Hercules II., and Alphonso II., seem to have been magnified in the eyes of Europe, far beyond the measure of their wealth and power. Their merit was superior to their fortune; they supported with firmness the calamities of war; they improved and enjoyed the prosperity of peace. Near a century before the end of their reign, Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I.; which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading branches of the Po were confined in their proper channels by moles and dykes; the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice; and the corn exports of a single year were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats. The triangular island or *delta*, of Mesola, at the mouth of the Po, had been recovered from the waters by Alphonso II., who surrounded it with a wall nine miles in circumference: a palace, with its dependencies of stables and gardens, arose in this new creation, and it was reserved by the founder for his favourite amusements of hunting and fishing. Ferrara became one of the most flourishing of the Italian cities: the walls and buildings have survived the loss of the inhabitants, which are now reduced from fourscore thousand to a tenth part: the works of superstition were enriched by each generation: the arsenal, in a long peace, was succeeded by theatres and palaces, and if the hand of the princely architect be most conspicuous, many vacant houses are the monuments of private opulence and taste. Modena and Reggio, more favourably treated by nature, were not abandoned by the House of Este: the course of the Po opened much inland, and some foreign trade; and a colony of Flemish exiles attempted to revive the declining arts of the loom. I am not instructed to define the revenue

of the Dukes of Ferrara : but it is the praise of Alphonso I., that he left a treasure, without increasing his taxes ; it is the reproach of Alphonso II., that, with an increase of taxes, he left behind him a considerable debt. The court of these princes was at all times polite and splendid : on extraordinary occasions, a birth, a marriage, a journey, a festival, the passage of an illustrious stranger, they strove to surpass their equals, and to equal their superiors ; and the vanity of the people was gratified at their own expence. Seven hundred horses were ranged in Borso's stables ; and in the sport of hawking, the Duke was attended to the field by a hundred falconers. In his Roman expedition, to receive the ducal investiture, his train of five hundred gentlemen, his chamberlains and pages, one hundred menial servants, and one hundred and fifty mules, were clothed, according to their degree, in brocade, velvet, or fine cloth : the bells of the mules were of silver, and the dresses, liveries, and trapping, covered with gold and silver embroidery. The martial train of Alphonso II. in his campaign in Hungary, consisted of three hundred gentlemen, each of whom was followed by an esquire and two *arquebusiers* on horseback ; and the arms and apparel of this gallant troop were such as might provoke the envy of the Germans, and the avarice of the Turks. Did I possess a book, printed under the title of the *Chivalries of Ferrara*, I should not pretend to describe the nuptials of the same Duke with the Emperor's sister : the balls, the feasts, and tournaments of many busy days : and the final representation of the Temple of Love, which was erected in the palace garden, with a stupendous scenery of porticos and palaces, of woods and mountains. That the last shew should continue six hours, without appearing tedious to the spectators, is perhaps the most incredible circumstance. In each generation of the House of Este, a younger brother, with the rank of Cardinal, held some of the richest bishoprics, and abbeys in Italy and France. These noble and wealthy ecclesiastics were the patrons of every art : the *Villa Estense* at Tivoli, near Rome, is the work of Cardinal Hippolitus, brother to Hercules II. : the palace gardens and water-works exhibit, in their present decay, the spirit of a prince and the taste of the age.

A philosopher, according to his temper, may laugh or weep at this ostentatious and oppressive splendour ; nor will he be disarmed by the patronage and perfection of the finer arts, which flourished in Italy in the sixteenth century. But he will approve the modest encouragement of learning and genius, an expence which can never drain the treasures of a prince. An university had been founded at Padua by
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the House of Este and the scholastic rust was polished away by the revival of the literature of Greece and Rome. The studies of Ferrara were directed by skilful and eloquent professors, either natives or foreigners: the ducal library was filled with a valuable collection of manuscript and printed books; and as soon as twelve new comedies of Plautus had been found in Germany, the Marquis Lionel of Este was impatient to obtain a fair and faithful copy of that antient poet. Nor were these elegant pleasures confined to the learned world. Under the reign of Hercules I., a wooden theatre, at the moderate cost of a thousand crowns, was constructed in the largest court of the palace; the scenery represented some houses, a sea-port, and a ship, and the *Menechmi* of Plautus, which had been translated into Italian by the Duke himself, was acted before a numerous and polite audience. In the same language, and with the same success, the *Amphytrion* of Plautus, and the *Eunuch* of Terence, were successively exhibited: and these classic models, which formed the taste of the spectators, excited the emulation of the poets of the age. For the use of the court and theatre of Ferrara, Ariosto composed his comedies, which were often played with applause, which are still read with pleasure: and such was the enthusiasm of the new arts, that one of the sons of Alphonso I. did not disdain to speak a prologue on the stage. In the legitimate forms of dramatic composition the Italians have not excelled: but it was in the court of Ferrara that they invented and refined the *pastoral comedy*, a romantic Arcadia, which violates the truth of manners, and the simplicity of nature, but which commands our indulgence, by the elaborate luxury of eloquence and wit. The *Aminta* of Tasso was written for the amusement, and acted in the presence, of Alphonso II.; and his sister Leonora might apply to herself the language of a passion, which disordered the reason, without clouding the genius, of her poetical lover. Of the numerous imitations, the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, which alone can vie with the fame and merit of the original, is the work of the Duke's secretary of state: it was exhibited in a private house at Ferrara: but the retreat of the author, from the service of his native prince, has bestowed on Turin the honour of the first public representation. The father of the Tuscan muses, the sublime, but unequal Dante, had pronounced that Ferrara was never honoured with the name of a poet: he would have been astonished to behold the chorus of bards, of melodious swans, (their own allusion,) who now peopled the banks of the Po. In the court of Duke Borso and his successor, Boiardo, Count of Scandiano,

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was respected as a noble, a soldier, and a scholar: his vigorous fancy first celebrated the loves and exploits of the Paladin Orlando; and his fame has at once been preserved and eclipsed by the brighter glories of the continuation of his work. Ferrara may boast, that on classic ground, Ariosto and Tasso lived and sung; that the lines of the *Orlando Furioso*, and the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, were inscribed in everlasting characters under the eye of the first and second Alphonso. In a period of near three thousand years, five great epic poets have arisen in the world: and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state.

A.D. 1597.

October 27.

But the glory of Ferrara, and perhaps the *legitimate* race of the Este, expired with Alphonso II. As he left neither children nor brothers, his first cousin, Don Cæsar, the son of a younger son of Alphonso I., was the next in the lineal order of descent. His claim to the succession was ratified by the will of the late Duke, who had obtained from the Emperor, though not from the Pope, the privilege of choosing an heir in his own family. And the senate of Ferrara, which still preserved a semblance of election, presented him, with apparent loyalty, the sword of justice, and the sceptre of dominion. The people submitted to a prince, who seemed to unite the various titles of birth, donation, and of the public choice; the accession of Don Cæsar was announced to the courts of Italy and Europe; and his reign might have been peaceful and prosperous, had not the ambition of Clement VIII. revived the design of restoring Ferrara to the ecclesiastical state. In the confidence of right, or at least of power, the Roman pontiff sternly rejected the ambassador and obedience of a pretended Duke, who had not expected the approbation of the Holy See. A monitory, or summons, to appear in fifteen days, was affixed on the church doors; and the Apostolical Chamber demanded the possession of the fief, till the vassal should have cleared his birth and title in the court of his supreme lord. It was in vain that the Duke of Ferrara solicited a delay, that he provoked an inquiry, that he negotiated a compromise, that he submitted his cause to the arbitration of a neutral judge. "The honour and interest of the Church," said the inexorable pontiff, "must not be deserted. In the vindication of St. Peter's patrimony, I will sell the last chalice of the altar; I am ready to march in person against the sacrilegious rebel; and I would die in the ditch of Ferrara. with the holy sacrament in my hands." This generous resolution was applauded by the Cardinals, and they protested, that if Clement VIII. should be taken from the world, they would

would impose, by a common oath, the same obligation on the future Pope. Some forms of judicial proceeding were hastily dispatched; and before two months had elapsed from the death of Alphonso II., a tremendous bull, of forfeiture, excommunication, and interdict, was thundered against the pretended Duke and his impious adherents. At the same time, the military preparations were urged with incessant vigour, and an army of sixteen thousand horse and foot, which fame had soon magnified to twenty-five thousand, was assembled near Faenza, under the command of Cardinal Aldobrandidi, the Pope's nephew and legate. The state of Europe was most favourable to the ambition of Rome, and the prospects of Don Cæsar were on all sides black and comfortless. The Emperor Rodolph II. might be a well-wisher to the House of Este, but his remote and insufficient forces were occupied by the Turks in Hungary. If the rival monarchs of France and Spain should deign to interfere in this pigmy war, the enmity of the one would not ensure the support of the other. Henry IV. had been persuaded, by a selfish agent, to prove the sincerity of his conversion, in the sacrifice of an old and faithful ally; Philip II., the demon of the south, was now anxious to leave his son and his dominions in peace; but the revolution was consummated before he could signify his intentions: and the Spanish ministers in Italy were suspected of a secret conspiracy against the Imperial fiefs of Reggio and Modena. The Italian princes balanced between fear and envy: Venice was least desirous of the neighbourhood, and least apprehensive of the resentment, of the Pope: but her words were ambiguous, and her actions were slow. Don Cæsar had been left without troops or treasures; the fortifications of Ferrara were neglected in a long peace: the people was aggrieved by taxes; the clergy was seduced by the prejudice of conscience, or the hopes of preferment; the emissaries of Rome were busy and persuasive; and the ancient loyalty to the House of Este was corrupted by the promise of a golden age.

But the instant cause of his ruin was in the character of the Duke himself. Had Don Cæsar been endowed with the spirit and constancy of his ancestors, he might have been saved by the resolution to fall. Had he listened to the advice of a veteran, a bold sally on the half-formed camp of Faenza might have dissipated the Pope's soldiers, who would cease to be formidable, when they ceased to be feared. The siege of Ferrara was an arduous enterprize: courage would have given time, time would have given him friends; the Venetians would have armed for his interest and their own; many brave adventurers of France and Italy would have drawn
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their swords in his quarrel; and the novelty of danger, the lassitude of war, the weight of expence, the chances of mortality, would have inclined his enemies to a safe and honourable peace. Far different were the feelings of the successor of Alphonso; he had been educated remote from the council and the field, in the bosom of luxury and devotion: his mild and timid disposition was astonished by the thunder of spiritual arms; nor could he expect from others the support which he denied to himself. When he entered the cathedral, the priests interrupted their rites, and fled from the altars; his venal ministers exaggerated the danger, and concealed the resources; he was alarmed each hour by the intelligence of secret treason; and a Jesuit persuaded him that Modena and Reggio, that his life, and even his soul, could only be saved by an immediate capitulation. The terms were dictated in the camp by the imperious legate. That Don Cæsar should deliver his eldest son as an hostage, resign the ducal sceptre in the presence of the magistrate, divide his artillery with the Pope, and surrender the *possession* of the dutchy of Ferrara, with all its dependencies; and that in return for his submission, he should be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and permitted to enjoy the Diamond Palace, with the personal effects and allodial estates of the House of Este. After the conclusion of the treaty, the conqueror was eager to reign, and the exile was anxious to depart. On the twenty-eighth of January, one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, Don Cæsar evacuated a city, in which his ancestors had reigned near four hundred years. A splendid, but mournful procession, of his family and household, passed slowly through the streets: the Duke of Modena (his remaining title) was seated in an open coach; his eyes were cast down on a letter which he seemed to read, as if desirous of escaping the view of those objects which he must see no more. The minds of the people were already changed: their curiosity was melted into pity: they had neglected the defence, they deplored the loss, of their native prince; and the first evening of his departure, five thousand persons were deprived of their daily bread, which they received from the charity or munificence of the ducal court. These melancholy reflections were suspended by the triumph of the legate, and the speedy visit of Clement VIII., who was impatient to behold his new conquest. But as soon as the festival of the revolution had subsided, Ferrara was left to the solitude and poverty of a provincial town, under the government of priests: a citadel was erected, to fix the inconstancy of the inhabitants; and within seventeen years after the death of Alphonso II., a fourth of his capital was already

already in ruins. Nor were the losses of Don Cæsar confined to the sacrifice of Ferrara: the territory, salt-works, and fishery of Commachio, an Imperial fief, were seized by the hand of power: his allodial property was diminished and disputed by the chicanery of law. Even the duchy of Chartres, and the mortgages of the House of Este in France, were withheld from the heir and creditor, under the pretence that he was a foreigner. It was a just observation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that his brother-in law Don Cæsar might have resisted his enemies, if the million and a half of gold, which his predecessors trusted to the Most Christian King, had been safely deposited in the treasury of Ferrara.

In this singular transaction, ambition and avarice were the motives of Rome. Her forms of judicial proceeding were precipitate, and violent: without evidence or trial, she judged in her own cause, she pronounced in her own favour, and she forcibly seized, for her own use, the valuable object in dispute. But as it is possible, and barely possible, that truth and justice may be supported by the means most adverse to their nature, I shall freely examine the descent of Don Cæsar, and his right of succession, without any interest to corrupt, or any prejudice to mislead, the equity of my decree. After the decease of Lucretia Borgia, his second wife, Alphonso I., who was still in the manly vigour of life, embraced a decent mode of satisfying his passions, without injuring his family. Instead of seeking a third alliance in the courts of Europe, he purchased a maiden of Ferrara, of obscure parentage and exquisite beauty. Laura was entertained several years in the state of a concubine: but this illegal union might in some degree be excused by the dignity of her lover, and her own imitation of conjugal virtue. She became the mother of two sons, Don Alphonso and Don Alphonfino, a title and a name which had been lately introduced into Italy by the prevailing influence of the Spaniards. Their birth is acknowledged to have been illegitimate. In the testament of their father, which is dated fourteen months before his death, they simply are styled the children of a free man by a free woman; nor did he add, in his last illness of several weeks, any clause or codicil to declare a change of their condition. That, according to the laws of the church and state, these bastards were legitimated by a subsequent marriage, is supposed by their advocates; but the supposition cannot be justified by the regular proof of a contract, a certificate, or a witness. In default of such evidence, Muratori produces a large body of presumptions and circumstances: with an artful suggestion, that much more would have been found by a
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more early scrutiny: but it was the interest as well as the duty of Laura to establish her own marriage, and the legitimacy of her sons; and if her neglect be not ascribed to conscious guilt, it must not, however, militate, as an argument in her behalf. Her faithful champion, the librarian of Modena, has collected many testimonies of poets, orators, historians, and genealogists, some of whom could not mistake the truth, and others could not have any temptation for falsehood: and from their consent he infers the belief and tradition of the times, that the concubine of Alphonso I. was finally promoted to the rank of his wife. The same favourable conclusion may be drawn from the honours which she was permitted to enjoy near forty years, under the reigns of his successors; the appellation, dress, and attendance of his relict or widow; the guardianship of her children; the princely style of most excellent and illustrious; and, above all, the family name of Este, which she subscribed on all public and private occasions. The title of Duchess of Ferrara was alone wanting; and when pride and envy were no more, that title was bestowed in the solemn pomp of her funeral, which was attended by the Duke Alphonso II. his brother the Cardinal, the court, the clergy, and the *arts* or corporations of the city. The five sons of Alphonso I., with the sole distinction of primogeniture, were educated as equals and companions. Don Alphonso, the first-born of Laura, was treated as a prince, both at home and abroad: he was invested with the Marquisate of Montecchio, and the French order of St. Michael; and his wife, the mother of Don Cæsar, was the daughter of the reigning Duke of Urbino. The same honours were transmitted to Don Cæsar himself: he obtained an alliance still more splendid, the sister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany: and, both in his life-time and at his death, Alphonso II. acknowledged him as his cousin and successor. Could we divest our minds of a secret suspicion, arising from the indulgence which, in so many courts and countries, has been lavished on the bastards of princes, such presumptions might amount to the moral, if not the legal proof of a legitimate descent. But the interest, though not the honour, of the Dukes of Modena, reposes on a firmer basis, which would not be shaken by the quality of their female ancestor. The Popes are pleased to forget that they first granted the Duchy of Ferrara to Borso, a natural son of the Marquis Nicholas III., and that the bull of Alexander VI. extends the right of succession to all the descendants whatsoever of Hercules I. They were compelled to renounce the possession of Ferrara, but they have never ceased to assert the justice of their claim.

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The arguments which the court of Rome has disdained, may one day be heard in the louder tone of the Austrian cannon, and a severe account may be required of the arrears and damages of two hundred years.

The abdication of Don Cæsar is related by Muratori, a loyal servant, under the name of the Tragedy of Ferrara: and in the melancholy tale I have myself been affected by the sympathy which we so generously indulge, to the real or imaginary distresses of the great. Yet, on a cooler survey, I am inclined to doubt whether the last Duke of Ferrara was the most unfortunate of men. His life and liberty were safe: he was neither beheaded on the public scaffold, nor dragged at the chariot wheels of the conqueror, nor cast into a deep and perpetual dungeon. By the soldiers and statesmen of the age he was indeed despised, for the feeble defence and hasty desertion of his ancient seat. But as contempt is seldom deserved where it is felt, it is seldom felt where it is deserved: Don Cæsar was unconscious of the public reproach, and the orators of his reign reserved their panegyric for the milder virtues of discretion and patience. He had lost the most precious jewel of his family: but an easy journey of two days conveyed his court from the palace of Ferrara to that of Modena, where he lived, in prosperity and peace, above thirty years: by the Tuscan Princess he became the father of six sons and three daughters; and the reigning Duke is the fourth in descent, and the sixth in succession, from the eldest of his sons. In this last period of decline, the House of Este has still preserved the external advantages of rank, riches, and power: and these advantages were illustrated by the antiquity of their name and title. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, an Emperor and six Kings were respected as the Chiefs of the Christian republic: but the Dukes of Modena maintained an honourable place in the second class of the Princes of Europe. Their pride was seldom mortified by the presence of a superior: as long as the isles of Sicily and Sardinia were attached to the Spanish monarchy, Italy was not dignified with a regal title; a profane layman was not degraded by kneeling to the Pope, or yielding the precedence to his Cardinals; nor was the native pre-eminence of hereditary rank disputed by the ministerial honours of a doge or a viceroy. After the loss of Ferrara, the successors of Alphonso II. continued to reign over the united duchies of Modena and Reggio; and their territory, about thirty leagues in length, about ten in breadth, was afterwards enlarged by the lordship of Correggio, and the duchy of Mirandola. Their revenue is vaguely computed at one hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum inadequate to the extraordinary

traordinary demands of war, but which might support, with decent œconomy, the expences of a court and government. Perhaps the latter were sometimes sacrificed to the former. When Addison traversed the principalities of Modena and Parma, he was scandalized by the magnificence of those petty courts: he was amazed to see such a profusion of wealth laid out in coaches, trappings, tables, cabinets, and the like precious toys, in which there are few princes in Europe who can equal them, while, at the same time, they have not the generosity to make bridges over the rivers of their countries, for the convenience of their subjects, as well as strangers. Yet the annals of Modena describe many public works of use as well as ornament: the plenty of gold and silver is expressed in a single coinage of Francis I., of near half a million sterling: but I am ignorant whether the two hundred and thirty thousand ducats, and the two hundred thousand Spanish doubloons, which were paid to the Emperor for the investitures of Corregio and Mirandola, should be placed to the account of treasure or of debt. In the narrow sphere of their dominions, the Este princes were absolute; nor do I find any example of resistance to their reason or passion. The vanity of the human heart is flattered by the degree, rather than by the extent, of authority: and if the sovereign was conscious of his duties, the man might tremble at accepting the trust of one hundred and fifty thousand of his equals. His equals by nature, they were many of them his superiors in merit: the natives of Modena were distinguished in the arts and sciences; and like the pastoral comedy, the mock-heroic poetry of the Italians was invented by Tassoni, a subject of the House of Este. The state of such a prince would perhaps be the most desirable in human life, if it were accompanied with that domestic security which a wealthy nobleman enjoys under the protection of a great empire. The long peace of Italy, in the seventeenth century, was interrupted only by some short and bloodless hostilities: but in the three great wars between the Austrian and Bourbon powers, the Duke of Modena has been thrice reduced to the alternative of slavery or exile. His neutrality was violated, his dominions were occupied by foreign troops, his subjects were oppressed by military contributions, and the mischievous expence of fortifications only served to expose his cities to the calamities of a siege.

I have long delayed, and I should willingly suppress, three disgraceful anecdotes, three criminal actions, which sully the honour of the name of Este: of these, the first and the third are piously dissembled by the Librarian of Modena. 1. In his descent to the infernal regions, in the ninth circle of hell,

hell, the poet Dante beheld the condemnation of sanguinary and rapacious men: they were deeply immersed in a river of blood, and their escape was prevented by the arrows of the centaurs. Among the tyrants, he distinguished the ancient forms of Alexander and Dionysius: of his own countrymen, he recognized the black Eccelin, and the fair Obizo of Este, the latter of whom was dispatched by an unnatural son to this place of torment. This Obizo can be no other than the second Marquis of that name, who died only seven years before the real or imaginary date of the *Divine Comedy* (A. A. 1300): his life does not afford the character of a tyrant: but he was one of the pillars of the Guelph faction; and were he not associated with a Ghibelline chief, we might impute his sentence to the prejudices, rather than the justice, of the Tuscan bard. But the parricide of his son, a crime of a much deeper dye, is attested by the commentary of Benvenuto of Imola, who observes from an old chronicle, that Azo VIII. was apprehensive of the same treatment which he had inflicted on his father. It must be added, that his commentary on Dante, which was composed only fourscore years after the event, is dedicated to Nicholas II., Marquis of Este, and great-grandson of Obizo II., who tacitly subscribes to the guilt of his ancestors. 2. Under the reign of Nicholas III., Ferrara was polluted with a domestic tragedy. By the testimony of a maid, and his own observation, the Marquis of Este discovered the incestuous loves of his wife Parisina, and Hugo his bastard son, a beautiful and valiant youth. They were beheaded in the castle, by the sentence of a father and husband, who published his shame, and survived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty: if they were innocent, he was still more unfortunate: nor is there any possible situation in which I can sincerely approve the last act of the justice of a parent. 3. Guicciardini, the gravest of the Italian historians, records a bloody scene, which, in his own time, had sullied the court of Ferrara; the deed might revive the memory of the Theban brothers; "and the motive was still more frivolous, if "love," says he, "be a more frivolous motive than ambition." The Cardinal Hippolito was enamoured of a fair maiden of his own family: but her heart was engaged by his natural brother; and she imprudently confessed to a rival, that the beauteous eyes of Don Julio were his most powerful attraction. The deliberate cruelty of the Cardinal measured the provocation and the revenge: under a pretence of hunting, he drew the unhappy youth to a distance from the city, and there compelling him to dismount,

A. D. 1425.

A. D. 1505.

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his eyes, those hated eyes, were extinguished by the command, and in the presence of an amorous priest, who viewed with delight the agonies of a brother. It may however be suspected that the work was slightly performed by the less savage executioners, since the skill of his physicians restored Don Julio to an imperfect sight. A denial of justice provoked him to the most desperate counsels: and the revenge of Don Julio conspired with the ambition of Don Ferdinand against the life of their sovereign and eldest brother Alphonso I. Their designs were prevented, their persons seized, their accomplices were executed; but their sentence of death was moderated to a perpetual prison, and in their fault the Duke of Ferrara acknowledged his own. These dark shades in the House of Este must not be excused by the example of the Italian tyrants; whose courts and families were perpetually defiled with lust and blood, with incest and parricide; who mingled the cruelty of savages with the refinements of a learned and polite age. But it may be fairly observed, that single acts of virtue and of vice can seldom be weighed against each other: that it is far more easy to fall below, than to rise above, the common level of morality: that three or four guilty days have been found in a period of two hundred years: and, that in the general tenor of their lives, the Marquisses of Este were just, temperate, and humane; the friends of each other, and the fathers of their people.

In a more superstitious age, I should boldly oppose to the sins of twenty generations the monastic virtues of Alphonso III., the son and successor of Don Cæsar. Yet even these virtues were produced by the blind impulse of repentance and fear. The nature of Alphonso was impetuous and haughty, and a deep indignant regret for the loss of Ferrara was the first sentiment of his childhood. As soon as he had released himself from the authority of a governor whom he hated, and a father whom he despised, the hereditary prince became the slave of his passions and the terror of Modena: his appetite for blood was indulged in the chase, and the city; and he soon considered the life of a man and of a stag as of equal value. One of the most considerable private families in Italy (such is the dark language of Muratori) was proved by some secret motive to form a design of assassinating Alphonso. Their dagger was turned aside from his breast; their chief was sacrificed to his justice; he threatened to extirpate the whole race; nor could the intercession of princes, or of the Pope himself, avert the rage of pericution and revenge. The only voice that could sooth the
passions

passions of the savage was that of an amiable and virtuous wife, the sole object of his love; the voice of Donna Isabella, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and the granddaughter of Philip II. King of Spain. Her dying words sunk deep into his memory: his fierce spirit melted into tears, and after the last embrace, Alphonso retired into his chamber, to bewail his irreparable loss, and to meditate on the vanity of human life. But instead of resolving to expiate his sins, and to seek his salvation in the public felicity, he was persuaded that the habit and profession of a Capuchin were the only armour that could shield him from hell-fire. The two years from the death of his wife to the decease of his father; were dedicated to prayer and penance, and no sooner had Alphonso attained the rank of a sovereign, than he aspired to descend below the condition of a man. With the approbation and blessing of the Pope, who might possibly smile at this voluntary sacrifice, the Duke of Modena, after a reign of six months, resigned the sceptre to Francis his eldest son, a youth of nineteen years of age, and secretly departed to a Franciscan convent among the mountains of Trent. By a special privilege, his noviciate and profession were consummated in the same day: the austere and humble friar atoned for the pride and luxury of the prince, and it was the wish of *brother* John Baptist of Modena to forget the world and to be for ever forgotten. But obedience was now his first duty, and the noble captive, for the honour of the order and of religion, was exhibited to the Emperor, the Archdukes, and the people of the Austrian provinces, by whom he was contemplated with curiosity and devotion. Three years he wandered between Venice and Vienna as an itinerant preacher: he had the pleasure in one of his journeys to be half drowned in a river, and half starved on a rock, and he vainly hoped to convert the heretics of the North, or to receive from their hands the crown of martyrdom. During the last twelve years he was stationed in the convent of Modena, the humble slave of the subjects of his son: the city and country were edified by his missions and sermons; and as often as he appeared in the pulpit, the contrast of his dignity and dress most eloquently preached the contempt of this world. The conversion of the Jews, the reformation of manners, the maintenance of the poor, afforded a daily exercise to the zeal of the abdicated Duke: but that zeal was always chargeable, often troublesome, and sometimes ridiculous: his death was a relief to the court and people; nor have the Princes of Este been ambitious of adorning their family with the name and honours of a

A. D. 1626.
 August 22.

A. D. 1632;
 —1634.

faint. The Capuchin might behold, perhaps with pity, and perhaps with envy, the temporal prosperity of his son. In peace and war, in Italy and Spain, in the Austrian and French alliance, the Duke of Modena supported the dignity of his character: and Francis I. in a larger field, would have ranked among the generals and statesmen of an active age.

A. D. 1629
—1658.

The name of Rinaldo, a name immortalized by Tasso in epic song, had been applied to the youngest son of Duke Francis I.: he might faintly remember the last days of his father, and the short government of his brother Alphonso IV.: but he was no more than seven years of age when his infant nephew Francis II. succeeded to the ducal title. In his early youth Rinaldo was proposed a candidate for the crown of Poland, a wild, and had it not failed, a ruinous attempt: the example of so many of his kinsmen suggested a more rational pursuit; and in the thirty second year of his age he was promoted to the dignity of Cardinal at the request of James II. King of Great Britain, who had married his niece. The long reign and short life of her brother Francis II. was an helpless state of minority and disease: he died without children and had the right female succession prevailed, the unfortunate race of the Stewarts might have found a safe and honourable refuge in the inheritance of Modena. But as the order of investiture preferred the more distant males, Cardinal Rinaldo ascended without a question the vacant throne of his nephew. The resignation of his hat was accepted by the Pope; but he might marry without a dispensation, a princess of Brunswick, his cousin in the nineteenth degree; and his alliance was soon dignified by the nuptials of her sister with Joseph King of the Romans, the son and successor of the Emperor Leopold. The life of Rinaldo I. Duke of Modena, was extended beyond the term of eighty-three years: in the various fortunes of his long reign he supported a double exile with fortitude and patience; and in the intervals of peace the country was restored by a wise and paternal government. His son Francis III. was of a more active spirit. He signalized his valour in the wars of Hungary; followed the standard of the House of Bourbon; commanded, or seemed to command, in several battles and sieges, and extorted the confession, that, had his advice been followed, the events of the war would have been more successful. His wife was a princess of Orleans, the daughter of the regent: she was noble, beautiful, and rich; but in the true estimate of honour the meanest virgin among his subjects would have been a more worthy consort.

confort. Their son Hercules III., the reigning Duke, acquired a valuable and convenient territory with the heiress of Massa Carrara. Their only daughter, by the command of his inexorable father, was delivered to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother; the marriage has been fruitful in children of both sexes, and the Dutchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, will soon be the patrimony of a younger branch of the new family of Austria. In the decline of life, Hercules III. is the sole remaining male of the House of Este, and the long current of their blood must speedily be lost in a foreign stream.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

THAT History is a liberal and useful study, and that the History of our country is best deserving our attention, are propositions too clear for argument, and too simple for illustration. Nature has implanted in our breasts a lively impulse to extend the narrow span of our existence, by the knowledge of the events that have happened on the soil which we inhabit, of the characters and actions of those men from whom our descent, as individuals or as a people, is probably derived. The same laudable emulation will prompt us to review, and to enrich our common treasure of national glory: and those who are best entitled to the esteem of posterity, are the most inclined to celebrate the merits of their ancestors. The origin and changes of our religion and government, of our arts and manners, afford an entertaining, and often an instructive subject of speculation; and the scene is repeated and varied by the entrance of the victorious strangers, the Roman and the Saxon, the Dane and the Norman, who have successively reigned in our stormy Isle. We contemplate the gradual progress of society, from the lowest ebb of primitive barbarism, to the full tide of modern civilization: We contrast the naked Briton who might have mistaken the sphere of Archimedes for a rational creature*, and the contemporary of Newton, in whose school Archimedes himself would have been an humble disciple. And we compare the boats of osier and hides that floated along our coasts, with the formidable natives which visit and command the remotest shores of the ocean. Without indulging the fond prejudices of patriotic vanity, we may assume a conspicuous place among the inhabitants of the earth. The English will be ranked among the few

* I allude to a passage in Cicero (de Naturâ Deorum, L. ii. C. 34.) Quod si in Britanniam, spheram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, cujus singulæ conversiones idem efficiunt in sole, et in luna, et in quinque stellis errantibus, quod efficitur in cælo singulis diebus et noctibus: quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea sphaera sit perfecta ratione?

nations who have cultivated with equal success the arts of war, of learning, and of commerce : and Britain perhaps is the only powerful and wealthy state which has ever possessed the inestimable secret of uniting the benefits of order with the blessings of freedom. It is a maxim of our law, and the constant practice of our courts of justice, never to accept any evidence, unless it is the very best which, under the circumstances of the case, can possibly be obtained. If this wise principle be transferred from jurisprudence to criticism, the inquisitive reader of English History will soon ascend to the first witnesses of every period, from whose testimonies the moderns, however sagacious and eloquent, must derive their whole confidence and credit. In the prosecution of his inquiries, he will lament that the transactions of the Middle Ages have been imperfectly recorded, and that these records have been more imperfectly preserved : that the successive conquerors of Britain have despised or destroyed the monuments of their predecessors ; and that by their violence or neglect so much of our national antiquities has irretrievably perished. For the losses of history are indeed irretrievable : when the productions of fancy or science have been swept away, new poets may invent, and new philosophers may reason ; but if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry. The consideration of our past losses should incite the present age to cherish and perpetuate the valuable relics which have escaped, instead of condemning the MONKISH HISTORIANS (as they are contemptuously styled) silently to moulder in the dust of our libraries ; our candour, and even our justice, should learn to estimate their value, and to excuse their imperfections. Their minds were infected with the passions and errors of their times, but those times would have been involved in darkness, had not the art of writing, and the memory of events, been preserved in the peace and solitude of the cloister. Their Latin style is far removed from the eloquence and purity of Sallust and Livy ; but the use of a permanent and general idiom has opened the study, and connected the series of our ancient chronicles, from the age of Bede to that of Walsingham. In the eyes of a philosophic observer, these monkish historians are even endowed with a singular, though accidental merit ; the unconscious simplicity with which they represent the manners and opinions of their contemporaries : a natural picture, which the most exquisite art is unable to imitate.

Books, before the invention of printing, were separately, and slowly copied by the pen ; and the transcripts of our old historians must have been rare ; since the number
would

would be proportioned to the number of readers capable of understanding a Latin work, and curious of the history and antiquities of England. The gross mass of the laity, from the baron to the mechanic, were more addicted to the exercises of the body than to those of the mind: the middle ranks of society were illiterate and poor, and the nobles and gentlemen, as often as they breathed from war, maintained their strength and activity in the chase or the tournament. Few among them could read, still fewer could write; none were acquainted with the Latin tongue; and if they sometimes listened to a tale of past times, their puerile love of the marvellous would prefer the romance of Sir Launcelot or Sir Trifram, to the authentic narratives most honourable to their country and their ancestors. Till the period of the reformation, the ignorance and sensuality of the clergy were continually increasing: the ambitious prelate aspired to pomp and power; the jolly monk was satisfied with idleness and pleasure; and the few students of the ecclesiastical order, perplexed rather than enlightened their understandings with occult science and scholastic divinity. In the monastery in which a chronicle had been composed, the original was deposited, and perhaps a copy; and some neighbouring churches might be induced, by a local or professional interest, to seek the communication of these historical memorials. Such manuscripts were not liable to suffer from the injury of use; but the casualty of a fire, or the slow progress of damp and worms, would often endanger their limited and precarious existence. The sanctuaries of religion were sometimes profaned by aristocratic oppression, popular tumult, or military licence; and although the cellar was more exposed than the library, the envy of ignorance will riot in the spoil of those treasures which it cannot enjoy.

After the discovery of printing, which has bestowed immortality on the works of man, it might be presumed that the new art would be applied without delay, to save and to multiply the remains of our national chronicles. It might be expected that the English, now waking from a long slumber, should blush at finding themselves strangers in their native country; and that our princes, after the example of Charlemagne and Maximilian I. would esteem it their duty and glory to illustrate the history of the people over whom they reigned. But these rational hopes have not been justified by the event. It was in the year 1474 that our first press was established in Westminster Abbey, by William Caxton: but in the choice of his authors, that liberal and industrious artist was reduced to comply with the
vicious

vicious taste of his readers; to gratify the nobles with treatises on heraldry, hawking, and the game of chess, and to amuse the popular credulity with romances of fabulous knights, and legends of more fabulous saints. The father of printing expresses a laudable desire to elucidate the history of his country; but instead of publishing the Latin chronicle of Radulphus Higden, he could only venture on the English version by John de Trevisa; and his complaint of the difficulty of finding materials for his own continuation of that work, sufficiently attests that even the writers, which we now possess of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had not yet emerged from the darkness of the cloister. His successors, with less skill and ability, were content to tread in the footsteps of Caxton; almost a century elapsed without producing one original edition of any old English historian; and the only exception which I recollect is the publication of Gildas (London 1526) by Polydore Virgil, an ingenious foreigner. The presses of Italy, Germany, and even France, might plead in their defence, that the minds of their scholars, and the hands of their workmen, were abundantly exercised in unlocking the treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; but the world is not indebted to England for one *first* edition of a classic author. This delay of a century is the more to be lamented, as it is too probable that many authentic and valuable monuments of our history were lost in the dissolution of religious houses by Henry the Eighth. The protestant and the patriot must applaud our deliverance; but the critic may deplore the rude havoc that was made in the libraries of churches and monasteries, by the zeal, the avarice and the neglect, of unworthy reformers.

Far different from such reformers was the learned and pious Matthew Parker, the first protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His apostolical virtues were not incompatible with the love of learning, and while he exercised the arduous office, not of governing, but of founding the Church of England, he strenuously applied himself to revive the study of the Saxon tongue, and of English antiquities. By the care of this respectable prelate, four of our ancient historians were successively published: the *Flores* of Matthew of Westminster (1570); the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris (1571); the *Vita Elfridi Regis*, by Asserius; and the *Historia Brevis*, and *Utopidigma Neustriæ*, by Thomas Walsingham. After Parker's death, this national duty was for some years abandoned to the diligence of foreigners. The ecclesiastical history of Bede had been printed and reprinted on the continent as the common property

property of the Latin church ; and it was again inserted in a collection of British writers (Heidelberg 1587), selected with such critical skill, that the romance of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and a Latin abridgement of Froissard, are placed on the same level of historical evidence. An edition of Florence of Worcester, by Howard, (1592,) may be slightly noticed ; but we should gratefully commemorate the labours of Sir Henry Saville, a man distinguished among the scholars of the age by his profound knowledge of the Greek language and mathematical sciences. A just indignation against the base and plebeian authors of our English chronicles, had almost provoked him to undertake the task of a general and legitimate history : but his modest industry declining the character of an architect, was content to prepare materials for a future edifice. Some of the most valuable writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were rescued by his hands from dirt, and dust, and rottenness (*e situ squalore et pulvere*), and his collection, under the common title of *Scriptores post Bedam*, was twice printed ; first in London (1596), and afterwards at Frankfort (1601). During the whole of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the same studies were prosecuted with vigour and success ; a miscellaneous volume of the *Anglica Normannica*, &c. (Frankfort 1603), and the *Historia Nova* of Eadmer (London 1623), were produced by Camden and Selden, to whom literature is indebted for more important services. The names of Wheeler and Gibson, of Watts and Warton, of Dugdale and Wilkins, should not be defrauded of their due praise : but our attention is fixed by the elaborate collection of Twysden and Gale : and their titles of *Decem* and *Quindecim Scriptores* announce that their readers possess a series of twenty-five of our old English historians. The last who has dug deep into the mine was Thomas Hearne, a clerk of Oxford, poor in fortune, and indeed poor in understanding. His minute and obscure diligence, his voracious and undistinguishing appetite, and the coarse vulgarity of his taste and style, have exposed him to the ridicule of idle wits. Yet it cannot be denied that Thomas Hearne has gathered many gleanings of the harvest ; and if his own prefaces are filled with crude and extraneous matter, his editions will be always recommended by their accuracy and use.

I am not called upon to enquire into the merits of foreign nations in the study of their respective histories ; except as far as they may suggest a useful lesson, or a laudable emulation to ourselves. The patient Germans have addicted themselves to every species of literary labour ; and the division of their vast empire into many independent states

would

would multiply the public events of each country, and the pens, however rude, by which they have been saved from oblivion. Besides innumerable editions of particular historians, I have seen (if my memory does not fail me) a list of more than twenty of the voluminous collections of the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; some of these are of a vague and miscellaneous nature; others are relative to a certain period of time; and others again are circumscribed by the local limits of a principality or a province. Among the last I shall only distinguish the *Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium*, compiled at Hanover in the beginning of this century by the celebrated Leibnitz. We should sympathize with a kind of domestic interest in the fortunes of a people to whom we are united by our obedience to a common sovereign; and we must explore with respect and gratitude the origin of an illustrious family, which has been the guardian near fourscore years of our liberty and happiness. The antiquarian, who blushes at his alliance with Thomas Hearne, will feel his profession ennobled by the name of Leibnitz. That extraordinary genius embraced and improved the whole circle of human science; and after wrestling with Newton and Clarke in the sublime regions of geometry and metaphysics, he could descend upon earth to examine the uncouth characters and barbarous Latin of a chronicle or charter. In this, as in almost every other active pursuit, Spain has been outstripped in the industry of her neighbours. The best collection of her national historians was published in Germany: the recent attempts of her royal academy have been languid and irregular, and if some memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are lately printed at Madrid, her five oldest chronicles after the invasion of the Moors still sleep in the obscurity of provincial editions (Pampelona, 1615, 1634; Barcelona, 1663.) Italy has been productive in every age of revolutions and writers; and a complete series of these original writers, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred, are most accurately digested in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori*. This stupendous work, which fills twenty-eight folios, and overflows into the six volumes of the *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Ævi*, was achieved in years by one man; and candour must excuse some defects in the plan and execution, which the discernment, and perhaps the envy of criticism has too rigorously exposed. The antiquities of France have been elucidated by a learned and ingenious people: the original historians, which Duchesne had undertaken to publish, were left imperfect by his death, yet had reached the end of the thirteenth century; and his additional volume

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(the sixth) comes home to ourselves, since it celebrates the exploits of the Norman Conquerors and Kings of England. About years ago the design of publishing *Les Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, was resumed on a larger scale, and in a more splendid form; and although the name of Dom Bouquet stands foremost, the merit must be shared among the veteran Benedictines of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez at Paris. This noble collection may be proposed as a model for such national works: the original texts are corrected from the best manuscripts; and the curious reader is enlightened, without being oppressed, by the perspicuous brevity of the preface and notes. But a multitude of obstacles and delays seems to have impeded the progress of the undertaking; and the *Historians of France* had only attained to the twelfth century, and the thirteenth volume, when a general deluge overwhelmed the country, and its ancient inhabitants. I might here conclude this enumeration of foreign studies, if the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* of Langebek and his successors, which have lately appeared at Copenhagen, did not remind me of the taste and munificence of a court and country, whose scanty revenues might have apologized for their neglect.

It is long, very long indeed, since the success of our neighbours, and the knowledge of our resources, have disposed me to wish, that our Latin memorials of the Middle Age, the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, might be published in England, in a manner worthy of the subject and of the country. At a time when the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has intimately connected me with the first historians of France, I acknowledged (in a note) the value of the Benedictine Collection, and expressed my hope that such a national work would provoke our own emulation. My hope has failed, the provocation was not felt, the emulation was not kindled; and I have now seen, without an attempt or a design, near thirteen years, which might have sufficed for the execution. During the greatest part of that time I have been absent from England: yet I have sometimes found opportunities of introducing this favourite topic in conversation with our literary men, and our eminent booksellers. As long as I expatiated on the merits of an undertaking, so beneficial to history, and so honourable to the nation, I was heard with attention; a general wish seemed to prevail for its success: but no sooner did we seriously consult about the best means of promoting that success, and of reducing a pleasing theory into a real action, than we were stopped, at the first step, by an insuperable difficulty—the choice of an editor. Among the authors already

ready

ready known to the public, none, after a fair review, could be found, at once possessed of ability and inclination. Unknown, or at least untried abilities could not inspire much reasonable confidence; some were too poor, others too rich; some too busy, others too idle: and we knew not where to seek our English Muratori; in the tumult of the metropolis, or in the shade of the university. The age of Herculean diligence, which could devour and digest whole libraries, is passed away; and I sat down in hopeless despondency, till I should be able to find a person endowed with proper qualifications, and ready to employ several years of his life in assiduous labour, without any splendid prospect of emolument or fame.

The man is at length found, and I now renew the proposal in a higher tone of confidence. The name of this editor is Mr. John Pinkerton; but as that name may provoke some resentments, and revive some prejudices, it is incumbent on me, for his reputation, to explain my sentiments without reserve; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that he will not be displeased with the freedom and sincerity of a friend. The impulse of a vigorous mind urged him, at an early age, to write and to print, before his taste and judgment had attained to their maturity. His ignorance of the world, the love of paradox, and the warmth of his temper, betrayed him into some improprieties, and those juvenile follies, which candour will excuse, he himself is the first to condemn, and will perhaps be the last to forget. Repentance has long since propitiated the mild divinity of Virgil, against whom the rash youth, under a fictitious name, had darted the javelin of criticism. He smiles at his reformation of our English tongue, and is ready to confess, that in all popular institutions, the laws of custom must be obeyed by reason herself. The Goths still continue to be his chosen people, but he retains no antipathy to a Celtic savage; and without renouncing his opinions and arguments, he sincerely laments that those literary arguments have ever been embittered, and perhaps enfeebled, by an indiscreet mixture of anger and contempt. By some explosions of this kind, the volatile and fiery particles of his nature have been ditcharged, and there remains a pure and solid substance, endowed with many active and useful energies. His recent publications, a Treatise on Medals, and the edition of the early Scotch Poets, discover a mind replete with a variety of knowledge, and inclined to every liberal pursuit; but his decided propensity, such a propensity as made Bentley a critic, and Rennel a geographer, attracts him to the study of the History and Antiquities of Great Britain; and

and he is well qualified for this study, by a spirit of criticism, acute, discerning, and suspicious. His edition of the original Lives of the Scottish Saints has scattered some rays of light over the darkest age of a dark country: since there are so many circumstances in which the most daring legendary will not attempt to remove the well-known landmarks of truth. His Dissertation on the Origin of the Goths, with the Antiquities of Scotland, are, in my judgment, elaborate and satisfactory works; and were this a convenient place, I would gladly enumerate the important questions in which he has rectified my old opinions concerning the migrations of the Scythic or German nation from the neighbourhood of the Caspian and the Euxine to Scandinavia, the eastern coasts of Britain, and the shores of the Atlantic ocean. He has since undertaken to illustrate a more interesting period of the History of Scotland; his materials are chiefly drawn from papers in the British Museum, and a skilful judge has assured me, after a perusal of the manuscript, that it contains more new and authentic information than could be fairly expected from a writer of the eighteenth century. A Scotchman by birth, Mr. Pinkerton is equally disposed, and even anxious, to illustrate the History of England: he had long, without my knowledge, entertained a project similar to my own; his twelve letters, under a fictitious signature, in the Gentleman's Magazine (1788), display the zeal of a patriot, and the learning of an antiquarian. As soon as he was informed, by Mr. Nicol the bookseller, of my wishes and my choice, he advanced to meet me with the generous ardour of a volunteer, conscious of his strength, desirous of exercise, and careless of reward; we have discussed, in several conversations, every material point that relates to the general plan and arrangement of the work; and I can only complain of his excessive docility to the opinions of a man much less skilled in the subject than himself. Should it be objected, that such a work will surpass the powers of a single man, and that industry is best promoted by the division of labour, I must answer, that Mr. Pinkerton seems one of the children of those heroes, whose race is almost extinct; that hard assiduous study is the sole amusement of his independent leisure; that his warm inclination will be quickened by the sense of a duty resting solely on himself; and that he is now in the vigour of age and health; and that the most voluminous of our historical collections was the most speedily finished by the diligence of Muratori alone. I must add, that I know not where to seek an associate; that the operations of a society are often perplexed by the division of sentiments and characters, and often

often retarded by the degrees of talent and application ; and that the editor will be always ready to receive the advice of judicious counsellors, and to employ the hands of subordinate workmen.

Two questions will immediately arise, concerning the title of our historical collections, and the period of time in which it may be circumscribed. The first of these questions, whether it should be styled the *Scriptores Rerum Britannicarum*, or the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, will be productive of more than a verbal difference: the former imposes the duty of publishing all original documents that relate to the history and antiquities of the British islands ; the latter is satisfied with the spacious, though less ample, field of England. The ambition of a conqueror might prompt him to grasp the whole British world, and to think, with Cæsar, that nothing was done while any thing remained undone.

Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum.

But prudence soon discerns the inconvenience of increasing a labour already sufficiently arduous, and of multiplying the volumes of a work, which must unavoidably swell to a very respectable size. The extraneous appendages of Scotland, Ireland, and even Wales, would impede our progress, violate the unity of design, and introduce into a Latin text a strange mixture of savage and unknown idiom. For the sake of the Saxon Chronicle, the editor of the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum* will probably improve his knowledge of our mother tongue ; nor will he be at a loss in the recent and occasional use of some French and English memorials. But if he attempts to hunt the old Britons among the islands of Scotland, in the bogs of Ireland, and over the mountains of Wales, he must devote himself to the study of the Celtic dialects, without being assured that his time and toil will be compensated by any adequate reward. It seems to be almost confessed, that the Highland Scots do not possess any writing of a remote date ; and the claims of the Welsh are faint and uncertain. The Irish alone boast of whole libraries, which they sometimes hide in the fastnesses of their country, and sometimes transport to their colleges abroad : but the vain and credulous obstinacy with which, amidst the light of science, they cherish the Milesian fables of their infancy, may teach us to suspect the existence, the age, and the value of these manuscripts, till they shall be fairly exposed to the eye of profane criticism. This exclusion, however, of the countries which have since been united to the crown of England must be understood

understood with some latitude: the Chronicle of Melrofs is common to the borderers of both kingdoms: the *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis contains the interesting story of *our* settlement in the western isle; and it may be judged proper to insert the Latin Chronicle of Caradoc, (which is yet unpublished,) and the code of native laws which were abolished by the conqueror of Wales. Even the English transactions in peace and war with our independent neighbours, especially those of Scotland, will be best illustrated by a fair comparison of the hostile narratives. The second question, of the period of time which this Collection should embrace, admits of an easier decision; nor can we act more prudently, than by adopting the plan of Muratori, and the French Benedictines, who confine themselves within the limits of ten centuries, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred of the Christian æra. The former of these dates coincides with the most ancient of our national writers; the latter approaches within nine years of the accession of Henry VIII., which Mr. Hume considers as the true and perfect æra of modern history. From that time we are enriched, and even oppressed, with such treasures of contemporary and authentic documents in our own language, that the historian of the present or a future age will be only perplexed by the choice of facts, and the difficulties of arrangement. *Exoriaturs aliquis*—a man of genius, at once eloquent and philosophic, who should accomplish, in the maturity of age, the immortal work which he had conceived in the ardour of youth.

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